

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS

(CIRCA. 1325 A. D., TO CIRCA. 1448 A. D.)

BY

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PREFACE

'*History of the Redḍi Kingdoms*' is the result of research carried out during my stay in the Andhra University, Waltair. It forms the sequel to my earlier work, '*A forgotten chapter of Andhra history*'. It is the history of the three Redḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu, Rājamahēndravaram, and Kandukūru which shaped the destinies of the Andhra people in the coastal tract lying between Sūhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district and Kandukūru in the Nellore district, and covers over a century and a quarter from 1325 A.D. to A.D. 1448. Of the three kingdoms, Koṇḍaviḍu was the chief and the earliest, the two others being its offshoots. The Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, who began as the subordinates of the Musunūri chiefs of Rēkapalli and Waraṅgal, soon became independent, and played an important role during the revival of Hindu supremacy in the post-Kākatiya period.

The history of Koṇḍaviḍu is beaten track. Many scholars have already worked at it from different angles. Sṛimān Bukkapatnam Raghavacharyulu of the Guntur district was the earliest historian of the Andhra country. He was a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. For some time he acted as a first class Revenue Inspector of the Guntur taluk, and later, was promoted to the post of Deputy Tahasildar. Under orders from the late Hon. D. S. Charmichael, Member of Council for the Madras Presidency, he wrote during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the Andhra country under the title, *Telugudēśa Caritra*, basing his account on copper-plate records, stone inscriptions and Telugu literature. This work, which deals with the history of the Andhra country till the end of the Vijayanagar (?) period, is yet unpublished. It is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The history of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu is but a small chapter in this work. There are other minor works in Telugu on the history of the Redḍis, prominent among them being *Koṇḍavīṭisāmraṭyamu* by Sri Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma, who based his account chiefly on the *Koṇḍavīṭi Daṇḍakavile*, the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu, and on Telugu literature. It was the late Sri Chilukuri Virabhadrrao who first published a history of the Redḍi kings worth the name, which formed the third volume of his history of the Āndhras in Telugu (*Āndhrula Caritra*). This volume contains the history also of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, besides accounts of the Padmanāyaka Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa and of the Nāyaks of Kōṅukoṇḍa. Sri Virabhadrrao thus prepared the frame-work of the history of the Redḍi kings, of which the details have yet to be worked out. Of several writers who contributed stray articles in various journals, it is enough to mention the most important. Of these Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in the Department of History and

Archaeology, University of Madras, (now retired), deserves to be mentioned first. Subsequent to Sṛī C. Virabhadrarao, there is none who has studied the history of the Redḍis so intensely as he has done. In connection with his study of the history of Vijayanagar, with his editing of the Telugu poem, *Velugōṭṭūrī Vaniśāvali*, and of the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa in the *Epigraphia Indica*, he had to make a thorough study of the Redḍi history, of which his articles entitled 'the Redḍis and the Rayas of Vijayanagar', his introduction to the *Velugōṭṭūrī Vaniśāvali*, and his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa are the results. In these writings he recognised the several problems of the Redḍi history, and tackled them in right earnest. Particularly, his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates is a very valuable contribution. It may be noted, however, that all he has written on the subject is not from the standpoint of the history of the Redḍis but from other angles. Hence, there was room for a fresh study on the subject.

Some others also, like the late Sṛī K. V. Lakshmana Rao and Sṛī Vaḍḍādi Apparao, have worked for the elucidation of the political history of the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu. The *Redḍi Saṁchika* of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, edited by Sṛī Vaḍḍādi Apparao, was published while this work was in the press. I could not take advantage of it for my study of this period.

Regarding literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu, of the Redḍi period, considerable work was done by Sṛī V. Prabhakara Sastri, whose *Śṛṅḡara Śṛīnātham*, life of Śṛīnātha, is a monumental work, the best of its kind in the biographical literature concerning classical Telugu poets. In fact, Sṛī V. Prabhakara Sastri and Sṛī Manavalli Ramakrishnakavi, M. A., are the two eminent scholars who, by their admirable zeal and incessant labours, brought to light, in their search for manuscripts on behalf of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, many a forgotten work, and made a solid contribution to the history of literatures, both Sanskrit and Telugu, by their writings on various subjects. Sṛī Prabhakara Sastri has, in his *Śṛṅḡara Śṛīnātham*, not only dealt with the literature produced in the Redḍi court of Koṇḍavīḍu, particularly with the works of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Śṛīnātha, but also reviewed cursorily the literary activity of the Rōceḡla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa, particularly of Singabhūpāla. I may also mention Sṛī Bandaru Thimmayya, and Sṛī Kundūri Iswara Dutt, B. A., who have made a special study of Śṛīnātha and made valuable contributions to the Telugu journals. The late Śṛī C. Virabhadrarao and the late Mūhōpadhyaya Sṛī Vedaṁ Venkataraya Sastri have enriched the literature on Śṛīnātha, the former by the publication of a life of Śṛīnātha and the latter by his valuable introduction to and commentary on the Telugu *Śṛṅḡara Naiṣadham*, besides his commentary

on the *Amara Śataka* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Dr. V. Raghavan, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Madras, has tackled many a knotty problem in the history of Sanskrit literature and has written learned papers on Viśvāśvara and Bonnakantī Appayārya, two of the famous Sanskrit poets of the Rōceṅga court, and on the *Vaiśyavamśasudhākaram* of Kolacala Mallinātha. It was he who drew my attention, even before the volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Travancore Palace Library were available to the public, to the Sanskrit work, *Sanṅīta Cīntāmaṇi*, written by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

The works and writings of all the scholars mentioned above who have worked on some aspect or other of the history of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu, either political or literary, helped me greatly in understanding its various problems. Had it not been for their labours, the history of the Redḍis would not have been as clear as it is today. I therefore offer them my grateful thanks. The Epigraphical material for the history of the Redḍis, the most important source for the reconstruction of our past history and for solving the literary problems of the age, is very scanty; hence there is room for divergence of opinion on the political and literary problems of the period. I have re-examined all such problems in the light of the available evidence, and sought to arrive at what I believe to be the truth. I offer my respects to all those whose articles and works I had occasion to consult in writing this work for the benefit I derived from them.

In the second part of this work, the social and cultural history to which I attach greater importance, I have attempted a faithful representation of the age and its ideals and a clear portrayal of the life of the period in its different aspects. It is really very difficult for us to discover the key to the mysterious forces at work in a by-gone age, like that of the Redḍis, and unravel the motives which impelled the people of that age to act as they did, since we are far removed in time, and our outlook, ideas and habits are greatly affected by western culture and thought.

I wish to acknowledge with grateful thanks my deep indebtedness to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D., who took a live interest in the work from the beginning, placed his manuscript, *Vaiśyavamśasudhākaram*, and his library unreservedly at my disposal, and kindly corrected the proofs of this work.

I take this opportunity to thank Sṛī M. Venkatarangayya, Professor in History, Economics and Politics, Andhra University (now retired), and Sṛī Gurti Venket Rao (now Professor in History and Politics, Andhra University) for the interest they have taken in me and my work, and Professor Vissa Apparao, Principal, University Colleges, Andhra

University (now retired) who was instrumental in my getting into the University and was in a way responsible for the writing of this as well as my previous work. I am under special obligation to Srī B. Muthu swamy, M. A., Lecturer in English in the Andhra University for revising the manuscript. My friends, Srī K. Ramakotisvara Rao, Editor, *Triveni*, and Srī Manjeri S. Iswaran, Deputy Editor, *Triveni*, have been of considerable help to me as they read through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

When I took up this subject for study I did not comprehend quite correctly the scope of the work I had embarked upon. The more I studied the subject the greater it interested me. I was then able to recognise the magnitude and importance of the work; for, it embodies the history of a very momentous period in the annals of the Andhra country, a period of transition from the early mediaeval to the late mediaeval period which held the moorings of the modern age. It was the period in which the country, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy subsequent to the national up-rising, re-habilitated itself and moulded its life in accordance with the changed conditions and with the new forces released. I had to work on such a difficult period without adequate facilities. In this connection, however, I have to thank Srī K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras (now retired) and Dr. V. S. Krishna (now Principal of the University Colleges, Andhra University) without whose good will and good offices I could not have brought out this volume and presented it to the public in its present shape. I am grateful to the former for kindly giving me permission to use his departmental library and affording me whatever help I needed of him.

I acknowledge with pleasure the assistance given to me by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras, in placing the required estampages of stone and copper-plate records at my disposal for consultation in his office and I thank him for it.

My sincere thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Andhra University for kindly sanctioning the publication of this work in the University Series.

And last but not least, I have to thank Srī Addepalli Lakshmanaswamy Naidu, Proprietor, Saraswathi Power Press, Rajamahendravaram, for the remarkable rapidity with which he executed this work, within a very short period from the time he began the printing of the work and for the interest he took in it. I am aware of the several drawbacks in this work, chiefly typographical, despite the care bestowed on it, and crave my readers' indulgence for them.

22, Dewan Rama Iyengar Road, }
Vepory, Madras 7, }
October, 1946. }

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. Ct.—Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi by Bhuvanaikamalla Caḷukya Sōmēśvara.
- Ag. Pr.—Agni Purāṇam.
- Ak. Cr. (or A. K. C.)—Āndhrakavula Caritra (Lives of the Telugu poets) by K. Virēśalingam.
- An. An.—Āndhra Patrika Annual.
- An. Bg.—Āndhra Bhāgavatam by Pōtanamātya.
- An. Bh.—Āndhrabhāṣabhūṣaṇam by Kōtana.
- An. Bn.—Āndhrabhāṣārṇavam by Kōṭi Venkanārya.
- An. Cr.—Āndhrula Caritra (3 Vols) by Chilukūri Vīrabhadra Rao.
- Ant.—Antiquities of the Madras Presidency (2 Vols) by Robert Sewell.
- Ap. Kv.—Appakaviyam by Kākunūri Appakavi.
- A. P. M.—Āndhra Parisōdihaka Mahāmaṇḍali.
- A. R. H. S.—Archaeological Reports of the Hyderabad State.
- A. S. P. L.—Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Library.
- A. S. R.—Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- A. S. S. I.—Archaeological Survey of Southern India — The stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa.
- A. S. W. I.—Archaeological Survey of Western India.
- A. V. S.—Āndhra Vijñāna Sarvasvam, Ed. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao.
- Barbosa —Travels of Duarte Barbosa (2 Vols), Hakluyt Society.
- Bh. Pr.—Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam by Śrīnātha.
- Bibli. Ind.—Bibliotheca Indica.
- Bj. Rj. (or Bh. Rj.)—Bhōjarājīyam by Anantāmātya.
- B. K.—Bombay Karnatic.
- Bs. Pr.—Basava Purāṇam by Pālkuṇiki Sōmanātha.
- Bs. Pr. (p)—Basava Purāṇam By Piḍuparti Sōmanātha.
- Ch. Ch.—Camatkāracandrikā by Viśvēśvara.
- Chau Ju-kua.—Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chufan-chi*.
- C. P.—Copper Plate.
- C. S. M. (or T. C. S. M.)—Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
- Ct. Mm.—Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari, (2 Vols), compiled by V. Prabhākara Sastri.

- D. C. S. M.—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
 D. C. T. M.—Descriptive Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.
 Dg. Gd.—District Gazetteer, Godavari.
 Dg. Vj.—District Gazetteer, Vizagapatam.
 Dn. Cr.—Dasaratharajanandanacaritra by Dharaṇidēvula Rāma-
 mantri.
 Dv. Pr.—Dēvaṅga Purāṇam by Bhadrakavi Līṅgakavi.
 Ep. Carn.—Epigraphia Carnatica.
 Ep. Coll.—Epigraphical Collection.
 Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
 Ep. Ind. Mosl.—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
 Ep. Rep.—Epigraphy Reports.
 E. D.—History of India as told by its own historians, Ed. Elliot and
 Dowson.
 E. R. E.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
 Foreign Notices—Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha
 Sāstri.
 Forgotten Chapter—A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by
 M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma.
 Forgotten Empire—A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) by Robert
 Sewell.
 Further Sources—Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, compiled
 by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha Sāstri and Dr. N. Venkaṭaramaṇya.
 Gerini—Researches on Ptolemy's Geography by Gerini (G. E.).
 Hakl. Soc.—Hakluyt Society.
 H. I. S. I.—Historical Inscriptions of South India by Robert Sewell;
 Ed. Dr. S. Krishṇasvāmi Aiyāṅgar.
 Hr. Vl.—Haravilāsam by Śrīnātha.
 Hr. Vm.—Harivaṁsam by Errā Preṅgaḍa.
 Ind. Ant. (or I. A.)—Indian Antiquary.
 In. Ar.—Indian Architecture (3 Vols); Ed. M. A. Ananthālwar and
 Alexander Rea; Compiler, A. V. Thiagarāja Iyer (1921).
 I. C.—Indian Culture.
 Ins. Ced. Dts.—Inscriptions of the Ceded Districts.
 Indian Ephemeris—Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swāmikannu Pillai
 (6 Vols).
 I. H. Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.
 I. I. S.—A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir
 E. Denison Ross.

- I. T. D. H.—Inscriptions in the Teliṅgānā Districts of the Hyderabad State.
- J. A. H. C.—Journal of the Āndhra History and Culture.
- J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society.
- J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J. A. S. P. (or A. S. P. P.)—Journal of the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat.
- J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters.
- J. I. H.—Journal of Indian History.
- J. M. A.—Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.
- J. M. U.—Journal of the University of Madras.
- J. O. R.—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. R. A. S. B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (See also J. A. S. B.).
- Kb. Cr.—Kēyūrabāhucaritra by Mañcana.
- K. D. M.—District Manual, Kistna.
- Kd. Rm. (or Kr. Rm.)—Kṛīḍābhīrāmam by Vallabhāmātya.
- Kf. Kd.—Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu.
- Kf. Km.—Kaifiyat of Kimmūru } Published by V. R. Jagapativarma.
- Kf. Kr.—Kaifiyat of Kōṅṇakoṇḍa }
- Ks. Kh.—Kāśīkhaṇḍam by Śrīnātha.
- Kv. Cd.—Kāvyaśāṅkārācūḍāmaṇi by Vinnakōṭa Peddana.
- Loc. Rec.—Local Records.
- Mack. Mss.—Mackenzie Manuscripts.
- M. A. R.—Mysore Archaeological Reports.
- Major.—India in the Fifteenth Century, Ed. R. H. Major.
- Monier Williams—Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams.
- N. D. I. (or N. I. D.)—Inscriptions of the Nellore District by Butterworth and Vēṇugōpālacheṭṭy.
- Nn. Cr. (or Nv. Cr; Nr. Cr.)—Navanāthacaritra by Gaurana.
- Nr. Pr.—Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam by Eṅṅā Pregaḍa.
- Pd. Pr.—Padma Purāṇam by Maḍiki Śiṅṅana.
- Pm. Bh.—Paṁpa Bhāratam.
- Pn. Cr.—Paṇḍitarādhycaritra by Pālkuṅṅiki Sōmanātha.
- Pn. Mb.—Pāṇḍuraṅga Māhātmyam by Tenāli Rāmākṛṣṇa.

- Pn. Pn.—Pañcālīpariṇāyam by Mūrtikavi.
- Pv. Cr. (or Pr. Cr.)—Palmāṭivīracaritra by Śrīnātha.
- Riyāz - us - Salātīn—Riyāz - us - Salātīn (Eng. Translation) by Ghulam Husain.
- Rk. Cr.—Rukmāṅgadacaritra by Praudhakavi Mallana.
- Rm. Vl.—Rāmavilāsam by Ēnugu Lakṣmaṇakavi.
- S. B. E.—Sacred Books of the East.
- Sewell.—Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell.
- S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
- Sk. Cr. (or Sd. Cr.)—Śōḍaśakumāracaritra by Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya.
- Sk. Nt.—Śukra Niti.
- Sk. Sm.—Sakalanītisammataṁ by Maḍiki Siṅgana.
- Sl. Vl. (or Sv. Vl.)—Sivalīlavilāsam by Kommana.
- Sm. Dv.—Simhāsanadvāitīmīka by Koṇavi Gōparaju.
- Sn. Pn.—Sunandapariṇāyam by Cintagunṭa Kōḍaṇḍarāmāmātya.
- Sr. Bh.—Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa Bhāṇa by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
- Sr. Mh.—Śrīraṅga Mahātmyam by Bhairavakavi.
- Sr. Nd.—Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham by Śrīnātha.
- Sr. Sn. (or Sr. Sr.)—Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham by Vēṭuri Prabhākara Sāstri.
- Sv. Dh.—Śivadharmōttaram by Mallā Reddī.
- Sv. Mh.—Sivarātri Mahātmyam by Śrīnātha.
- Tel. Eng. Dic.—Telugu English Dictionary by C. P. Brown.
- T. S. V.—Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara (Journal).
- Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss.—Triennial Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.
- Ut. Rm.—Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇam by Tikkana.
- Vb. Vj. (or Vr. Vj.)—Vīrabhadravijāyam by Pōtanāmātya.
- V. C. E.—Vijayanagar : Origin of the City and the Empire by Dr. N. Venkaṭaramaṇayya.
- Vk. Cr.—Vikramārkacarita by Jakkana.
- Vm. Cr.—Vēṇubhūpalacaritaṁ by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
- Vn. Pr.—Viṣṇu Purāṇam by Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana.
- Vr. Pr.—Varāha Purāṇam by Nandi Mallayya and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgayya.
- V. R.—Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, (3 Vols) by V. Rangachārya.
- Vs. Rm.—Vāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam by Maḍiki Siṅgana.
- Vv. Cr. (or Vv. Vc.)—Velugōṭivāri Vamśacaritra by Vellāla Sadāsiva Sāstri and Avadhānam Sēṣa Sāstri.
- Vv. Vm. (or Vl. Vm.)—Velugōṭivāri Vamśavaḷi.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
vi	3	intensely	intensively
„	35	Srinātha	Śrīnātha
„	37	Thimmayya	Thammayya
17	f.n. 4	Swell	Sewell
25	21	sate	state
31	42	somewhera	somewhere
53	14	flourshed	flourished
57	34	Kammas	Kammes
65	8	Reḍḍi's	Reḍḍis
73	28	wiht	with
222	1	renumerated	remunerated
225	27	<i>Vaiṣṣyavamiśasudhakarava</i>	<i>Vaiṣṣyavamiśasudhākaram</i>
226	11	assult	assault
243	11	diety	deity
253	18 & 21	similies	similes
262	f.n	కావ్యమున	కావ్యమునందు
295	21	<i>Abhilaṣitārthacintamini</i>	<i>Abhilaṣitārthacintāmanī</i>
295	29	Nicolo de Donti	Nicolo de Conti
360	21	<i>Davana Purnima</i>	<i>Davana Pannama</i>
394	34	<i>Artha Śsātra</i>	<i>Artha Śāstra</i>
421	6	<i>Bhīmrēscara</i>	<i>Bhīmrēscara</i>
427	20	<i>Raṭnapāñclakā</i>	<i>Ratnapañcālaka</i>
435	31	Ragunātha Nāyaka	Raghunātha Nāyaka
463	7	Peda Komṭi Vēma	Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma
467	26	Kolaca Mallinātha	Kōlacala Mallinātha

CORRIGENDUM

117	30	“Anavēma's brahman general”	“Anavēma's general”
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CHAPTER I

SOURCES

With the materials now available, an attempt is made in the following pages to present the reader with the history of the Reddis who ruled the Andhra or Telugu country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era. It is reconstructed with the help of evidence drawn mainly from three sources, namely, inscriptions, literature, and traditional accounts.

I. INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions form the most important of these sources. It must, however, be admitted in the beginning that the original purpose of these inscriptions was quite different from that of furnishing historical information. They were mere gift-deeds, registering grants of land or money to temples or of *agralāras* to brahmins, made either by kings, their courtiers or by private individuals. Some of these record the construction of temples or ancillary structures and the setting up of idols in them. So, though very important, these inscriptions alone do not throw much light on the events of the day and cannot help us in writing a succinct history of the country. They are pressed into service to yield some reliable evidence in reconstructing it. Inscriptions may be classified under two heads (1) Copper-plate inscriptions, and (2) Stone inscriptions or lithic records.

(i) *Copper-plate records:*

Inscriptions written on copper-plates generally register grants of *agralāras* or lands to brahmins, well-versed in Vedic lore and Sāstras. Each set may contain three, four, five or even six plates according to the requirements of the occasion. These plates are held together by a circular copper-ring, the ends of which are secured in an oval, square or circular seal, bearing the *lāñchana* or emblem of the grantor. Generally, the seals of the grants of the Reddi kings bear the sign of a couchant bull and suggest that they were Śaivites in religion. These copper-plate grants generally contain the ancestry of the grantors and the grantees, a description of the former's exploits, if any, in *kāvya* style couched in hyperbolical terms, and the date of the grant with astronomical details, sufficient at times for verification. The grantees

are generally learned scholars proficient in Science or in Vēdic literature. It is noteworthy that all the copper-plate inscriptions register grants made only to Sanskrit scholars and not to any one proficient in the language of the country.

(ii) *Stone inscriptions :*

Stone inscriptions record, as already stated, gifts made in kind or coin to temples, either by kings or their servants, or by private individuals. Inscriptions of the last category generally mention the name of the king holding sway over the locality at the time of the gift, besides giving full particulars of the date on which the gift was made. It may be reasonable to conclude from a study of these inscriptions that the absence of records of a ruling prince in his dominion for any length of period is generally indicative of abnormal and chaotic conditions prevailing in that region. The extent of the dominion of a ruler can be fairly determined by the provenance of his stone inscriptions; for none of his records would be found, even in holy places lying outside his dominion; records found in any locality beyond his own dominion, indicate that he was either a conqueror or a friend of the king of that region.

Of the inscriptions of the Reddis discovered so far, copper-plate records are greater in number than the stone inscriptions.

II. LITERATURE

The next source of our information, namely, literature may again be classified under two main heads, Indian and foreign, the first including in it Sanskrit and Telugu literatures and a number of Muslim histories written in Arabic and Persian languages, and the other some Muslim itineraries and accounts of European travellers. There is another kind of quasi-historical vernacular literature which, though last of the literary varieties, is by no means the least important to us as evidence for our historical research. This forms a very useful variety by itself and may be properly called "Traditional accounts," as it is mainly preserved in tradition.

Indian :

Many Sanskrit and Telugu poets and Scholars flourished under the patronage of the Reddi and other kings of this period. Some of the rulers of this period were themselves great scholars and poets besides being patrons.

Sanskrit Literature : Of the Sanskrit works of this period which serve us as sources of history, special mention should

be made of *Kumāragirivāṇijam*, a commentary on Kālidāsa's three dramas, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, *Vikramōrviśīyam* and *Mālavikāgnimitram* by Kaṭāya Vēma; *Śrīgūṇatīpikā*, a commentary on *Amaruśatakam* by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; *Vēmoḥpāla Cuvitram* by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa; and the commentary on *Haradātācārya's*, *Caluvēda-tūtparyā-saṅgraha*, also called *Giriśaśrīśūktimālā* by Sivaliṅgā Redḍi of the Kandukūri family. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a work on rhetoric by Siṅgabhūpāla of the Rēceḷa family, and *Camakāra Candrikā*, another work on the same subject by Viśvāsvara, are very valuable sources for the history of the Rēceḷa chiefs. Besides these, there are many dramas, *kāvya*s and other writings which throw much light on the social conditions and achievements of the age.

The attention of readers may be drawn here to another Sanskrit work called *Alaṅkārasaṅgraha*¹ on rhetoric and poetics. It contains five *paricchēdhas* dealing with (i) *Varnājamavivāra*, (ii) *Sabdarthamirṇaya*; (iii) *Rasanirṇaya*; (iv) *Netybhēdavicāra*, and (v) *Alaṅkāranirṇaya*. Its author Amṛtānandayōgi wrote this work at the instance of a certain Manvabhūpati or king Manva, son of Bhaktibhūpati, a devotee of Śiva. Manva is styled as "*Sōma-sūrya-kaṭā-ōṭṭamśah*"—the ornament of both the lunar and solar races. This indicates that his father belonged to one dynasty, and his mother to another. There is only one Bhaktibhūpa so far known to South Indian epigraphy, and he was the Ēṇṇva chief, Bhaktirāja² of the Telugu Cōḍa family, who flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century A. D. He was a great devotee of Śiva. He had two sons Bhīmalīṅga or Bhīmadēva Cōḍa or Cōḍa Bhīma³, and Annadēva Cōḍa⁴ or Anna-bhūpa. Through out this work the king's name is mentioned as Manvabhūpa and not even once as Annabhūpa. It cannot be taken to be a mistake since the substitution of Anna for Manva does not hold good in many places for grammatical reasons. Manvabhūpa, in the work under reference, is given the title komaraṅkabhīma and other Telugu Cōḍa titles which are conspicuous by their absence in the records of both Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadēva. Future research has to make it clear if Manvabhūpa, the patron of Amṛtānandayōgi, is another son of Cōḍabhūpa.

Telugu Literature: The Telugu works produced during this period are very helpful in the reconstruction of the history of the Redḍis. Special mention should be made here of *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam* of Śrīnātha, and *Sivalitāvilāsam* written by Kommana.

1. D. S. C. M. (Madras) No. 13734, pp. 8604—05 ff.

2. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

3. Sl. VI., (introduction), Vide, Appendix to chapter VII, part II of this work.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

Both were court-poets of the Reddi kings and wrote the works under their patronage. These works furnish much information which is not available otherwise. Besides the above works *Haraviṭāsam*, *Kṛiṭābhīrāmam*, *Śimhāsanaudrāṇiśika* and many other Telugu poems of the period, when studied from view-points other than poetical, provide us much useful information. Whatever theme the poets of the period under review might have taken for the subject of their compositions, and however high they might have soared in their flights of imagination, they could not escape from the atmosphere of the period and the realities of the world around them. The theme might be Purāṇic or non-Purāṇic, the hero might be a mortal king or an immortal *dēva*; yet the descriptions given in their works, of customs and manners, of art and architecture, of weapons used and the modes of warfare, and a host of other details, were no doubt taken from contemporary life. In this connection an example or two may be given. In the seventh chapter of Śrīnātha's *Kūśikhyaṇḍa* lord Śiva gives an account of the 'muktī' *manṭapa* in Kāśī to Acyuta or Viṣṇu, in the course of which he narrates the story of a brahman named Mahānanda of Ānandakīnana who, desirous of earning money, is said to have put on the guise of a 'Goraga', a 'Bavinīḍa', a 'Baudaka', a 'Kāṭāṭka', and a *Jina*.⁵ The 'Goragas, and the 'Bavinīḍas, the Śaiva devotees of Maillāra and of Ēkavīrādēvī respectively, earned their livelihood by begging. The worship of god Maillāra and goddess Ēkavīra was widely prevalent in the Andhra country, during the Kākatiya and the Reddi periods. A fine description of the members of these two orders and of their activities is given in the *Kṛiṭābhīrāmam*, mentioned before. Śrīnātha, keen observer of life and nature that he was, could not refrain from using these terms, even while translating from the Sanskrit original a mythological story concerning gods, to enhance the beauty and give effective colouring to his picturesque narration. Another instance also may be cited. We know that Śrīnātha was the 'Vidyādhikārī' of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court and the writer of all his copper-plate inscriptions. He did not let this experience go in vain. He utilised it in his work, *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*, which tells us how Indra, the celestial ruler granted Bhīmakhyaṇḍa to Śiva. Śrīnātha makes Indra write a 'dharma-śāsana' and indulges in a description of this grant in all its details. He makes Indra address his order to the people of the locality, just as kings on earth do at the time of granting lands and fixing their boundaries. He even notes the date of the grant as 'Calardasī, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, in *Siddhayaṇḍa*, when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhīṇī, and

5. Kb. Kh., vii, v. 280.

6. Kd. Rm., vv. 128-130; 142-145.

concludes it with an invocation to kings ruling at the time of the grant, as well as to future kings, to protect the *dharma* and never to violate it.⁷ Many instances of this kind can be cited from the Telugu works of the period, which throw light on the social life of the times. It may be stated, therefore, that a careful and cautious study of these works provides interesting material to reconstruct the life of the period under review, though such evidence unsupported by other information may not be sufficient and accurate.

Muslim Histories: Muslim histories constitute one of the most important sources. These furnish accounts of expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Delhi to the Deccan and their conquests of the Southern kingdoms. It was 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji who first turned his attention to the South. He sent several expeditions to conquer Teliṅgaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra. With the death of Harapāladēva of Devagiri, the Mahārāṣṭra kingdom was finally annexed to Delhi in Śaka 1239 / 1317 A. D. Teliṅgaṇa became part of the empire of Delhi with the final conquest of Warangal in Śaka 1245 / 1323 A. D. For the first time in the annals of the Muslim rule in India an independent Muslim state, the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga was founded in the Deccan in Śaka 1269 / 1347 A. D. by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangū Bahman Shah. It was the chief Muslim power in the Deccan, contemporaneous with, and rival to, the Redḍi kingdoms of both Koṇḍivīḍa and Rājamahēndravaram and the kingdom of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. In fact, it was against the rising power of the Muslims of Gulbarga, which threatened to sweep away the Hindu kingdoms of the south, that the Redḍis and the Rāyas had to contend in a life and death struggle to defend and protect their religion and culture. Chief of the Muslim authorities for the history of the Deccan, primarily for the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, are mentioned below.

(1) *Khazāin-ul-Fatūḥ* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi* by Amīr Khusrau is a very important history of the reign of 'Ala-ud-Dīn, dealing with the period A. H. 695 - 711 / 1296 - 1312 A. D. Some extracts, translated into English, are given from this work in Elliot's '*History of India.*' This work has been recently translated into English by Prof. Muhammad Habib of the Aligarh Muslim University and published by D. B. Taraporewala, Sons & Co. Bombay. This work is valuable for the history of Teliṅgāṇā, inasmuch as it gives an account of the Muslim invasions during the reign of Pratāparudra of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal.

(2) *Futūḥ-us-Salūṭīn* by 'Isāmī, another important work relating to the history of the Mussalmans, from the time of Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The text was recently published by Dr. A. Mahdi Husain of Agra. "Isāmī was born at Delhi about 1310 A. D. and at the age of sixteen, when Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq transferred his capital in 1327 A. D. to Dēvagīr, he was obliged, by the royal command, to migrate to that city like other citizens of Delhi. He lived at Dēvagīr during the next quarter of the century. After the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom at Gulbarga, he composed his history in 1349-50 A. D., and dedicated it to his sovereign. 'Isāmī was, thus, not only a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq but an eye-witness to several events of his reign, especially those pertaining to the history of the Deccan.'"

(3) *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Zia-ud-Dīn Baranī. This treats of the history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the accession of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Balban in A. H. 662 / 1266 A. D. to A. H. 758 / 1357 A.D., the sixth year of the reign of Firūz Shāh. He commenced his work in the reign of Sultan Mahammad Tughlaq, and completed it in A. H. 758 / 1359 A. D. A translation of the major part of this work was published in Elliot's '*History of India*'.

(4) *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-shirāj 'Afi is essentially a history of the reign of Firūz Shāh, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Afī wrote it under the patronage of Firūz Shāh (1357 A. D. to 1388 A.D.). An English translation of a considerable portion of this work is found in 'Elliot's' '*History of India*'.

All the chroniclers mentioned above were contemporaries of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Of these 'Afi was perhaps, his youngest contemporary. They are our chief authorities for the first half of the fourteenth century. Besides these, there were some later historians whose works also are very important to us. They are as follows:

(5) *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* by Yāhya bin 'Ahmad bin Abdulla Sirhindi. This narrates the history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the time of Muizuddīn bin Sam, the founder of the Ghōri dynasty, till A.H. 838 or 1434 A.D. The author wrote his history under the patronage of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyid dynasty who ruled Delhi from 1427 A.D. to 1435 A.D. An English translation of this work was published by Mr. K.K. Basu in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.

(6) *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* of 'Ali bin Azīz Ullah Tabatabā. This is essentially a history of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. It was written under the patronage of Burhān Nizām Shah II (1590 A.D.-1594 A.D.) after whom it is named. It was commenced in 1591 A.D. This history was translated by Major J. S. King and Lt. Col. Sir Walseley Haig in the *Indian Antiquary*. The portion dealing with the Bahmani dynasty was subsequently published in a book form.

(7) *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Khwaja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad deals with the history of the Muslim rule in India from the time of Shahab-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghōri till A.H. 1002 / 1593 A. D., the thirty eighth year of Akbar's reign. Besides the history of the Sultans of Delhi, the author gives also an account of the different Muslim kingdoms that flourished in different parts of India. The author, Khwaja Nizām-ud-Dīn was appointed to the office of 'bakhshī' of Gujarat, in the twenty ninth year of Akbar's reign and died in his service in A.H. 1003 / 1594-95 A. D. An English translation of this work was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* or *Tārikh-i-Badāūnī* of Mulla 'Abdul Kadar Badāūnī is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznavides to the fortieth year of Akbar. The author was in the court of Akbar, who employed him frequently to make translations of Sanskrit and Arabic works into Persian. This history as the author admits, is simply an abridgement of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. It was translated into English by Lt. Colonel G.S.A. Ranking.

(9) *Tārikh-i-Ferishtā* by Muhammad Kāsim Hindu Shāh Ferishtā is a comprehensive history of the rise of the Muslim power in India. The author was born at Astrabad on the borders of the Caspian sea about 1570 A. D. When he was very young he came to India along with his father, and reached Ahmadnagar in the Deccan during the reign of Murtazā Nizām Shāh. After serving for some time under the Nizām Shāhi Sultāns of Ahmadnagar, he left that place and proceeded to Bijāpūr. He arrived there in 1589 A. D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, under whom he served for the remainder of his life. At the request of his patron he wrote his history after consulting "no less than thirty-five works." Ferishta did not complete his work till about A. H. 1015 (1606 A. D.). This work gives a more detailed account of each reign than any other history. Its value is, however, diminished to some extent by the generally unreliable and incorrect nature of the account it furnishes. In spite of its unreliability, scholars have to cling to it, because no

other work gives us such an abundance of information about the kingdoms of the Deccan. Ferishtā's work was translated by Colonel Scott and John Briggs. Brigg's translation is complete and more reliable than Scott's, and the references given in this book are to Brigg's version.

In the period under review, we are mostly concerned with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the Bahmanī Sultans of Gulbarga. As for Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign there are histories by contemporary writers as well as later ones, either to supplement or to correct one another. Even here we are not on firm ground. Dates assigned to the same events in Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign, and the chronological order in which they are narrated, vary considerably in the different accounts written either by contemporaries or by later historians. One has to check them at every step and establish their authenticity and accuracy. The force of this statement may be better understood by a reference to the work and papers published so far, relating to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, particularly by Ishwari Prasad, Mahdi Hussain, Haig, and Venkataramanayya, to mention only a few, wherein one comes across much difference of opinion and argument in establishing many salient points. One such point, for instance, has been the date of the rebellion of Tilang which forms the most important landmark in the mediaeval history of the Andhra country. When such are the discrepancies found even in contemporary works, one can easily judge for oneself the difficulties one has to confront in elucidating and co-relating histories written by later writers.

There are comparatively more histories which give an account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq than of the Bahmanī Sultans of Gulbarga. Those that are available in English translations are *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā*, *Burhān-i-Mā'asir* and the extracts given by King from the *Tuzkarat-ul-Mulūk*. *Burhān-i-Mā'asir* and *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* are the only two important authorities for the history of the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga; the former is generally more reliable than the latter. Ferishtā's statements, when they relate to the Hindus, have to be carefully and cautiously weighed before being accepted; when they relate to his co-religionists, they verge on exaggeration. I followed only the English translations of Muslim histories.

Foreign:

Muslim Itineraries: *Travels of Ibn Batū'a*: His full name is Shaik Abū Abdullā Muhammad, Ibn Batūta of Moracco. At the early age of twenty one in 1325 A. D. he set out on his travels

and finally returned to his country in 1353 A. D. He died in 1368 or 1369 A. D. He completed the account of his travels in A. H. 756 / 1355 A. D. Ibn Batūta's work is known as *Tuhfatūh-al-Nuzzār fī Ghara'ib-al-Amsār wa rajāib-al-Safar* or *Safar Nāma*. He reached India in 1333 A. D. Muhammad bin Tughlaq received him cordially and appointed him as the qazi of the capital. He remained there for eight years and set out from that place in 1342 A. D. In 1344 A. D. he proceeded to Ceylon and from thence to Ma'bar. He wrote about his travels from memory, having lost his notes during the voyage. His account is available in English translations in Elliotts' '*History of India*' and in Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's useful and indispensable '*Foreign notices of South India*'.

There is another similar work which should be mentioned alongside of those, the *Travels of Abdur Razāk*. He was born at Herat in 1413 A. D. and entered the service of Shah Rukh as the qazi of the place in 1437 A. D. In 1441 A. D. he was sent on an embassy to the court of Vijayanagar which he visited in 1443 A. D. After staying there for a time, he left India in 1444 A. D. The above dates clearly show that he was at Vijayanagar at a time when the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar. His account of travels, though not very helpful to us politically, provides much information regarding some phases of the life of people of the period. A translation of this work is found in Elliot's *History of India* and also in Major's *India in the fifteenth century*.

Accounts of European travellers: Under Foreign literature, the accounts of European travellers form the main division. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, just before the beginning of our period, the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo visited India. He started from Venice in 1271 A. D., and reached the court of Kublai, the Grand Khān of China, after travelling for three years and a half across Asia. After residing there for seventeen years he left for Khorāsān in a ship. He arrived at that place voyaging in the Indian seas for over a year and a half. Thence he travelled to Constantinople, and finally reached Venice in 1295 A. D. During the return voyage he touched at many lands and visited Ma'bar and arrived at the port of Mōnpalli in the Bāpaṭṭa Taluk of Gundlur District about 1292-1293 A. D. His observations on the Muslims of our country are well-known.

Nicolo de Conti was the next European traveller to visit India in the period under review. He was also a Venetian. He went to the city of Damascus and settled there as a merchant when he was young. After a time he conceived the idea of going on travel. The date

when he started is not known to us; but after travelling as far as China in the East he returned to Venice in 1444 A. D., after an absence of twenty-five years. In the course of his travels he came to India and visited Vijayanagar. He is said to have reached a city and sea port called "Peudifetania" on the road to which he passed by two cities, named "Odeschiria" (Udayagiri in Nellore district) and "Cenderghiria" (Chandragiri in Chittoor District). From there, he proceeded to Mylapore (Madras) and so on.

Athanasius Nikitin was a Russian. He set out on his travels in the latter half of the fifteenth century and returned to Russia in 1474 A.D. In the course of his travels he visited India and stayed for some time in the Deccan. In the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān, Muḥamad Shāh II, he was at Bidar, the new capital which was founded in 1423 A.D., by Sultān Ahmad Shāh, the successor of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.

The accounts left by these travellers were translated into English and are found in the publication, known as *India in the Fifteenth century* edited by R H. Major.¹⁰

These travellers were followed by Portuguese officials, Tome' Pires and Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Their accounts were translated into English from the Portuguese and published by the Hakluyt Society. These travel-journals do not generally furnish useful information relating to our political history; but they provide much material for an intelligent understanding of the life in the age of the Reddis. They also confirm and corroborate many points of social and religious interest which are alluded to in the literature of our country, particularly in the Telugu works of the period. The accounts of foreign travellers, therefore, form a valuable supplement to our knowledge obtained from other sources, occasionally furnishing new information, not forthcoming from elsewhere.

III. TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS

Accounts concerning a particular locality, individual or family which are preserved in tradition, either in the form of prose or poetry, come under this category. *Velugōyivāri Vamśacaritra*, the *Cāṭu Kṛtulu*, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, the *Local Records* and the *Birudāvalis* of the families of nobles of yore belong to this class.

10. In his introduction the editor R. H. Major furnishes a good account of some of the foreign travellers that visited India during this period.

Velugōṭivāri Vamśacaritra: This is a modern work dealing with the history of the Velugōṭi family, a branch of the ancient Rōcerla line, written by two pandits, Śrī Vellala Sadūsīva Śāstri and Śrī Avadhanam Sēsha Śāstri, under the patronage of the present chief of Venkaṭagiri belonging to the above-said family. State records in possession of the descendants of the extant branches of the Rōcerla line, ancient inscriptions of this family, and the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali*, an anthology of verse, constitute the chief authorities in writing this work. Some of the ancient inscriptions of the Rōcerla chiefs are given as appendices. These inscriptions are all eye-copies. No attempt has yet been made to take good estampages of these stone records and edit them properly." Even these few records do not supply us with much historical information.

So we have to depend on the "*Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali*", an anthology of verse composed and sung in ancient times by itinerant and family bards, called Bhaṭṭarājus in praise of different chiefs of the Rōcerla family recounting their heroic deeds and great charities in their usual extravagant style, with little sense of proportion". In this way the traditional lore and verses in praise of the Rōcerla chiefs grew in quantity from generation to generation and were preserved with meticulous care. Even an insignificant chief holding a small fort is given in these verses the same importance as a great king ruling a considerable dominion and both were described in the same strain. Most of the chiefs mentioned in these verses as having been defeated or killed by Rōcerla chieftains are unidentifiable. Because of the lack of confirmatory evidence, the facts mentioned in the *Vamśāvali* have to be taken for what they are worth. Another difficulty that confronts us in freely utilising this material is the confusion prevailing in some of these verses. Some of them ascribe the exploits of one chief to another, whereas some others attribute the same exploits to several individuals in successive

11. The original dominion of the Rōcerla chiefs comprised a great portion of Telinganā which has not yet been epigraphically surveyed systematically. Epigraphical material in the Hyderabad state which furnishes useful information for reconstructing our past history, lies still buried. Without utilising this material no history of our country can be said to be complete and perfect. Until all the inscriptions in the districts of Telinganā are copied and properly edited, one has to depend on those given in appendices and make use of them.
12. In fact, one of the chief features which formed part of the regal pomp and contributed to the splendour of the mediæval period was the maintenance of a special sect of people—Vandis and Māgadhas as they were generally called—by every military chief of note and by every important noble, to sing the glory of himself and of his family by recounting his and his ancestor's exploits, on all auspicious occasions and to herald his arrival in public. There is reason to believe that this had been a feature of the Telugu court from early times.

generations. It must, however, be admitted that the history of the Rūccerla chiefs has to be re-constructed mostly with the help of these verses and partly with the help of the *Velugōḍivāri Vaniśacaritra* and the few inscriptions given in its appendices.

Cāṭu Kṛtulu or *Cāṭu Verses*: *Cāṭu* means pleasing words of discourse, or flattery. *Cāṭu* verses appear originally to have been composed by different poets to please or flatter the hero concerned, on different occasions. A scrutiny of such poems in Telugu leads us to infer that the *Cāṭus* were composed by poets and bards of former times, either to express their own inner feelings or to flatter or even to censure any individual or family, or merely to describe a locality. The subject of these verses may be anything. All the verses in the *Velugōḍivāri Vaniśāvali*, as has been stated already, are of this kind. Generally these verses are not recorded but were handed down orally from generation to generation. Śrinātha's *Cāṭus* which have come down to us, are many in number and very popular in the Telugu country. No other Telugu poet of the mediaeval period is so well-known for his *cāṭus* as he. In his view no subject was too insignificant or unimportant to be the theme of a *cāṭu*. Even a gross theme was transmuted into gold at his magic touch. {Since he travelled far and wide, visiting many countries and kingdoms, his *cāṭus* provide us with a panorama of life of his times. He recorded in his poems all that he had observed during his peregrinations. The physical features of the country, the habits and customs of the people, the food they ate, and many such interesting details form the subject-matter of his compositions.

Traditional accounts of many of the villages of the Andhra country, and of some of the ruling dynasties of ancient times have been preserved to us in what are now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and *Local Records*, housed in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Mackenzie, after whom the collection is named, was a remarkable person to whom, South Indians in general and the Andhras in particular, are much indebted. Colonel Collin Mackenzie was an Englishman. He came to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. While he was serving under the East India Company, he toured throughout South India. In the course of such tours, he found many temples and other architectural structures of striking beauty which were unlike those he had seen before, and many stones bearing some kind of writing which, in some instances, differed from that in vogue in the locality. In fact, wherever he went, many things in the country around excited his curiosity, and as a consequence he was searching for one who could initiate him into the mysteries of this land. His desire was fulfilled when he established

contact with a young talented brāhmin, Kāvali Venkaṭa Borriah of Ellore in West Godavari district. He engaged him at his own expense to try his hand, if possible, at deciphering these quaint inscriptions found in the country, and to explain to him their content and also to tell him something about the language, literature and the religion of the people of the land. Borriah succeeded in deciphering inscriptions not only of the later but also of the early period written in Sanskrit and Hale Kaṇṇaḍa. When every one regarded these inscriptions as unintelligible and meaningless lines, scribbled by some superhuman beings in bygone ages, Borriah's decipherment was certainly a marvellous feat that speaks much of his genius. He was, without doubt, the first Indian epigraphist who successfully probed into the mysteries of ancient inscriptions. "The connection that I then formed" writes Mackenzie, "with one person, a native and a brāhmin (the lamented C. V. Borriah, then almost a youth, of the quickest genius and disposition, possessing that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of inquiry followed in his surveys), was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I had so long sought. On the reduction of Seringapatam, not one of our people could translate from the Canarese alone: at present we have translations made, not only from the modern characters but the more obscure, I had almost said, obsolete, characters of the *Śāsanaṃs* (or inscriptions) in Canarese and Tamil; besides what have been made from the Sanskrit; of which, in my first years in India, I could scarcely obtain any information. From the moment the talents of the lamented Borriah were applied, a new avenue to Hindū knowledge was opened; and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brethren and disciples, that an establishment was gradually formed, by which the whole of our province might be analysed, on the method thus fortuitously begun and successfully followed."¹³ Mackenzie became the Surveyor-General of Madras in 1810. Soon after, he was called away to command the Engineers in Java (1811-15). He rose to the position of the Surveyor-General of India in 1816 and died near Calcutta in 1821. The activities of Mackenzie in this field and the results achieved by him cannot be described better than by the words of Lord Willingdon who, as the then Governor of Madras, happened to open the proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Madras in 1924. In his opening speech he says "Colonel Collin Mackenzie, who ended his career

13. J. R. A. S., (Old Series): Vol. I. pp. 141 ff.

as Surveyor-General devoted his spare time for a space of thirty eight years to collecting manuscripts bearing on history, ethnology, literature and tradition, chiefly of the country of south of the Kistna river..... The collections.....included as many as 1,568 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Uriya, Mahrathi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Hindūstani, Javanese and Burman. In addition to these, he collected as many as 2,070 local tracts bearing on history and ethnology, 8,076 inscriptions, 79 plans, 2630 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. The collection was purchased just a century ago by the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor General for a sum of £. 10,000. A large part of it consisting of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese, and Burman books, with the plans, coins, images and sculptures, were sent to England; but the books and tracts in the languages of Southern India to the number of 5,31,255, local tracts and over 8,000 inscriptions were handed over to Madras. They were first lodged in the College Library, then entrusted in 1830 to the Madras Literary Society, then handed over in 1836 to the Rev. William Taylor to be examined with a view to publication. He published five reports in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science and started restoring the manuscripts, which were already becoming lost by the decay in the ink or the material..... Nothing more happened till 1846 when the books were returned to the College Library. About forty years later the collection was transferred to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.....¹⁴. This collection is now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. Some time later C. P. Brown who had done yeoman service to Telugu literature got some of the manuscripts recopied and bound in volumes which are now known as *Local Records or Kaifiyats*.

The *Gudakattu lekka* and its detailed edition, *Dandakavile*, the two main account-books relating to *grāma* or village, and *Sīma* or taluk, and the *Birudāvālī* or the titular account of a prince, *nāyak* or dynasty form the last, but by no means the least, of the sources that help us in reconstructing our ancient history. These account-books maintained from generation to generation, give full details regarding several items of the administration of a village or *Sīma* like village services, temples, agriculture, irrigation, and handicrafts. The *Kondarivisīma Dandakavile* is a good example of the *Sīma* account-books. 'Kavile' means a record and the term 'danda' seems to be a corruption of 'danda' which means army or military. Judged by the name, these *Dandakaviles* appear to have come into existence only

14. Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1921), pages 3 and 4.

during the rule of the Gajapatis of Orissa who divided the country into military administrative divisions called *daṇḍapāḍus*. Koṇḍavīṭṭidaṇḍapāḍu was one of such divisions. Even if they owe their origin to the Gajapatis it is certain that they contained in them all the information preserved in the previous accounts; for, they give us also a good account of the *sīmas* before the rule of the Gajapatis.

The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* written by Andugula Venkanna is a good specimen of the 'Birudāvali'. Vinnakōṭṭi Peddana, a Telugu poet of the fifteenth century called *birudāraḷi* by the name 'Birudaprabandha' in his *Kāvyaśālāṅkāra āḍānaṇi*, a work on rhetoric. The Oriental Manuscripts Library preserves a Telugu manuscript containing the 'birudāvalis' of the seventy two Nāyaks that served under Kākati Pratāparudra of Warangal.

These are the sources from which evidence is drawn for reconstructing the history of the Reḍḍis, who were the main custodians of the Hindu religion and culture in the coastal region of the Andhra country in the mediaeval period, subsequent to the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE TELUGU COUNTRY

A study of the political condition of the Andhra country at the time of the foundation of the Konṣavidu kingdom will give us the proper background to trace the history of the Redḍis and their relations with neighbouring powers.

After the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D., the whole of the Andhra country passed under the sway of the Tughlaq emperors of Delhi. They appointed 'amīrs', 'malīks' and other officers of state to carry on the administration of this newly-acquired province. Armies were stationed at all important centres in the country, and the nature of the administration was military. Many unjust taxes were imposed on agriculturists and collected with an iron hand. Money was squeezed from the rich without any consideration. Brāhmanas and cows were killed; *agrahāras* bestowed upon brāhman scholars by kings of yore, were confiscated, and all brāhmanical sacrifices and ritual were compulsorily stopped. Temples were desecrated and idols were broken. Drinking of wine, eating of beef, libertine indulgence, and brāhman-slavery became the creed of the Mussalmans.¹ Great was the opprobrium and horror attached to the Muslim rule. The Muslim officers appear to have made a total war against the Hindus and their religion. The copper-plate grant² of Viṣa is a very remarkable, though solitary, document of his reign which gives a graphic account of the Telugu country under the Muslim domination. Their cruel and inhuman acts naturally evoked a keen yearning in the minds of the Hindu sufferers to protect, even at the cost of their lives, the cow and the brāhman, the two visible symbols of their *dharma*, one, of spiritual and the other, of material prosperity. The well-being of the Hindu Society rested chiefly on agriculture which was dependent on the cow, and on helpful rains in time caused, as the ancient Hindus believed, by the regular performance of brāhmanical sacrifices. The unwise policy adopted by the Muslim administrators, inflamed the Hindus intensely and a profound discontent prevailed all over the country. It knit them together for their emancipation from this oppressive political bondage.

1. *Forgotten chapter*, p. 20; Appendix, I. p. 103.

2. *Bhārati*, Vol. XIX (1912), March number.

~~3.~~ *Forgotten chapter*, Appendix I, pp. 100--110.

The down-trodden Hindus did not remain long under the heel of the Muslims. A movement to throw off the foreign yoke and protect their *dharma* and culture was set on foot in the coastal tract of the Andhra country. All the *nāyaks* living therein joined together into a confederacy with the common purpose of freeing the country from foreign domination, and to re-establish Hindu supremacy. Some old generals like Kolani Pratāpa Rudradīva and Annamantri who had survived Pratāparudra, the last of the Kākatiya monarchs, came forward to guide the movement and its destinies. Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family was chosen leader of the confederates. Since the Hindu records³ of the coastal region reappear from Saka 1247 (1325 A.D.), it seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that in that year Prōlaya Nāyaka and his confederates rose in rebellion against the Muslim authorities and freed their region from foreign domination.

Prōlaya Nāyaka became the acknowledged leader of the coastal Andhra country and probably all the nobles in that region loyally obeyed his commands. He made Rēkapalli in the vicinity of the Gōdāvari (in the Bhadrachalam taluk of East Godavari district) his capital and re-established the Hindu *dharma*. He patronised Vēdic learning and revived Vēdic sacrifices in his dominion and re-endowed the *agrahāras* to their claimants, which were in their enjoyment until the Muslim occupation of the country. All the unjust taxes were repealed and peasants paid to the king as tax, a proper share of their produce even as enjoined in the *Śāstras*, in the same way as the ancient sages paid one-sixth of the fruit of their penance to the kings of their days. Prōlaya Nāyaka established law and order in the country and set right everything that was undone by the Mussalmans during their period of rule.

Encouraged by the success gained by the nobles of the coastal country the *nāyaks* of the western Andhra country (now known as the Rāyala Sīma) who were under the subjection of Malik Neby⁴, Muhammad bin Tughlaq's governor of Kampli rose in the rebellion and made administration impossible under the leadership of the Cālukya kṣatriya prince of the lunar race, Sōmadevarāja of the Āravēti family. They put the Muslim governor to flight, and captured the forts of Mosalimaḍugu, Sātānikōṭa, Kandanavol (Kurnul), Kalvakolanu, Rācūru,

3. N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 73, pp. 1022—29.

See for a discussion of the date—*Forgotten chapter*, p. 39, f. n. 7; and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 139, f. n. 5.

4. Swell's *Forgotten Empire*, Vido, Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, p. 297. The Governor's name is given as Muhammad and Muhammad Maluka in the Telugu works *Bala Bhagavatam* (*Dvipada kavyam*) and *Narapativijayam*.



(Raicur), Ētagiri (Etgir), and Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa. They fought several successful battles at Ānegondi, Mudugallu (Mudgal), and other places and drove away the Muslim officers⁵. The names of the battle-fields and of the forts indicate the extent of the region over which Sōmadēvaraja operated during this rebellion. From the forts he had captured and the battles he had won, it is evident that a great part of the southern portion of the present Hyderabad state also came into his possession. He appointed his kinsmen, and officers as governors of those forts which they retained in their possession for a long time. Western Andhra country thus slipped out of the control of the Muslim authorities most probably about 1328-29 A. D.

Prōlaya Nāyaka and his paternal uncle's son, Kāpā Nēḍu or Kāpaya Nāyaka did not stop their efforts with the re-conquest of the coastal region. To deliver the entire Andhra country from the Muslim domination was their sole aim and object. In achieving that end Prōlaya Nāyaka appears to have been unsuccessful; one is not sure if he ever made any attempts in that direction. As his name is not mentioned by any of the Muslim historians in connection with the rebellion of Waraṅgal, it is reasonable to conclude that he did not live long to carry out his cherished wish.

The mantle of Prōlaya Nāyaka fell on his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka who succeeded him as the leader of the chiefs of the coastal tract. To fulfil his object he secretly carried on negotiations with the Hindus of the Waraṅgal country and the neighbouring Hindu monarchs like Ballāla III of Dvārasamudra, to make common cause for emancipation from the Muslim rule. His plans succeeded and under his leadership the Hindus of Waraṅgal rose in rebellion in Śaka 1258-59 (1336-37 A.D.) against the Muslim governors in Teliṅgānā above the Ghats. Defeating them in battle they drove them away, and captured the fort of Waraṅgal. Thus was the Hindu independence of Teliṅgānā established once again. Kāpā Nēḍ of Īsāny, Kanya Naik of Baranī, Kabā Nāyand of Aziz-Ūllā Tabātubā, Kaṁbā Naik and Krishn Naik of Ferishta, who is said to have been the leader of the Hindu insurgents of Waraṅgal, is no other than Kāpaya Nāyaka, the cousin of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family. After driving away the Mussalmans from Teliṅgānā he made Waraṅgal his capital.

Kāpaya Nāyaka became the chosen leader and the uncrowned king of the entire Andhra country and assumed the titles Andhra-dēsādhiśvara, lord of the Andhra country, and Andhra Suratrāṇa, the

5. *Forgotten chapter* pp. 48-51.

sultan of the Andhras. He was served, according to the Kaluvacūṅṅa grant⁶ of Anitali, by the traditional seventy five nāyaks of the Andhra country, the descendants of the nobles that had served the last Kākatiya monarch. The different nāyaks in the country appear to have ruled, as of old, their hereditary *myōgas* or provinces under their charge independently, while formally acknowledging him as their overlord.

The liberation of the Andhra land from foreign domination naturally brought about a change in the attitude and outlook of the Hindu nobles in different parts of the country. The sentiment that had fired their imagination and united them for a common purpose, failed to animate them further to work together soon after the attainment of independence. The first flush of enthusiasm, consequent on their gaining a signal victory over the Imperial forces of Delhi, evoked in their hearts a note of self-confidence and self-reliance, fostering in them an independent spirit. The victory they had won, begot in them a false and pernicious sense of prestige and power which naturally tended to discord and cleavage. The ideal for which they had united and fought, was lost sight of in no time, and each one of the chiefs began to assert his power and extend his authority at the expense of the other. As a consequence, these principalities developed soon into independent states with an aggressively autonomous attitude, which, if it did nothing else, served to make unity among them well nigh impossible. This attitude of the nobles tended to deprive Kapaya Nayaka of his leadership of the Andhra country, and his dominion comes to be counted as only one of the several new kingdoms, established in the early post-Kākatiya period.

During this period there were as many kingdoms and principalities as there were chiefs, chief of them being the kingdoms of Waraṅgal of the Musunūri chiefs, of Rācakonḍa of the Padma Velama chiefs, of Vijayanagar of the ksatriyas of the yādava clan, and of Koṇḍavīḍu of the Redḍis of the Paṇṇa clan, besides the comparatively small principalities of the Mañcikonḍa Nayaks of Kōṅḁkonḍa and the Koppula chieftains of Piṭhāpuram. Besides these there was the ancient kingdom of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaṇḁga with its fiefs.

J.A.S.P., Vol. IV, pp. 93-112; Vide, vv. 23-33. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, Nos. June and July (1941); This grant was re-edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. The number of Nayaks that served the last Kākatiya monarch is given differently in inscriptions and literature. It is given as seventy-seven in the *Velugotivari Vairāsavali* and in the *Caṇḁu* in the second part of the *Caṇḁupalya neṇḁimāñḁura* (pp. 62, 63), seventy two in the introductory verses in the *Śivagoṇḁsaraiḁ* (*Subhashi* 1927, October number), and as seventy five in the Kaluvacūṅṅa grant (A.S.P.P., IV, verse 50).

The Kingdom of Waraṅgal :

An account of the careers of Prōlaya Nāyaka, and Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family who liberated the Coastal Andhra country and Teliṅgānā respectively, and the distinguished part they played in the history of the Deccan were detailed in the earlier work "*A Forgotten chapter of Andhra history.*" That brochure is really in the nature of a prologue to the history of the Redḍi kingdoms of the Andhra country which forms the subject of the present treatise. Hence, only the broad features of the history of Waraṅgal after its re-conquest by Kāpaya Nāyaka are noted down here.

Kāpaya Nāyaka inherited much of the old kingdom of the Kākatiya monarchs which extended from Kaulas and Bidar in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. In spite of the victory he had gained over his enemies in 1336-37 A.D., he was not sure of his ground and was uncertain of his throne; for he was apprehensive of an invasion of Teliṅgānā at any moment by Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq of Delhi. In order to protect himself from this danger and to safeguard his kingdom, Kāpaya Nāyaka made common cause with the rebel Centurions of the Deccan and despatched a considerable force in aid of Jāfar Khān, one of their leaders, when such help was needed most. These Centurions vanquishing the Imperial forces, and putting an end to the authority of the Sultan in the Deccan country, set up a new independent Muslim state contiguous to the kingdom of Waraṅgal, and elected Jāfar Khān as their king. Jāfar Khān ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., assuming the title of Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gaṅgu Bahman Shāh, and became the founder of the new Bahmanī kingdom which played a very important part in the history of South India for over a century and a quarter. His capital was Gulbarga.

Kāpaya Nāyaka very soon realised that the trust he placed in Jāfar Khān, now Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh, was misplaced and the aid he gave him was misdirected; for Alā-ud-Dīn, almost from the inception of the Bahmanī kingdom, waged war with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms in order to reduce them to submission, and to extend his authority. Kāpaya Nāyaka's kingdom did not prove an exception. He realised also that he could not bestow much attention on the affairs of the coastal region, having in his neighbourhood a growing Muslim power which was bent upon wiping out the independent Hindu kingdoms. So, he appointed his cousin Toyṇēṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his viceroy over the coastal region. The latest record of the reign of Kāpaya Nāyaka in the coastal country is dated in Śaka 1268 (1346 A.D.) and that of his cousin Anavōtā Nāyaka in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.). These

records roughly indicate the date of the appointment of Anavōtā Nāyaka as the Viceroy of the coastal Andhra country.

Soon after his accession to the throne, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh led a successful invasion against Teliṅgānā and compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to sign a treaty by ceding him the fortress of Kaulas with its dependencies. This defeat at the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh affected Kāpaya Nāyaka's prestige and power and considerably weakened his authority over the coastal Andhra country.

The death of Sultān Muhammad Bin Tughlaq gave 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah further encouragement and freedom to prosecute his cherished wish of re-conquering all the country previously subject to the Sultāns of Delhi. With this object he launched an extensive campaign, during which he once again invaded the kingdom of Teliṅgana in about S. 1278/1356-57 A.D. The cause of this second invasion appears to be that Kāpaya Nāyaka did not become 'Alā-ud-Dīn's vassal paying an annual tribute, even though he had already ceded to the Sultān Kaulas with its dependencies. The Muslim historians credit 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh with victory this time also. They state that, inflicting a severe defeat, 'Alā-ud-Dīn compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to pay the annual tribute he had heretofore been remitting to the Sultan of Delhi and to cede further again the fortress of Bhōnagir (Tribhuvanagiri) which thence forward became the eastern boundary of the Bahmanī kingdom.

Kāpaya Nāyaka made a bid to recover his lost possessions soon after the death of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah in 1359 A.D., with the help of the king of vijayanagar. He sent his son' Vināyak Dēv, the fief-holder

7. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that Vināyak Dev was a cousin of the Rēcerla chief, Anavōtā Nāyaka I and it was to chastise him that Muhammad Shah I Bahmanī led his forces to Veluṅpattan (VI. Vm., intro, XII). He also says that the death of Kāpaya at the hands of the Velamas "took place in 1369 A.D., or a little earlier". Vināyak Dēv was already dead by A. H. 764 (*Forgotten Chapter* Appendix, IV, p. 137). This year begins in October 1362 A.D. The Lucknow text of Perishna furnishes also the date of Muhammad Shah's expedition to Veluṅpattan against Vināyak Dev as A.H. 763. This year commences from the 31st of October, 1361 A.D., and ends on 21st October 1362 (Saka 1284). We know also from VI. Vm., that Anavōtā I avenged the death of his father, Siṅgama Nāyaka in S'aka 1283 (S'ikhi-kari-Bhanu) and from VV. Cr., (appendices, Nos. 6, 7 and 8) that he was fortifying Rajakōṭṭa in S'aka 1287; The earliest inscription to mention the conquest of Waraṅgal by Anavota I is his Ainavolu record dated in 1369 A.D., (S'aka 1291) which clearly states that he made the gift registered therein after returning from a successful military campaign (*Forgotten Chapter*, p. 981. In the light of the above-mentioned facts I am not inclined to identify Vināyak Dēv with Naga Nāyaka, the cousin of Anavota I.

of Velampattān who re-conquered Bhōnagir and was preparing to recover Kaulas also. Having heard this news Muhammad Shāh I (1359 A.D. to 1376 A.D.), the son and successor of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh proceeded at once by rapid marches to Velampattān and laid siege to the fort. Vināyak Dēv escaped to the citadel which was forthwith invested, and finally reduced. He was then captured and burnt alive.

Exasperated by the inhuman and cruel death meted out to his son, Kāpaya Nāyaka grew desperate and appealed to Sultān Firūz Shāh of Delhi, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq for help to crush the Bahmanī power, promising him at the same time to bring the whole of the Deccan once again under the sway of the Emperors of Delhi. This appeal did not bear fruit. Enraged by the reported overtures of Kāpaya Nāyaka to the Delhi court, Muhammad Shāh I invaded Telingānā and ravaged the whole country in Śāka 1288 / 1366 A.D. Kāpaya Nāyaka was reduced to straits and applied for quarter. A treaty was subsequently drawn up between the king of Waraṅgal and the Sultān of the Bahmanī kingdom, by which the former "ceded the hill fort of Gōlconḍa in perpetuity to the Sultān besides presenting him three hundred elephants, two thousand valuable horses and thirty three lacs of rupees" as indemnity. Gōlconḍa since then became the boundary between the Bahmanī and Waraṅgal kingdoms. Muhammad Shāh I is said to have warned his successors not to molest the kingdom of Waraṅgal as long as its rulers refrained from breaking their faith. On this occasion Kāpaya Nāyaka presented to Muhammad Shāh I a beautiful throne studded with emeralds which was, therefore, called *Takht-i-Firūza*.

While Kāpaya Nāyaka was involved in struggle with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga the Rūccerla chief Śiṅgama Nāyaka I launched a campaign for territorial aggrandisement, and even challenged the authority of Kāpaya Nāyaka, the acknowledged leader till then of the confederacy of nobles of the Andhra country in succession to his cousin Prōlaya Nāyaka. After the death of Śiṅgama Nāyaka in Śāka 1283 (1361 A.D.) his son Anavōtā Nāyaka led an expedition to the north, accompanied by his brother Mālā Nāyaka I and his son Peda Vēdagiri Nāyaka, and contended with Kāpaya Nāyaka for supremacy over Telingānā. The hostile armies met in the present Waraṅgal district of the Hyderabad state, and a fierce battle was fought at Bhimavaram in about Śāka 1289-90 (1367-68 A. D.) in which Kāpaya Nāyaka was defeated and slain. Thus came to an abrupt end the rule of the Msunūri chiefs over Telingānā. None of the descendants of Kāpaya Nāyaka is known to history.

The Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa :

The Rēcerla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, Padma Velamas by caste, served the Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal from the time of Gaṇapatiḍēva, as commanders and vassals, and rose to distinction and power. Their history however virtually begins in the post-Kākatīya period from the time of Anavōta I, son of Siṅgama Nāyaka I. Though his father laid the foundations of their power by his conquests to the south of Rājukoṇḍa or Rājacala, it was only his son Anavōta, the real architect who built the edifice of the Rēcerla kingdom. Rājukoṇḍa, one of the important towns in the Rēcerla territory until his time, became his capital. Anavōta made it impregnable by the construction of fort walls, ramparts, tanks and wells⁸. He came to the throne in Śaka 1283 (1361 A.D.) and ruled till about Śaka 1306 (1384 A.D.). After slaying Kāpaya Nāyaka in the battle of Bhīmavaram he took possession of the Waraṅgal kingdom and became the sole ruler of the whole of Teliṅgānā. He was ruling the forts of Waraṅgal, Bhōnagir, Rājukoṇḍa and others in the Telugu country by Śaka 1291 (July 1369 A.D.), the date of his Ainavōlu inscription. From his time Waraṅgal was reduced to a secondary position.

Anavōta Nāyaka I, stationed at Dēvarakoṇḍa his brother Māda Nāyaka who ruled the territory around it with its dependencies. Since that time Dēvarakoṇḍa became the capital of the descendants of Māda Nāyaka in the same way as Rājukoṇḍa was that of the off-spring of his brother Anavōta I. The Kingdom of Dēvarakoṇḍa was subordinate to, and formed only an integral part of the Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa. Though the chiefs of the collateral lines acted independently in their respective dominions, they whole-heartedly co-operated with one another and worked together as one in the best interests of the united Rēcerla kingdom, in dealing with foreign powers and protecting the integrity of their state. The so-called partition of the Rēcerla kingdom, adverted to in the Annals of the Rēcerla chiefs, between Anavōta Nāyaka and Māda Nāyaka seems to be nothing but a convenient administrative arrangement and a territorial adjustment between the brothers which contributed to the strength and not to the weakness of the Rēcerla kingdom as a whole.

It is interesting to note that the Bahmanī Sultans of Gulbarga did not invade the kingdom of Teliṅgānā even once after it passed into the hands of the Rēcerla kings. It might be that the chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa were actually in alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan against Kāpaya Nāyaka

8. Inscriptions recording construction of these works by Anavōta are given in Appendices nos. 6, 7 and 8 to Vv. Cr., (Vide pp. 27-29) ;
Forgotten chapter, p. 95.

and that, on the death of the latter in the battle of Bhūnavaram, the former ratified their conquest of the waraṅgal kingdom, subject to their adherence to the terms of his former treaty concluded with Kāpaya Nāyaka. This was probably the reason for the friendly attitude of the Bahmanī Sultans towards the Rēcerla rulers of Rājukoṇḍa. Anavōta I and his successors were very loyal to the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga and assisted them in their campaigns even against their Hindu compatriots. The Bahmanī Sultāns, in their turn, rendered assistance to the Rēcerla kings when their territory was overrun by their Hindu adversaries. For little over a half of a century from the time of Anavōtā Nāyaka I the political relations between these two neighbouring states, the Hindu and the Muslim, were very cordial.

Virtually, from the inception of the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom the Rēcerla kings were at war with their neighbouring Hindu powers of Vijayanagar and Koṇḍaviḍu in the south and south-east respectively. The river Kṛṣṇā separated the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom from both the Vijayanagar and Koṇḍaviḍu kingdoms.

Anavōta I and Māda I were succeeded by their sons Siṅga Nāyaka II and Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu respectively. Siṅga II (cir. 1384 to cir. 1399 A.D.), Kumāra Siṅga as he was also called, was a great Sanskrit Scholar and a great patron of letters. During his reign Peda Vēdagiri, his cousin and contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa, afforded asylum to the Ēruva chief, Annadēva Cōḍa who was dispossessed of his principality in the coastal region by the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. This factor further embittered and complicated the relations between the Rēcerla chiefs and the Redḍi kings, and turned the enmity between the two rival houses into a family feud, which continued with unabated vigour until the end of the Redḍi rule.

Siṅga II was succeeded by his son Anavōta II, also called Kumārānnavōta (cir. 1399 A.D. to cir. 1425 A.D.). Kumāra Māda Nāyaka, son of Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu was his contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa. Closely following in the foot-steps of their fathers both these rulers adopted the same policy of hostility with their Redḍi contemporaries. Anavōta II however deviated from the traditional policy of loyal subordination to the neighbouring Muslim state and joined the Vijayanagar forces when Pānugal near Nallagoṇḍa was besieged by Sultān Firūz Shāh in 1417 A.D.. The Rēcerla kings were however unable to maintain this policy of friendship and co-operation with their Hindu ally of Vijayanagar consistently in later times, owing to persistent invasions of their territory by Firūz Shāh's brother and successor. Ahmad Shāh I who ruled the Bhamanī kingdom from Bidar, the capital which he had built newly.

Kumāra Anavōṭa's son Sarvajña Siṅgama Nāyaka III (Cir. 1425 A.D. to cir. 1475 A.D.) and Liṅgama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Mādā Nāyaka who inherited their respective kingdoms after the death of their fathers, often swerved in their loyalty to the Sultāns of Bīdar and joined hands occasionally either with the kings of Vijayanagar or with the powerful king Kapilēśwara, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty of Cuttack who newly established his power in Saka 1538 / 1435-36 A.D., after the fall of the Eastern Gāṅga line of Kāliṅga.

Liṅgama Nēḍu, the last powerful ruler of Dēvarakoṇḍa is credited to have led incursions into the Reḍḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram even from his twelfth year and carried the rivalry between both the houses to logical conclusion, until the subversion of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram which outlived Koṇḍaviḍu for about a quarter of a century.

It was during the closing years of the reign of Ahmad Shāh I that the Rēcerla chiefs lost Waraṅgal and Rājukoṇḍa. Liṅgama Nēḍu struggled hard in vain to recover the lost possessions of the Rēcerlas. Rājukoṇḍa waned as a power and sank into oblivion amidst the din of strife and struggle.

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar :

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was in fact the re-formed and enlarged edition of the sate of Kāṁpili, and came into existence during the momentous period of the Hindu re-conquest of Waraṅgal.

The Muslim convert-captive Harihara Dēvarāya was released from prison along with his brothers and appointed governor of Kāṁpili by Sultān Muḥamad bin Tughlaq. to crush the rebellion of the Hindus against the Muslim governor stationed there, to recover the lost territory of the kingdom of Kāṁpili, and to re-establish law and order in the country. Though Harihara succeeded partially in fulfilling his mission he was yet opposed by the neighbouring rulers and did not inspire confidence even in his own subjects, the Hindus of the kingdom. He struggled hard to make himself popular in the country, and soon followed the example of Kāpaya Nāyaka. Apostatising from *Islām* he won the favour and confidence of the sage Vidyāranya of the Pāṁpā Virūpākṣatīrtha, and defying the authority of the Emperor, asserted his independence.

With the guidance and help of Vidyāranya, and with the close collaboration of his brothers Kāṁpa I, Bukka I, Mārāpa and Muddapa who, implicitly obeying him, carried out his commands. Harihara Dēvarāya set himself to subdue the neighbouring states and extend his

authority. The old state of Kāmpili was thus transformed into the mighty Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar under the spell of Vidyāraṇya, the friend, guide and philosopher of the first three rulers of Vijayanagar, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II, and was re-fashioned into a bulwark of Hinduism under the able guidance of that sage.

Harihara I had his capital first at Ānegondi and then at Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tūṅgabhdra which was built in commemoration of the victory won and in the name of his guru Vidyāraṇya. Harihara I rallied the Hindus under his banner and created a powerful Hindu state to safe-guard the Hindu interests and to counteract the spread of *Islām*.

Within a few years after the birth of Vijayanagar in about 1336-37 A. D. (Saka 1258) Harihara I and his brothers by their united effort were successful in making it a power to reckon with, and extended their authority far and wide, from the eastern to the western seas. By taking on itself the onerous task of protecting the Hindu *dharma* and by spreading the new message of unity among the Hindus irrespective of their sectarian differences, in order to defy and check the Muslim advance, the new kingdom of Vijayanagar rapidly grew into a formidable power, which attracted to its bosom and nurtured in it all the scattered and dissipated forces of Hinduism. Vijayanagar soon became the symbol of Hinduism and the citadel of Hindu culture and stoutly resisted the onslaughts of the aggressive *Islām* and arrested its southward march.

Within a decade after the foundation of Vijayanagar, Udayagiri in the Kāvali taluk of Nellore district became its chief fortress in the east. It was constituted into a separate province called Udayagiri Rājya, attaching to it all the territory which the kings of Vijayanagar conquered in the east. Udayagiri was thus from almost the beginning of the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu, a strong military base of the Vijayanagar rulers, from which they carried on their operations into enemy's territory with ease and facility. The fortress of Udayagiri thus became a constant menace to the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu ever threatening its very existence. It was during the reigns of Bukka's son Harihara II (1377 A. D., to 1404 A. D.) and his son Dēvarāya I (1406 A. D., to 1422 A. D.) that the Vijayanagar kingdom expanded in all directions in leaps and bounds. King Dēvarāya's foreign policy successfully crippled the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar became also the target of attack by the Bahmanī Sultāns who tried their might in vain to reduce it to vassalage. They were however successful in annexing much of the

territory lying between the rivers Tungabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, even from the time of Harihara I. Though the successors of Harihara I extended their power over the whole of the South Indian peninsula and even over Ceylon and were thus amply recompensated for their loss of territory in the north, they did not keep quiet without attempting to recover the doab region. Thus, from almost the beginning of their rule the doab region between the river Tungabhadra and the Kṛṣṇa became the bone of contention between the two powers, the Bahamani Sultans of Gulbarga and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. Many a deadly battle was fought with equal tenacity on either side between the Muslims and the Hindus, during the next two centuries and a quarter, battles which measured their depth of unity, their strength of organisation, their capacity of statesmanship, their ardour of faith and intensity of purpose.

The Koppula Chiefs:

The existence of this minor dynasty of feudatory chiefs, Virasāmantas as they were called, is revealed to us for the first time from the Dōnepūṇḍi grant⁸ of Nāmaya Nāyaka dated in Śaka 1259. This grant informs us that these chiefs established their sway over the region to the north of the Gōdāvarī, and that their territory, known as Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala comprising a portion of the Andhra country, extended from the banks of the Gōdāvarī in the south to Kaṭiṅga in the north. Pithāpuri, the modern Pithāpuram in East Godavari district, was their capital. What little we know of this family is derived from the grant referred to above and a few lithic records at Simhachalam in Vizagpatam district.

The first member of this family referred to in the Dōnepūṇḍi grant is Kāpaya Nāyaka. His son Prōlaya Nāyaka had, by Cōdamānībā, a son named Nāmaya Nāyaka who had the title of *pagameccuganḍa*, the hero admired by his adversaries. He ruled the country "nourished by the river Ēla". This river, now popularly called Ēlōru, runs through the Yellavaram and Pithapuram divisions and the Peddapuram taluk of East Godavari district. Nāmaya granted the village of Dōnepūṇḍi, after re-naming it Prōlōram (corruption of the name of Prōlavaram) after his father, as an *agrahāra* to a brahman, named Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who was well-versed in Vēdic lore and Praśnaṣṭaka. The Dōnepūṇḍi grant does not furnish any more information about the history of this family⁹.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. pp. 356 ff.

9. The Mallōśvara Svamin temple at Bezvada contains an inscription (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 765) dated in Śaka 1189 registering the gift of a lamp to god Mallōśvara by *Pagameccuganḍa* Koṁppula (not Koppula) Prōli Nāyaka, Muppa Sani, Dodḍa Dēvara and Nagann Bōyuḍu for the merit of their grand-father, Goppa Maḍeḍḍi (? Koppula Maḍeḍḍi), of their father, Nare Bōyuḍu, of their mother, Kāma Sani, and of their elder brothers Kornupāṇi Erapōti Nāyaka and Poṁkena Mar Neḍu. The family name (Koṁppula) despite its slight variation and the title, *pagameccuganḍa* point to the fact that this might be an early record of the Koppula family; The chiefs of this Bezvada record seem therefore to have been the ancestors of Nāmaya Nāyaka of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant (Vide, my article, Koppula chiefs in J.A.H.C., Vol. I, pp. 42-47 ff.).

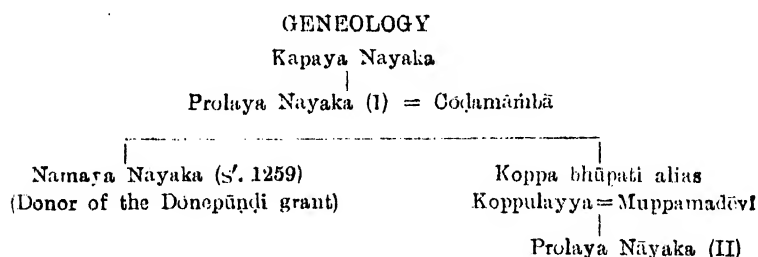
There are some more records of the Koppula chiefs at Simhachalam to be taken into account; one¹⁰ of them damaged and undated, furnishes the ancestry of the Koppula chiefs for four generations beginning with Kapaya Nayaka. Kapa's son was Prō'a I. His son was Koppula Nāyaka or Koppulayya. He had a son named Prōlaya Nāyaka II. The record then refers to the wife of some one, most probably of Prōlaya Nāyaka II himself, who is compared to the wives of Madhudviṭ (Viṣṇu) and Mahāśvara. Unfortunately the record is damaged here and the last portion of the inscription is lost. As such, her actual name is unknown. Kapa of this record seems to be identical with his namesake, the grandfather of Nāmaya Nāyaka.

Another record¹¹ registers the grant of Adulāpalli (Amdulāpalli) for '*piṇameccugandabhoga*' by Muppamadēvi, wife of Koppulayya in the Śaka year 1310 (1388 A. D.)¹²

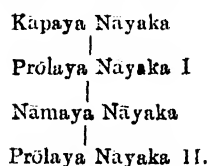
10. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 822.

11. Ibid., No. 823.

12. The genealogy of the Koppula chiefs may be formulated as shown below with the aid of their records, referred to above.



It is possible to interpret the term Nama in the passage "Koppula Nama Bhūpala" (S.I.I., VI, 822, l. 3) as a proper name. In that case the genealogy of the family has to be modified as follows :



But it is not possible to fix the place of Koppulayya, husband of Muppamadēvi in the genealogy as his relationship with the other known members of the family is not known. Similarly, the position of two other members of the family, namely Kapi Nayaka and Nama Bhūpala mentioned in two other Simhachalam records dated Śaka 1282 (S.I.I., VI, 821) and Śaka 1291 (ibid., 924) respectively, is also uncertain.

It seems likely that Kāpaya Nāyaka¹³ was the first member of the Koppula family to hold office of Nāyaka (*āyokatana*) under the Kakatiyas. His son Prōla I, probably a contemporary of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, co-operated with him in liberating the coastal region of the Andhra country from the Muslims. Prōla's son, Nāmaya Nāyaka was the first independent and powerful ruler in this family who ruled the 'Andhra-khaṇḍa-maṇḍala'. If Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is taken to have extended over the Guddavādi viṣaya also, he should have ruled the entire region from the east coast up to the Yellavaram division in East Godavari district.

What became of the Koppula chiefs subsequent to Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is not known. Andulapalli, the village granted by Muppamadēvi, to God Simhadrinātha, is in the Sarvasiddhi taluk of Vizagapatam district. Hence, it is evident that the latter members of the Koppula family were obliged to move further north owing to the pressure from the neighbouring chiefs in the South. Koṭṭham in the Tuni division of East Godavari district appears to have been their capital. This town was known as "Koppulavāri Koṭṭham"¹⁴, Koṭṭham of the Koppula people even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. No records of Koppa Bhūpati or Koppulayya have so far come to light. We may not be far wrong in supposing that he lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century or about Śaka 1280. Granted a rule of twenty five years from Śaka 1259, the date of the Dōnepāṇḍi grant, Nāmaya Nāyaka's reign comes to a close in Śaka 1284 on the presumption that the grant was issued in the beginning of his reign. Who succeeded Nāmaya Nāyaka is still a problem.

Annadēva Cōḍa, a chieftain of the Cōḍa family credits his father Cōḍa Bhaktirāja with having defeated the Gajapati in the east in the battle at Pañcadhārla (in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam District) and of having crowned Koppulapati,¹⁵ probably identical with Koppa-

13. In No. 824 the first line, though damaged, suggests that Kapaya was the lord of the country of Gudravaṭi, surrounded by the Gautami and the Kṛṣṇa. Gudravaṭi seems to be the same as the ancient Gudrahara or Gudravara Viṣaya, and to have a close resemblance to Guddavaṭi or Guddavadi of the Eastern Calukya grants. Gudravara Viṣaya comprised the taluks of Bandar and Guḍivāḍa in the Kistna district and Guddavadi, of Rajole, Cocanada and Ramachandrapuram taluks in East Godavari district either partly or wholly. It is likely that Gudravaṭi and Gudravara were originally two districts whether combined or separate, and went by the name of Gudravara. In support of this conjecture the Pithapuram pillar inscription of the Velanāṭi chief Piṭṭhivis'vara may be cited. It refers to Gudravara-dvaya, two territorial divisions, named Gudravara (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 41, v. 18). See also J.A.H.C., Vol. I pp. 45-46).

14. S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 1184.

15. Ep., Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 141 ff;

J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, p. 188.

bhūpati or Koppulayya. Why the Gajapati waged war with Koppulapati and why Bhaktirāja espoused the latter's cause are problems to be solved by future research. Probably when the Koppula chiefs of the two collateral branches were fighting for the throne the Gajapati and Cōḍa Bhaktirāja interfered in their war of succession for political reasons and took opposite sides. This is however only a conjecture which may prove right or wrong.

After saka 1310 / 1388 A. D. We find no reference to the Koppula chiefs in any of the lithic or copper-plate records. It is probable that they later on lost their independence and were reduced to vassalage to the Konḍaviḍu kingdom

A late member of this family, named Valla Bhūpati of Koṭṭhāpuram (Koṭṭhām) is known from the Telugu work *Kājarājābhikṣukam*

16. కడురయ్య నేటికి కొలలో పల్లవశ్య
 సుప్రతిష్ఠితం డేవ కాల పాణి
 పాయలే డేటిపర్వంత వనవాటి
 మిండిరాయండు లక్ష్మీధరుండు
 నిండాను నేటికి నేడ కాలము నందు
 జలజాకిండ్ల డేవ పాగరంబు
 చురుకొందు నేటికి పార్వతి కేశవ
 సుప్రతిష్ఠించు నేడ ౫ పాణి తోట
 గుర్రపురంబున కేవల మురములగుచు
 కలసి గుండునుండు నేటికి నెరులు
 చురుకొందు పార్వతి కేశవ
 మాపురంబునట్టి కొల్లపరంబు.
 మూర్తి కేశవల మనకులు లేరాజు
 పాద కేశవల సోపానపంక్తి
 చురుకొందులయితే క్షీణితలం లేరాజు
 బాహు దండమునకు బాహుదండ
 భువనంబులేలు కన్వరగంధ యేరాజు
 లీలాకటాక్ష పాణి కేశవ
 రజనికాంత జయంత రతికాంత లేరాజు
 మాపరంబున బ్రతిరూపకంబు
 లతండు పుష్పలతలు కేశవరాజు
 రాజదేవేంద్ర రాజాధిరాజులంద
 గాయనోని జగన్మోక్షంబులగుద
 శాలి కొప్పల వల్లభు పాలమూలి.

written by Āṅgara Narasiṃhakavi¹⁶. Valla's connection, however, with the early members of the Koppula family,¹⁷ is not known.

The Principality of Kōrukōṇḍa:

The founders of this principality also were a line of Samantas, feudatory chiefs who became powerful during the period under review. Only two copper-plate records, one the Śrīraṅgaṃ plates¹⁸ of Mummaḍi Nāyaka dated Śaka 1280, and the other, the Akkalapūṇḍi grant¹⁹ of Siṅgaya Nāyaka dated Śaka 1290, and one or two lithic inscriptions of this family have, so far, been discovered, with the help of which the history of this family has to be re-constructed.

The copper-plate records mentioned above furnish the following information. In times of yore the Pallava emperor, Mukkaṇṭi brought with him two chiefs, Mañci and Koṇḍa from the banks of the Ganges. They founded in the Andhra country a town named Mañcikoṇḍa which subsequently became the gōtra²⁰ of their descendants. Kōśami Nāyaka or Kōśava Nāyaka born in that family, became the lord of the Teliṅga country (probably the tract of country around Mañcikoṇḍa). His son and successor was Gaṇapati Nāyaka. Kūna or Kūnaya Nāyaka was his son. He had three sons namely, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, Siṅgaya Nāyaka and Gannaya Nāyaka, of whom Mummaḍi, the eldest son was the most powerful. He conquered the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravaṭa, Ceṅgaṅa and others lying between the two main branches (the Vasiṣṭha and the Vṛddha Gaṇṭamī) of the Gōlāvarī or in their vicinity (*Gōlāvarīm = ubhaya tōṇam = īpūn'a dēśam* or "*prathī = dūhaya-Gōlāvara madhyapṛāṇēṣu*"). Mummaḍi Nāyaka assumed the burden of the kingdom in deference to the wishes of his father.

16. The title of Valla Bhūpala of the Koppula family, namely *paṭṭatāḷa, leḷadīraya, gaṇḍagōḷa* and *jaṇanobbaṅgaṇḍa* which were commonly borne by the Velama and the Redḍi kings, and the absence in the work of any reference to any Telugu poet later than Srinatha unmistakably point to the fact that Nṛsiṃhakavi and his patron lived at the far end of the Redḍi Period.

Sri M. Ramakrishnakavi M. A., states in his introduction to his *Prabandhamāñi-bhūṣaṇam*, an anthology of Telugu verse, that Narasiṃhakavi lived about 1500 A. D., and that his patron Valla Bhupati was the fifth in descent from Namaya Nāyaka of the Dōnepūḍi grant.

17. There is a community of Sūdras called Koppula Velamas in Vizagapatam district. It is not known if these Koppula chiefs belong to this community. At any rate, there is nothing to show, that these were Redḍis as some scholars think.

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 83 ff.

19. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 259 ff. For the date of this grant see *Forgotten Chapter*, p. 97, f.n. 46.

20. The Rēcerla gōtra of the rulers of Rājukoṇḍa. Mañcikoṇḍa should be somewhere in the Eastern Teliṅgaṇā.

though at first he was unwilling to do so. He married the niece of Kapaya Nayaka, who was given the title of 'Andhra Suratrāṇa' in the Akkalapūṇḍi grant. Mummaḍi Nayaka had his capital at Kōṅkūṇḍa, not far from Rājamahēndravaram. He appointed his two brothers, Siṅgaya Nayaka and Gannaya Nayaka at Kōṭipuri²¹ and at Taḍipāka (Taṭipāka in the Rājōle taluk, East Godavari district). Siṅgaya Nayaka who had the title "Gaṇḍagōpāla" fixed his capital at Mummaḍivīḍu on the banks of the river, Pāṃpā.

The Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka record the re-granting of the village of Kōṭṭāḷḷapaṅṅu to Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam by the mother of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara,²² the original recipient of the village from Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Siṅgaya Nāyaka's grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi to Parahita-Paṇḍita who was well versed in Āyurvēda is registered in the Akkalapūṇḍi record.

Besides these two copper-plate grants there is another stone record²³ of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Śaka 1275. inscribed on a pillar set up in the court-yard of the Lakṣmīnarasiṃhasvāmin temple on the hill at Kōṅkūṇḍa. This inscription referring to the foundation of the temple of Narasiṃhasvāmin who was believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, records Mummaḍi's gift of lands and villages to that temple. From these inscriptions we come to know that the Kōṅkūṇḍa chiefs rose to power only after the downfall of the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal.

Kōśami Nāyaka and his son, Gaṇapati Nāyaka were probably some chiefs of note during the last days of the Kākatiya rule. The Kōṅkūṇḍa record refers to Kōśami Nāyaka's victory over the Pāṇḍyas²⁴, probably during the southern campaign of the last Kākatiya monarch,

21. Some historians like Chilukūri Virabhadra Rao took this "Kōṭṭāṇṇipuri" to be the Kōṭṭām in the Tuni division of East Godavari district (An. Cr., III, p. 123). This identification is untenable. Kōṭṭām was the capital of the Koppala chiefs, who were contemporaries of Mummaḍi Nāyaka and Siṅgaya Nāyaka. Koti may be Kōṭipalli in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari District. Mummaḍivīḍu (probably modern Mummiḍivaram in the Amalapuram taluk, East Godavari district) is not very far from Kōṭipuri (Kōṭipalli) in the same district.

22. About Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, see the chapter on Religion in Part II of this work.

23. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912.

The kaifiyat of Kr states that 'dēvadāśī Lakṣmī got representations of war scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, of the daśāvatāra of God Viṣṇu and of Aṣṭa dikpālas, lords of the eight quarters sculptured on the black stone walls of the Vimān of the temple of Nṛsiṃha and that Mummaḍi Nāyaka presented the Cakrapāṇa on the temple. The hill on which the temple was built is called Parāśara Śaīla, since god Narasiṃha is believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara.

24. The passage describing Kes'ami Nāyaka begins thus "Vijitya yah Paṇḍyam-abandhi....." etc.,

Pratāparudra. Kūnaya Nāyaka, son of Gaṇapati Nāyaka was a contemporary of the Musunūri chiefs, Prōla and Kāpa. He got his son, Mummaḍi Nāyaka married to the niece (sister's daughter) of Andhra Suratrāṇi Kāpaya Nāyaka, unmistakably of the Musunūri family. This alliance with Kāpaya Nāyaka enhanced the prestige of Kūnaya Nāyaka's family and raised his status among the Vīrasāmantas of his age. Kūnaya Nāyaka probably helped Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin Anavōta in the administration of the coastal region. It is likely that Kūnavaram in the Bhadrachalam taluk of East Godavari district, situated at the confluence of the Sābarī with the Gōḍāvarī was founded, by Kūnaya Nāyaka after his own name. If this is taken to be true it indicates in a way the extent of territory over which Kūnaya exercised his Sway.

It is probable that Anavōta of the Musunūri family died sometime before Saka 1275/1353 A. D., without leaving any heir to the throne of Rājamahēndravaram. In these circumstances Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have assumed the reins of government in deference to the wishes of his father about Saka 1275. Thus came into existence the kingdom of Kōṅgukonḍa, once served as a military outpost to keep in check the wild people living in the mountainous region in the north from incursions into the fertile plain below. Probably during the reign of Mummaḍi Nāyaka it was converted into a strong and formidable fortress on the north bank of the Gōḍāvarī.

From the statements in the Kōṅgukonḍa epigraph and the Śrīraṅgaṁ grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka we are led to believe that with the death of Toyvōṭi Anavōta, the region between Rājamahēndravaram and the sea on either side of the Gōḍāvarī was lost to the Musunūri Chiefs, and that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, as their representative by virtue of his ties of relationship with Kāpaya Nāyaka, conquered most of this region afresh. He is said to have brought under his subjection the kingdoms of Pānāra, Kōṇa, Kuravaṭa, Ceṅgaṇa and others lying on either side of the Gōḍāvarī. It is, thus, evident that the kingdom of Mummaḍi Nāyaka was contiguous, in the north, with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs. The countries conquered by Mummaḍi Nāyaka can be identified and located.

Pānāra: The term Pānāra is a popular but corrupt form of Pāvunavāra, Pāgunavāra or Pāguṇāra, the ancient name of the country between the Vasiṣṭha branch of the Gōḍāvarī and the river Guḷantani, popularly called Gōṣṭani nadi that runs through the Bhīmavaram and Tanuku taluks of West Godavari district. This territorial division finds mention as Pāvunavāra and Pāgunavāra in the

records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī. It thus comprises the modern taluks of Narasāpuram, Bhīmavaram and a portion, if not all, of Tanuku in West Godavari District²⁵.

Kōṇa : The country of Kōṇa was also called 'Reṇḍēṅṅula naḍimi-
viṣaya', that is, the region between the Vasistha and the Vṛddha
Gantamī, the two main branches of the Gōdavarī. It was the hereditary
kingdom of the Haihayas, the descendants of Kārtavīryarjuna.
Mummaḍi Bhīma, the first member known so far of this Haihaya royal
line received, in the middle of the eleventh century, the insignia of
royalty from Rajēndra Cōḍa, otherwise known as Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I.
Since that time the Haihayas were the rulers of that fertile
Kōṇa country for nearly more than two centuries. Throughout the
period of their rule they were destined to be subordinate to the
sovereign power of the country, either of the Eastern Cālukyas of
Vēṅgī, or of the Kakatiyas of Waraṅgal or of some other power. After
the deliverance of the Coastal region from the Muslim yoke it is
probable that they were subordinate to the Musunūri chiefs who exten-
ded their power even over the Kōṇa country as is evident from the new
vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka.

Subsequent to Śaka 1222 the records of the Haihayas are
very rare. Only three records, two²⁶ of Kōṇa Bhīmavallabha of Śaka
1240 and Śaka 1286 and two²⁷ of Kōṇa Cōḍa, have so far come to light.
Cōḍa's inscription is found in Kaḷiṅga, and Bhīmavallabha's in the
Pāṇāra country. As this chief was a contemporary of Mummaḍi it is
likely that he was defeated and brought under subjection by the latter,
if his talk of conquest of Kōṇa and Pāṇāra countries is not a mere boast.
Kōṇa Bhīmavallabha's connection with the main ruling line of the
Haihaya chiefs is not yet known.

Kurāṇṇa : This country is probably identical with the region
around Kuravaṇa, modern Kūraḍa in the Cocanada taluk of East
Godavari District.

Cēṅṅur : This may be the region known as Cēṅga Nāṇḍu that
finds mention in an inscription²⁸ at Bhīmavaram in East Godavari
District. The correct name appears to be Cēṅṅuru Nāṇḍu, of which
Cēṅga Nāṇḍu and Cēṅṅa are incorrect but popular forms. The village
of Marriṇḍi, said to have been situated in this Nāṇḍu or territorial
division, may be in one of the agency taluks of the Godavari District
bordering on the Gōdāvarī.

25. *Bharati*, Vol. XXIII (1916, May issue), pp. 479-481.

26. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 128; *Ibid*, No. 156.

27. *Ibid*, No. VI, No. 657.

Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 672.

28. *Ibid*, No. 43 "Cēṅganāṇṇi sthānamulosa(ni) Marriṇḍi".

The latest limit of Mummaḍi Nāyaka's reign is difficult to fix. At Siṃhāchalam there are three inscriptions²⁹ of a chief, named Maṅgi-pūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka, dated Śaka 1286, 1304 and 1310. He was, most probably, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, son of Kūṇaya Nāyaka of Kōṅṇakonḍa. The record dated Śaka 1304 mentions Siṅgaya Nāyaka as his brother besides his wife Śrīraṅgalakṣmī.

The correctness of this identification is borne out by another piece of evidence. A copper-plate grant³⁰ of Kāṭaya Vēma, prime minister of Komaragiri Redḍi register in Śaka 1317 the grant of the village of Gōpavaram in the vicinity of Rājamahēndravaram to God, Gōṣinātha. This record informs us that the original name of this village was Taḍukalēṅṇu and that it was formerly granted as an *agrahāra* to brāhmins by Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Kāṭaya Vēma purchased and re-named it Gōpavaram before granting it to the god. The only ruler bearing that name that held sway over this region before the rule of Komaragiri Redḍi was the Kōṅṇakonḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Hence, Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka referred to in Kāṭaya Vēma's record mentioned above, was no other than Mummaḍi Nāyaka, brother of Siṅgaya Nāyaka. On the basis of this identity Mummaḍi Nāyaka may be said to have lived till Śaka 1310 or 1388 A.D.

The record dated Śaka 1286 at Siṃhāchalam gives us to understand that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, a Vaiṣṇavite by religion was the disciple of Kandāḍa Aiyarṅgār, probably a member of the well-known Kandāḍai family. It is likely that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, subsequent to the death of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, became the disciple of the Kandāḍais.

These chiefs were later on, reduced to submission by the Redḍi kings of Koṅḍaviḍu.

The Kaiḥiyat of Kōṅṇakonḍa informs us that Mummaḍi Nāyaka had three sons, Kūṇa II, Anna and Kāṭama, and that the period of their rule was forty years.³¹ The Kōṅṇakonḍa record of Mummaḍi Nāyaka

29. Ibid. Vol. VI. No. 841 of Śaka 1286, no. 1084 of Śaka 1304, no. 1090 of Śaka 1310. Maṅgipūṇḍi, the surname of Mummaḍi Nāyaka in no. 841 is evidently a wrong reading. It has to be corrected to Maṅgipūṇḍi. Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have assumed the title of Śrīraṅgavaradhana (Śrīraṅgavaradhanat - prāptam Mummaḍi Nāyaka - namu = vyam) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 94, v. 52) after he became the disciple of Parāśarabhaṭṭa.

30. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 211, Gopavaram grant of Kāṭaya Vēma, v. 28. "Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍiṇḍrādattam Taḍukalēṅṇu khyatam....."

31. The Kaiḥiyat says that the three sons of Mummaḍi ruled for forty years, and that Siṃhadri Sēṭṭi and Vobili Sēṭṭi who acted as regents to Kūṇa (II) son of Mummaḍi II while he was a boy, made some gifts to the temple in Śaka 1317 (Kf. Kr., p.p. 5-10). The kaiḥiyat thereafter adverts to the rule of Kāṭaya Vēma Redḍi, prime minister of king Komaragiri. Hence the kingdom of Kōṅṇakonḍa may be said to have passed into the hands of the Redḍi kings prior to the time of Komaragiri.

bears evidence to the truth of the statement regarding his offspring. It is specially interesting to note that the name of one of Mummaḍi's sons was Annavēma, Arna of the kaifiyat. Records of the sons of Mummaḍi Nāyaka have not yet come to light. There is, however, an undated and damaged record of one Kūna Bhūpāla, probably son of Mummaḍi Nāyaka at Penukoṇḍa in the Tanuku taluk of West Godavari District. The kingdom of Kōṅṛukoṇḍa, ultimately, became merged in the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga :

From almost the beginning of the sixth century A. D., Kaḷiṅga which extended from the river Mahanadi to at least Piṭhāpuram in East Godavari district, was ruled by the kings of the Gāṅga dynasty, known in history as the Eastern Gāṅgas. The Eastern Gāṅgas inaugurated an era of their own (known as the Gāṅga era) to mark the beginning of their rule in the Kaḷiṅga country about the first decade of the sixth century. For nearly six centuries the Eastern Gāṅga kings used to date their copper-plate records in the Gāṅga era. The latest grant to be dated in this era is that of Madhukāṁārṇava, son of Vajrahasta II. He issued his charter in the 528th year of their family era. Mudhukāṁārṇava's successors Vajrahasta (III) who ascended the throne in Śaka 960/1038 A. D., abandoned that custom and dated his grants in the Śaka years. His reign marks the beginning of a new era in the rule of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga. Vajrahasta's predecessors on the Gāṅga throne are generally termed as the Early Gāṅga kings and his successors as the later Gāṅgas. Kaḷiganagara (the modern Mukhaliṅgam) on the river Vamśadharā was the capital of the Gāṅga kings.

Of the descendants of Vajrahasta III his grandson Anantavarman Cōḍa Gaṅga, a very powerful ruler conquered the country of Utkal or Orissa and extended his authority as far as the confines of Bengal. With the extension of their authority over Orissa the Gāṅga monarchs came into conflict with their neighbouring Muslim rulers of Gaur or Lakhnauti. The first clash between the Gāṅga rulers and the Sultāns of Bengal occurred in the reign of Anaṅga Bhīma's son Rāja Rāja III who ruled from 1197 to 1213 A. D. The descendants of Rāja Rāja III bore the brunt of the Muslim invasions from Bengal. From the middle of the thirteenth century the Gāṅga monarchs used to assume the names of Narasiṁhadēva and Bhānudēva alternately. Narasiṁhadēva III who ascended the throne of Kaḷiṅga after his father Bhānudēva II in 1326-27 A.D. and his successors, Bhānudēva III (1351-52 to 1377-78 A.D.), Narasiṁha IV (1377-78 to 1409 A. D.), and Bhānudēva IV (1409 A.D. to 1434-35 A. D.) were contemporaneous with the Redḍi kings

of Koṇḍaviṣṭu and of Rajamahēndravaram. These Gāṅga monarchs, also called Gajapatis, carried on predatory raids into their territory often particularly during the period of internal troubles in their kingdom. The region of Kāliṅga is generally called the Eastern quarter in common parlance.

In the early years of the second quarter of the fifteenth century the Gāṅga dynasty which had held uninterrupted and unbroken sway over the Kāliṅga country for more than nine centuries, came to an end and was succeeded by the kṣatriyas of the solar race, a new dynasty recognised as the Gajapatis of Oriṣṣa, which is different from the line of the Gāṅgās of the lunar race who also had a like-title. Kapilēndra, the founder of this dynasty ascended the throne in Śaka 1357-58 / 1435-36 A. D., and made Cuttack in Puri district of Oriṣṣa his Capital.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHRONOLOGY of THE REDDI KINGS of KONDAVIDU

The chronology of the Reddi kings of Konḍaviḍu is not yet satisfactorily settled. It is difficult to ascertain the initial year of the independent rule of Prōlaya Vēma alias Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom and the last year of rule of the last Reddi monarch, Raca Vēma.

We come to know from the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* that six kings in all of the Reddi dynasty ruled at Konḍaviḍu. The *kaṣṣiyat* and the *daṇḍakavile* of Konḍaviḍu which trace the history of the place, furnish not only the reign-periods of different kings but also the total duration of the Reddi rule. The reign of Prōlaya Vēma, according to these works, began in Śaka 1242 corresponding to 1320 A. D. This is corroborated by several *kaṣṣiyats* in the Mackenzie collection, which assign that year to the end of the Kakatiya as well as to the beginning of the Reddi rule. Though this date was accepted as the initial year of the Reddi rule by several scholars¹ specially of the previous generation, no serious attempt worth the name has been made till recently to investigate the problem of Reddi chronology and establish it on a sound basis. The periods of rule assigned to different Reddi kings both by the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* tally with those furnished by a *cūṭu verse*²

1. The late K. Viresalingam Pantulu, author of the *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, J. Ramayya Pantulu and K. V. Lakshmanarao - all accepted the date 1320 A. D. as the date of the initial year of Vēma's reign for want of specific data to start with and made it the sheet anchor of the Reddi chronology.

2. పాలయ వేమన్న పాల పారం బంధించెడు

వర్షరంబులు గాచె వసుధ యెల్ల

అటవేమన్న ముప్పది యనవోరి వేమన్న

వన్నె వాసికేసెక్కి వసుధ యేలె

ధర్మాత్ముడనవేమ ధరిచేకకట్రుండు

పడియునేనిట భూమి పడిలపటిచె

ప్రజల నుబ్బవముగఁ బరునాచ నీడులు

కొమగ్గి శేలేమ నమయుదాకి

ఏలెఁ గొమటివేమన యరువదోడ్డు

రాచవేమన్న నాల్గవర్షముల శేలే

మించి కట్టిరి గృహరాజుమేడ కొండ

నీట నా రెండు రెండు భూమిని నాచు.

which has been current in the Andhra country for the past many generations. According to this verse, the duration of rule of each of the Redḍi kings that sat on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu is as follows:-

1. Prōlaya ³ Vēma	ruled for	12 years
2. Anavōtu Vēma ⁴	„ „	30 „
3. Anavēma	„ „	15 „
4. Komaragiri	„ „	14 „
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	„ „	20 „
6. Rāca Vēma	„ „	4 „
Total rule		95 years.

Different versions of the *cāṭu* verse mentioned above are current in the country and they agree with one another in all details except the periods of rule of Anavēma and Kōmaṭi Vēma, the third and fifth rulers who are assigned a period of fifteen or seventeen years, and twenty, twenty five or twenty seven years respectively. It is not possible to understand how this discrepancy arose. In this connection it has to be pointed out that the periods of rule of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu indicated by this verse are not confirmed by the records of the Redḍi kings discovered till now, as will be shown later on. Hence, this verse may be dismissed out of our consideration.

Let us now proceed to fix first the upper and lower limits of the Redḍi chronology within which the dates of different kings have to be accommodated. No doubt, the tradition preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*, as stated already, assigns the commencement of the Redḍi rule to Śaka 1242 or 1320 A. D., a date which cannot be freely accepted as it is not quite in agreement with the available data. The latest date for Kakati Prataparudra is furnished by a damaged

3. The name of each Redḍi king has two or more variants. Prōlaya was also called Prōla Redḍi. Similarly, we have the alternative forms-Vēma Redḍi, Vēmaya and Vemana; Komaragiri, and Kumaragiri; Kāṭaya and Kāṭi Redḍi; Allaya and Allāḍa Redḍi; Viraya, Virabhadraya, Virū Redḍi and Virabhadra Redḍi and so on. Prōlaya Vēma bore the names Kōmaṭi Vēma and Anavēma also. Among the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu there were four kings who had the name of Vēma, namely, Prōlaya Vēma or Anavēma (Vēma I), his son Anavēma (Vēma II), Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (Vēma III) and his son Rāca Vēma (Vēma IV). Because many of these kings had the name Vēma they are generally called Vēma Redḍis in common parlance.

4. The *cāṭu* verse refers to Prōlaya Vēma's son, Anavōta as Anavōtu Vēma. This finds corroboration from Anavēma's (Vēma II) Dakṣharani record (S. I, I, Vol. IV, No. 1380) wherein Anavōta is referred to as Anavōtu Vēma. It must however be pointed out that this usage was very rare and he was better known as Anavōta Redḍi or Anavōtaya. Consequently Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was also called Mūmmaḍi Vēma.

epigraph⁵ of Pedda Rudra, son of Muppidi Nayaka at Dākshāram, dated Śaka 1243, Durmati. Unfortunately the original which was in existence in the time of Col. Collin Mackenzie, is unfortunately lost.

Until the final overthrow of the Kākatiya power, which brought the whole of the Telugu country under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi, there was little chance for the birth of a new kingdom in the coastal region. The first expedition against Waraṅgal by Ulūgh Khān (the later Muhammad Bin Tughlaq) was undertaken in 1322 A. D., and the city was finally captured in 1323 A. D. The entire Telugu country was conquered along with the coastal region as evidenced by Ulūgh Khān's inscription⁶, dated in 1324 A. D., in the big mosque at Rājamahēndravaram. It is thus evident that at least until that date the coastal region was under the Muslim domination. Vēma's independent rule could not, therefore, have begun before Śaka 1246 or 1324 A. D., a date which may safely be accepted as the upper limit of the Reddi chronology. Adding the total period of rule of one hundred years of the Reddi kings assigned by tradition we get Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.) for the dismemberment of the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This is exactly the date of a record⁷ of the Vijayanagar ruler Dēvarāya II in the Reddi kingdom at Paiḍipadu in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, which states that his subordinate, Paṇṭa Mailāra Reddi made a fresh settlement regarding the *dēvabrāhṇaṇa vṛttis* of the village after inquiring into the custom formerly prevailing during the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi. This inscription suggests that, after the conquest of the Reddi kingdom by the kings of Vijayanagar, they made a fresh settlement in the villages regarding *dēvabrāhṇaṇa vṛttis*, after making an inquiry into the custom obtaining in the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu.

A still earlier date, Śaka 1344 for the Vijayanagar occupation, if not for the final overthrow of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, is furnished by a record of Dēvarāya I at Pottūru⁸ in Guntur district. If the cyclic year Śārvari in this inscription is taken into account, then it looks as if the Reddi rule had actually commenced in Śaka 1242/1320 A. D. But this could not have happened, for as stated already, the coastal Andhra country was under the domination of the Sultan of

5. J. O. R., Vol. XII, pp. 213 ff.

6. Ep. Ind. Mos. 1918-24, pp. 13 ff.

7. N. D. I, Vol. III, O, 104, pp. 1089 ff.

The reference to Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reddi (Vēma III) in this record indicates that Rāca Vēma's reign was both a short and insignificant one.

8. Ep. Coll. No. 125 of 1917.

The name of the village where the record is found is Pottūru and not Paṭūru as given in the Ep. Rep. The Śaka year 1344 corresponds to Śubhakṛt and not to Śārvari as given in the record. The Śaka year equivalent to the latter cyclic year was 1342.

Delhi until 1324 A. D. The pottūru record, no doubt, indicates that a major portion of the Redḍi territory passed into the hands of the Rayas of Vijayanagar by Śaka 1342 / 1420 A. D. ; but the conquest of the entire Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu was not completed, as will be shown later, until Śaka 1346, the date of the Paidipadu record referred to before. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Śaka 1242 or 1320 A.D., the traditional year for the starting point of the Redḍi chronology, given by the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* is wrong, and has, therefore, to be rejected.

The earliest Hindu records subsequent to the Muslim conquest of the coastal region are the Mallavaram⁸ and Santamaḡulūr⁹ inscriptions dated Śaka 1247 / 1325 A. D., and Śaka 1248 / 1326 A.D. The former refers to Kōmaṭi Vēma Redḍi (Vēma I), as the supreme ruler of the region around Addaṅki, whereas the latter refers to Kolani Rudradēva, a minister of the last Kākatiya monarch and to his gift for his master's merit in that year. These two records bear testimony to the reconquest of the coastal region and to the re-establishment of the Hindu supremacy about 1325-26 A.D. During the period from 1325 A.D. to 1332 A.D., the date of Prōlaya Vēma's second inscription¹⁰ at Nekarikallu in the Narasaraopeta taluk of Guṇṭūr district, none of his records has come to light. During this period he was probably busy in subduing the unruly chiefs in the neighbourhood of his territory and in laying the foundations of the Redḍi kingdom.

With these limits of the rule of Redḍi kings fixed, let us now try to settle their chronology. For this purpose we have to know first the earliest and the latest dates of each of the rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu as furnished by their inscriptions. The earliest extant record of Prōlaya Vēma is his Mallavaram inscription dated in Śaka 1247 referred to above. His Vēlpūru inscription furnishes the date Śaka 1272¹¹. The next in chronological order is the record¹² found at Maḡikōsvaram in the Ongole taluk, dated in Śaka 1275. This inscription registers the charities and the construction and consecration of temples by Mañcirāja, son of Rāmarāja, for the merit of his deceased elder brother, Mallinatha who

8. N. D. II., O. 73, pp. 1022 ff. ; The date of this record as given in Butterworth's *Inscriptions of the Nellore district* is wrong. See the discussion about this date in "*A forgotten Chapter*" p. 39, f. n. 7.

9. Ep. Coll. No. 308 of 1916; Ep. Rep. 1916, para 53.

10. Ep. Coll. No. 340 of 1915.

11. Ep. Coll. No. 599 of 1925. The gift recorded in this inscription was made in the cyclic year Vikṛti, on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭha. Śaka year is not given; but the cyclic year Vikṛti corresponds to Śaka 1272.

12. N. D. I., III, O. 78, p.p. 1037 ff.

is said to have obtained from Vēma 'the great glory of sovereignty' (*maṇolin = mahārājya-īriyam*) and to have been honoured by his son Anavōta also. This inscription refers, thus, to Prōlaya Vēma and his son, Anavōta, but does not explicitly mention the ruling monarch at that time. As inscriptions subsequent to Saka 1275 all belong to Anavōta, one of the two dates, Saka 1272¹³ or 1275, most probably the latter, must be the last date of Vēma. The provenance of the inscription¹⁴ of Anavōta Redḍi at Tripurantakam in Kurnool district dated as early as Saka 1268, does not go against this conclusion, because Anavōta, according to the Telugu work, *Hari vamsa* of Errā Peggada, was then the *Yuvarāja* or the heir apparent. This work states clearly that the *Yuvarāja* was the commander of the Redḍi forces and he assisted his father in the administration of the country.¹⁵ This makes it quite evident that Anavōta was ruling conjointly with his father. Saka 1275 (1353 A.D.) may therefore be accepted tentatively as Prōlaya Vēma's last year and his son and successor Anavōta's initial year of rule.

Anavōta's latest record is his Kollūru copper-plate grant.¹⁶ The original plates of this inscription are now lost. The text, however, is preserved in the *Local records* and Elliot's *Telugu inscriptions*. It records the grant of the village of Kollūru on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the brāhman scholar Ramēśvara yajva in Saka 1286, corresponding to the cyclic year Śōbhakṛt in the month of Māgha at the time of

13. A copper-plate grant from Koṇḍapalli in Kistna district, dated in Saka 1272 Bahudhānya in the reign of Anavēmā Redḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu is noticed in Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50 and in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* as well. It is C. P. No. 5 of 1925-26. This same grant was edited some years back by Mr. K. Virabhadresvararao garu in the *Telugu Journal Śārada* in 1925, May issue, pp. 88 ff. This is a spurious grant. The date is irregular. The Saka year 1272 corresponds to Vikṛti and not to Bahudhānya as given in the grant. The gift recorded in the grant was made on the occasion of a Solar eclipse on Sunday in the month of Māgha. There was no Solar eclipse either in the cyclic year Vikṛti or Bahudhānya.

14. Ep. Coll., No. 191 or 1905.

15. చిత్ర యువరాజు విధివో

స్మరణోరయి సైవ్య శాధ న మూర్ధసమి

హి సంతత సేవాని

సిత పుత్రశ్రీ సమృద్ధ శివగుణసిద్ధి! " Hr. Vm, II, ix.

16. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII pp. 210 ff; Elliot's *Telugu inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 206 ff. The date portion in the copy given in the Elliot's collection is lost. The copy preserved in this collection is incomplete. The fourth plate is missing.

ardhōdaya" puṇyakāla. The same record states in the end that Anavōta's brother, Anavēma also made a gift of land to the extent of fifty *kēsariṇpūti puttis* and added it to Kollūru.

The last year of rule of Anavōta and the initial year of rule of his successor Anavēma is not definitely known. From the Kollūru grant of Anavōta it is clear that he reigned till almost the end of that year as he made that grant in the month of Māgha. It is gratifying to note also that his brother, Anavēma figures as an additional donor in the Kollūru grant by making a gift of land measuring fifty *kēsariṇpūti puttis* in all, separating it from fields in the adjacent villages and adding it to Kollūru, the village granted.

Like the Kollūru grant of Anavōta the earliest and the latest inscriptions of his successor, Anavēma, are known only from the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and Elliot's inscriptions. His Kōru Tāḍiparṇu grant¹⁸ is one of Anavēma's earliest records. He is said to have granted Tāḍiparṇu, alias Kōru Tāḍiparṇu to the Vēdic scholar, Puruṣōttama

17. Loc. Rec., Vol. I vii pp 210-211, also see Vols. -III, pp. 184-196 ff; and VII, pp. 450 ff. The text is very faulty. The verse containing the date of the grant found in the copies in these volumes is as follows:

शायोऽं ऋतुदन्तिभास्करमिते श्रीशोभकृन्दसरे
माघेचोत्तममामि पुण्यदिवसे चार्धोदये पर्वणि
संदद्या दनवोत्तमगट्पूरवरं कोल्लूरु कृष्णातटे
श्रीगणेश्वरयज्वेदविदुषां भोगोष्टकैस्संयुतां ॥

The date of the Kolluru grant is irregular. Śaka date 1286 corresponds with Krodhi and not with Sobhakṛt or S'obhana. The verse giving the date of the grant is faulty. It says that the grant was made on the occasion of *ardhōdaya* in the month of Māgha. But according to the *Indian Ephemeris* *ardhōdaya* is the special *tithi* amavasya falling on a Sunday at the end of the month of Pauṣa and the beginning of the month of Māgha, coupled with the *nakṣatra S'raṇam* and the *yoga vyatipātā* (Vol. I, part i, p. 64 and p. 69). As the *tithi* amavasya in the Pauṣa month falls on Thursday and Wednesday in the Śaka years 1285 S'obhakṛt and 1286 Krodhi respectively it fails to satisfy the above-mentioned conditions. Hence there was no *ardhōdaya* parva in those two years. However, in both the Śaka years 1284 S'obhakṛt and 1287 Vis'vavasu Pauṣa amavasya falls on a Sunday; and the *nakṣatra* on that day happens also to be S'raṇam whether it is present at the sunrise or comes in the course of the day. I did not calculate to see if the *yoga* also was Vyatipātā. One of the above-mentioned two years must be the date of the Kolluru grant.

18. Mack. Mass., No. 15-4-44; The Kaiḥiyat of Tāḍiparṇu: Loc. Rec.; Vol. V, p. 86,

Sōmayājin of the Jammalamadaka family in Śaka 1286, Krōdhi. Unfortunately, the original plates of this grant were lost by the donee's descendants during the conquest and occupation of the coastal country by Ibrāhim Kutbsbāh, the sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa, after the battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍi. Similarly, there is yet another grant, the Koṛṇapāḍu plates of Anavēma dated in the same year Śaka 1286, Krōdhi. These plates register the grant of the village of Koṛṇapāḍu as an *agrahāra* to Sōmarājayya and Vīrabhadradēva, sons of a certain Sōmasēkhara-Mahāpātra on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. The original plates of this grant also were lost and like the Kōru Tāḍiparṇu grant it was only noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*¹⁹. Anavēma's latest inscription is his Manyamāpuram grant,²⁰ dated in Śaka 1304 Dumdubhi or 1382 A. D. Unlike the earlier grants a full text of this record is preserved in the Elliot's collection. After Śaka 1304 inscriptions of Anavēma have not been found till now.

There is no inscription of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu for nearly three years after the date of the Manyamāpuram record. The Anaparti grant²¹ of Komaragiri Redḍi, the successor of Anavēma dated in Śaka 1312 is the next known record of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. Within the period of Śaka 1304 and Śaka 1312 we have three inscriptions of Komaragiri's brother-in-law and prime-minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Of these his Pālakollu inscription²² is the earliest one. He makes a grant of land to god Kṣīrā Rāmēśvara in Śaka 1307 Krōdhana, on Monday on the first tithi in the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, i. e., on Monday, 21st August, 1385 A. D. In this record there is no mention of any of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, though the donor was given a string of titles, viz., Jaganobbagaṇḍa, Kōḷadirāya, Āneyamaṇḍalikaṛagaṇḍa, Appaya-Goppaya diśapaṭṭa, Ceñcumalacūrakāra, Rāyacē-kōlugagaṇḍa, Jagadagōpāla, Paṇḍyarāyagajasīmha, Saṁgrama - Dhananijaya, Pallvatrinayana, Pallavāditya and Jagarākṣapāla-titles that were commonly borne by the Redḍi nobles. There is nothing in this inscription to show that Kumāragiri was already on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu by that date. So, the Pālakollu inscription may be treated as a private record. The titles are there since Kāṭaya-Vēma was a noble of note connected with the royal family by marrying Anavota's daughter. The next record to be considered is Kāṭaya Vēma's Sīmḥācalam

19. Mack. Mass., No. 15-6-86. See the kalīḥyat of Koṛṇapāḍu, Somaśekhara Mahāpātra is said to have been a yajussākhādhyāyin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.

20. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I. pp. 270 ff.

21. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 191 ff.

22. S. I. I., V No. 155.

inscription,²³ dated, Saka 1308. Kāṭaya Vēma who is mentioned here as the *pradhāni* (prime minister) of Komaragiri Redḍi, makes a gift to god Simhādrinātha on Sunday, the seventh of the bright half of the month of Kārtika in Saka 1308. There is yet another record of Kāṭaya Vēma of the same year at Amarāvati²⁴ in Guntur district. It registers the gift of a flower garden to god, Amarēśvara by kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi's minister Peddi or Jatanamu Peddi, son of Appana in the Saka year 1308. on Wednesday, the second of the first half of the intercalary month of Āṣāḍha (Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.). The presence of this record of Kāṭaya Vēma at Amarāvati may be taken to suggest that, as the prime minister of Komaragiri, he was probably in possession of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom between May, 1386 A. D., and October, 1387 A. D. It is therefore obvious that Kumāragiri must have ascended the throne between Saka 1304, and Saka 1308, most probably at the end of that year. Kumāragiri's inscriptions are very few. He is referred to in many records of Kāṭaya Vēma. and others as the ruling monarch.

Again there is considerable uncertainty as to the last year of rule of Kumāragiri. That he was alive till Saka 1324, i.e. 1402 A. D. is proved by the Taḷḷūru record²⁵ which registers a grant for the merit of Kumāragiri and his wife, dated in that year, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in Citrabhānu.

Kumāragiri's records after Saka 1316, that is, 1394 A.D., are not found to the south of the Gōdāvarī. It has, however, to be pointed out that there is a record at Kottūru²⁶ in the Bejavaḍa taluk of Kistna district which registers a gift of land by an unnamed king on the occasion of *Makara Saṁkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in the cyclic year Vṛṣa,²⁷ corresponding to 1322 if current, and to 1323 if expired, and not to Saka 1312 as given in the inscription. It is hard to say who the donor was, whether Kumāragiri or his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Since the latter's records are not found before Saka 1322/1400 A.D. it is likely that the king referred to in the Kottūru inscription was Kumāragiri.

23. Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 781. Kārtika śu. di. 7 falls on a Sunday in Saka 1309 and not in Saka 1308. The English equivalent of this date seems to be 20th October, 1387 A. D. Sunday.

24. Ibid, No. 226.

25. J. A. S. P., Vol. 10, No. 1. The English equivalent of the date seems to be either 26th or 27th of December, 1402 A. D.

26. Ep. Coll. No. 395 of 1926.

27. Makara Saṁkrāmaṇa in Saka 1323/1401 A.D. occurred on Tuesday, the 7th of the dark half of Pūṣa, i.e., Tuesday, 27th December, 1401 A.D..

To ascertain the earliest date of Komaragiri's successor, the Taṅgeḍa inscription²⁸ of Anavēma has to be taken into consideration. The Śaka year in this inscription is damaged. Only the intercalary month of Bhādrapada, the tithi, Su. di. tṛtīya, and the week day, Wednesday are very clear. On consulting the estampage of this record with the kind permission of the superintendent of Epigraphy (Southern circle) the passage in the damaged portion containing the date is found to run thus "..... *nu saṁvatsara adhika Bhādrapada īu 3, Bhudhavāramunāṇḍu*". The last letter in the word preceding the saṁvatsara furnishes the clue to find out the cyclic year. The name of the year is either Citrabhānu or Svabhānu, the only two years in the Jupiter's cycle of sixty years that end in *nu*. These two years occur only in the reigns of Prōlaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Each of these kings had the alias Anavēma. As there was no intercalary month of Bhādrapada either in Citrabhānu or in Svabhānu in the reign of Prōlaya Vēma the Taṅgeḍa record in question has naturally to be assigned to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the Śaka years 1324 and 1325 (that is, in 1402 and 1403 A.D.) corresponding respectively to Citrabhānu and Svabhānu, there was an intercalary Bhādrapada in the former year and the astronomical details given in the Taṅgeḍa inscription work out correctly for that year and the equivalent English date is Wednesday, 2nd August, 1402 A.D. The foregoing facts, therefore, enable us to assign the Taṅgeḍa inscription (of Śaka 1324) to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma which is the earliest record of his reign. His latest inscription, the Rudravaram grant bears the Śaka date 1341 (1419 A.D.). After this date none of his records has come to light.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son Rāca Vēma was the last ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu. Not even a single record of his reign has been discovered till now, though he is referred to in the Amīnābād inscription²⁹ of Śaka 1337 as one who, in the reign of his father, had a channel dug as a feeder to the tank of Santāna Vāridhi, constructed by his mother.

Now, for convenient reference the earliest and the latest dates of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, together with the duration of their reigns as deduced from their inscriptions both published and unpublished, and their periods of rule, as furnished by *cūṭu* verse referred to before, are given here :

28. Ibid, No. 872 of 1926.

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 819; p. 826.

Name of the king.	Known dates.		Periods of rule.	
	Earliest.	Latest.	Deduced from inscriptions.	Assigned by <i>Cātu</i> verse.
1. Prōlaya Vēma	Saka 1247	1275	28 years.	12 years.
2. Anavōta	" 1275	1286	11 "	30 "
3. Anavēma	" 1286	1304	18 "	15 & 17
4. Kumāragiri	" 1308	1324	16 "	14
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	" 1324	1341	17 "	20, 25, 27
6. Rāca Vēma				4 "

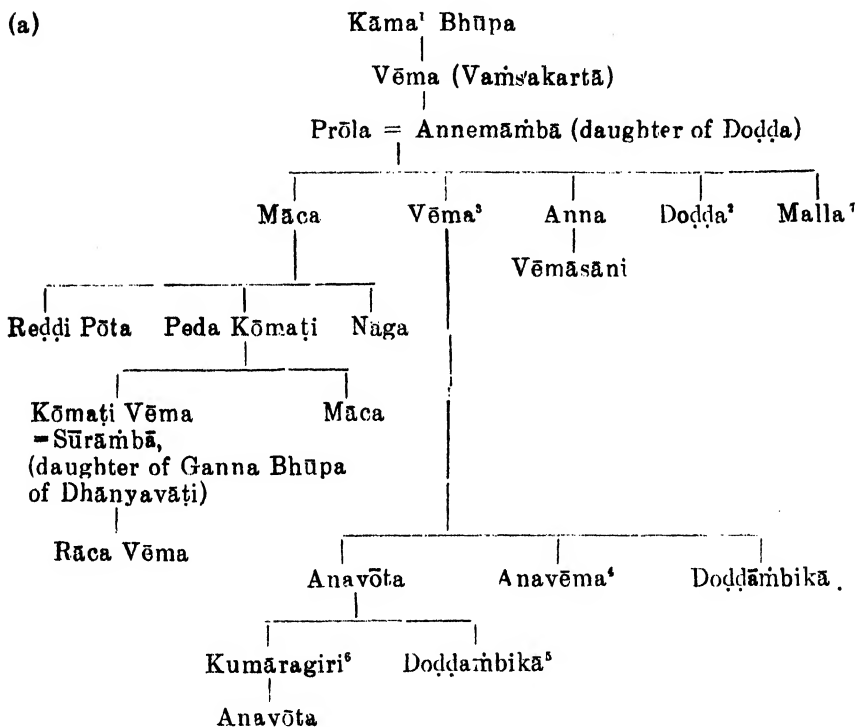
The above table clearly shows the difference in the length of each individual reign as deduced from their records so far discovered and as furnished by the *cātu* verse referred to before. We seem, therefore, to be justified in refuting the period of rule given to each king by the *cātu* verse. The total duration of the Redḍi rule of one hundred years seems, however, to be correct.

We have now to fix the length of each individual reign with the available material. We may not be far wrong if we fix, with the help of the Mallavaram record, the initial year of Prōlaya Vēma's independent rule as Saka 1247. His inscriptions stop with Saka 1275. This date may be accepted as the last year of his rule. In other words, it is the initial year of rule of his son and successor, Anavōta. The early grants of Anavēma, noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* show that he succeeded his brother Anavōta in Saka 1286—87 Krōdhi. His reign may be said to have extended till almost Saka 1308. Kumāragiri was alive till Saka 1324 and this is also the date of the earliest record of his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign extended from Saka 1324 to about Saka 1342. His son Rāca Vēma was the last Redḍi king of Koṇḍaviḍu. As stated already, he left no records of his rule. The *Cātu* verse and the *Local records* state that he ruled for four years. His reign may be, therefore, said to close in Saka 1346 (1424 A.D.). Even during the reign of Rāca Vēma the kings of Vijayanagar occupied much of the Redḍi territory and advanced almost to the heart of Koṇḍaviḍu. By 1424 A.D., the Vijayanagar conquest of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom was complete and the authority of Vijayanagar rulers was firmly established in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇa.

The dates of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, as determined above, are detailed below. These dates are only tentative.

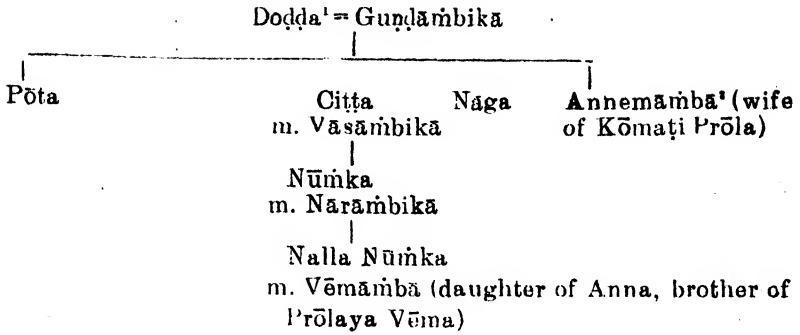
1. Prōlaya Vēma	Śaka 1247 (1325 A.D.) to	Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.)
2. Anavōta	Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) to	Śaka 1286 (1364 A.D.)
3. Anavēma	" 1286 (1364 A.D.) to	" 1308 (1386 A.D.)
4. Kumāragiri	" 1308 (1386 A.D.) to	" 1324 (1402 A.D.)
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	1324 (1402 A.D.) to	1342 (1420 A.D.)
6. Rāca Vēma	1342 (1420 A.D.) to	1346 (1424 A.D.)

APPENDIX.

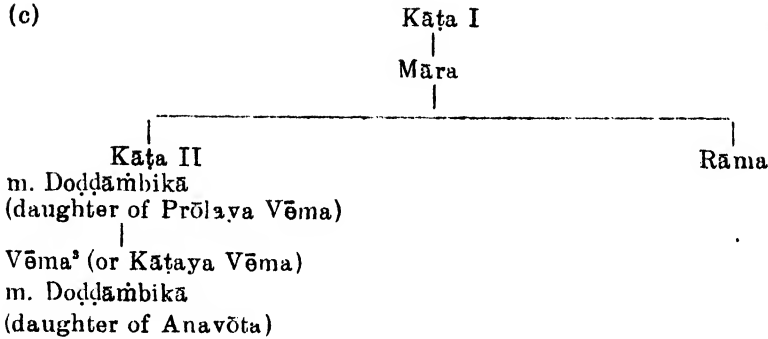
GENEALOGY OF THE REDDI KINGS OF KONDAVĪDU
AND OF THEIR ALLIED FAMILIES.

1. Mentioned in the *Vēmaḥpālacaritam*.
2. He was not mentioned in the *Harivaṃśam* and in N.I.D., II. Kr. 35, p. 549.
3. Kr. 15 (N.D.I., I. pp. 490 ff) states that Vēma was the son of Alla and that he had eleven sons, of whom Malla was one. The date of this record is Raktākṣi. We are not able to make out who these Alla, Vēma and Malla were. The record is very faulty. The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to either S'aka 1246 or to S'aka 1306 during this period.
4. His *Drujjavaram* grant says that he was the son of Prolamāmbā ("Sa-Prōlam = āmbā-tanayah kṛt = artho.....").
5. There is some difference of opinion about the name of the daughter of Anavōta Redḍi, and the wife of Kāṭaya Vēma. Along with Pandit Prabhākara S'āstri garu I hold the opinion that her name is Dodḍāmbikā.
6. His mother was Manumāmbikā.
7. See, chapter XII for his lineal descent.

(b)



(c)



1. He was the father-in-law of Kōmaṭi Prōla. His name is not given in the *Vemabhūpalacharitam*.
2. According to the *Vemabhūpalacharitam* her name is Anantāmbā. Anyamāmbā or Annemāmbā appears to be the tadbhava of Anantāmbā.
3. For further particulars, see chapters VIII, IX and XI.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KONDAVĪDU FAMILY.

The origin and development of the term 'Reddi' makes a most interesting study not only in history but also in language. It is fully dealt with in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

Reddis are even to-day one of the chief agricultural classes of the Telugu country. They are noted for their industry, perseverance and attachment to agriculture. All Reddis are Kāpus but all Kāpus may not be Reddis.

Divisions of the Panṭa clan.

There are many divisions among the Kāpus of the Telugu country, of which that of the Panṭa Kāpus or Panṭa Reddis is one. Poet Srinātha refers to this section as 'Panṭamah=ānvaya' in his *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*.¹ Inscriptions² also mention this Panṭa varṇa.

1. "శ్రీ విహార ఘంటాపథ్యంబైన పంటసహస్రయంబు..."—Bh. Pr., I, pr. 31.

2. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 208 - 09; p. 212; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 322 :

తల్ల పण्टకులనామ ప్రసూతం బహుశాఖిని " v. 6.

Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 57.

పద్మజ్జనానాం వంశేష్వభూజగతి పण्टకులం ప్రతీతమ్ "—v. 4.

Srinātha mentions in his *Bhīmāvarah Purāṇam* the different communities comprising the *Caturtha varṇa*. They are Padma nayakas, Velamas, Kammas, Sarisaras (?), and Ontaris etc. It is interesting to note here the omission of the Reddi community in this list. There is reason to believe that there was little difference between the Reddis and Velamas during this period; for, Ananta, the author of the Telugu work, *Bhōjara jīyam* of this period (See part II, under Telugu literature) mentions in his work the terms Velama and Reddi as synonyms. I quote the Verses below :

అనయము వేశ్య యీతరుణి యీతడు ఊర్తియుఁ దేను విప్రుడన్
విను నణిజుండు వాఁ దతఁడు తెల్లయు నల్లరు నొల్లి దీనిని
క్కు-నఁ జరియించుచుండునును కొండొక కాలము చెల్ల నితి మా
మనములఁ గల్గి ప్రేమపరిమాణ మెఱుంగఁదలంచి యిట్లున్.

— VII, v. 66,

The Same Velama is spoken of as Reddi-koduku in the following verse :

ఇట్టి ద యగు కార్త్యం బని
గట్టిగ నింతిఁ గొనిపోయి కతిపయతిఘటం
బట్టణము సారఁగఁ గోమటి
నెట్టియు నీరెడికొడుకుఁ జెటియొకఁడనన్.

—VII, v. 77.

These Panṭa Kāpus or Panṭa Reddis are said to have again been subdivided into fourteen sects.³ The adage Panṭa of fourteen sects is an old one. The names of these fourteen subdivisions are given below as stated in a *Cūḷu* verse⁴ of the fifteenth century, ascribed to a Bhaṭṭu rāju of the time of Bukkabhūpāla, son of Pinnamarāja of the Āraṇḍi family.

1. Pakanāṭi	Kāpus.	8. Nērēṭi	Kāpus.
2. Velanāṭi	„	9. Bhūmañci	„
3. Mōṭaṭi	„	10. Dēsaṭi	„
4. Morasa	„	11. Ayōdhya	„
5. Poṅgali nāṭi	„	12. Ōruganṭi	„
6. Munnūṭi	„	13. Kuricēṭi	„
7. Panṭa	„	14. Gaṇḍikōṭa	„

Another list was given by Edgar Thurston in his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*. There are some differences between that list

3. Panṭa is generally said to be a "Fourteen community", that is, it is said to consist of fourteen sects. Different numbers like fourteen were added on in ancient days to agricultural and industrial communities. It is unknown why they were added, and what the real significance of those numbers could be. For instance, old records discovered in our country inform us that the Ol-mongols were a "one thousand community" (*Telski vēvuru*); that the Velamas were a "one thousand community" (*Velamu Vēyi*), that the Visvakarmas were a "eighty four community", that the Nagaras were a "one hundred and two community" and that the Devanāgas were a "ten thousand community."

“పరగిన కళ్యపబ్రహ్మగోత్రజాలు

నీరలీల బడవీటి దేవాంక్ష ఘనులు

పరమ సమృద్ధముతోఁ బఁ జేలకులము” — *Dv. Pr., D.C.T.M. (Madras), Vol. IV, p. 1251.*

Even the Dommaras was a 'twenty four sect'.

“ఇరువై నాలుగుకులాల చొప్పురకు” — *N. D. I., Vol. II, Kr. 41, p. 566.*

4. పంటాస్వయమునను పదునాల్గుశాఖలఁ

జక్కఁగా వివరింతు సత్యమరసి

మోటాటి వెల్నాటి మొరస శేర దయోధ్య

పంట పాంక్షలి నాటి వాక నాటి

ఘామంచి కరిచేటి మున్నాటి దేసటి

యొనర గండియకోట యోరుగంటి

యనఁ బరగుచునుండు నంద్రధావనీపతి

గౌడవాధిష్ఠిత కంపు కులము

పంట పదునాల్గు కులములం చంట జగతిఁ

దర తరంబుల నుండియు వరలేడినుడి

పీని కుపజాతు లున్నవి వివిధములఁగ

భుజుబాటోప! పిన్న ను బుక్కభూప!

and this.⁵ In fact, some more lists are also available in the country. All of them agree with one another except over two or three subdivisions.

A glance at the list given before will show that many subdivisions of the Kāpus took their names after the territories and towns in which they settled. The first eight of the foregoing list derive their names from Pākanāḍu, Velanāḍu, Mōṭaṭi (a corruption of Mōṭṭavāḍi), Morasa, Poṅgalināḍu, Munnūru. Paṇṭa and Nērṭi (a corruption of Naḷavāḍi or Neravāḍi) territorial divisions⁶ of the ancient Andhra country and the last four were named after the towns, Ayōdhya, Ōrugallu (Warāṅgal),

5. "The Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency numbering more than two millions, and the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and squireens in the Telugu country.....It is a common saying among the Kāpus that they can easily enumerate all the varieties of rice, but it is impossible to give the names of all the sections into which the caste is split up. Some say that there are only fourteen of these, and use the phrase *Paṇṭa Padnālugu kulātu*" or Paṇṭa fourteen sections.

"The following sub-divisions are recorded by Mr. Stuart as being the most important. "Ayōdhya, Baliḷa, Bhūmañci, Desūru, Gaṇḍikōṭṭai, Gāzula, Kamnapuri, Morasa, Nērati (or Nērāḍu or Neravāḍi), Ōruganṭi, Pākanāṭi, Palle, Poḍakanṭi and Paṇṭa...

"As examples of exogamous sects among Kāpus, the following may be cited :

Avula	Guḍise	Nāgali
Alla	Guntaka	Taṅgōḍu
Baṇḍi	Koḍla	Uḍumala
Barrenu	Mekala	Varige
Daṇḍu	Kanugula	Yeddulu
Gorre	Mungāru	Yenuga

"At Conjeevaram, some Paṇṭa Reddis have true totemistic sects of which the following are examples.

"Mogili (*Panlans fascicularis*)-Women do not, like women of other castes, use the flower-bracts for the purpose of adorning themselves. A man has been known to refuse to purchase some bamboo mats, because they were tied with the fibre of this tree.

"Ippi (*Bassia longfolia*)-The tree, and its products, must not be used as food. Mancham (cot) They avoid sleeping on cots.

Arigala (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)-The grain is not used as food.

Chintaginṇalu (Tamarind seeds)-The seeds may not be touched, or used,

Pucca (*Citrullus Vulgaris*)-Water melon. The fruit may not be eaten."

The extract given above is from the third volume (s. v. Kāpu). I omitted explanations and meanings. (Vide, also E. R. E., Vol. XII, p. 402, s. v. Totemism -India).

6. The territory extending along the sea-board from the Pennar to the Guṇḍalakamma was called Pākanāḍu in ancient times. Velanāḍu was the northern half of Guṇṭur district. Mōṭṭavāḍi and Nērāḍu, a corruption of Naḷavāḍi or Neravāḍi corresponded roughly to Markāpuram and its adjacent taluk on the Southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tuṅgabhadra. Poṅgalināḍu is unidentifiable. Munnūru is Muḷiki-three hundred country. Morasa is the Kolar country in the Mysore state. Paṇṭa will be discussed later on in the text.

Kurucēḍu (in Nellore district) and Gaṇḍikōṭa (in Cuddapah district). Of the other two, Bhūmañci is inexplicable. Probably it is the name of a village which gave its name to the Sect. Paṇṭa and Dēsaṭi will be discussed in a later context.

In course of time, some of the Redḍis gave up their plough for the sword and took to military service under their rulers. They distinguished themselves in that service and held posts as generals and commanders. They gained the favour of their rulers by their valour and loyalty and gradually rose to political power and prominence.

During the Kākatiya period they became chiefs of some *niyōgas* and by their administrative capacity, they gained the favour of their overlords and grew very powerful. They wielded much influence in the state. Under the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal Redḍi chieftains like Ceṇaku Jagadālu Bollaya Raḍḍi, and others¹ flourished as *mahāsāmantas* ruling over certain tracts of the Telugu country. But it is interesting to note that none of the inscriptions of the time of Prātaparudra which have so far been discovered, refer to any of the ancestors of Vēṃā Redḍi, the founder of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. Yet, as will be shown later on, there is sufficient reason to believe that their political life began during the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

Donti and Dēsaṭi :

The *Kṛṣṇavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *kaiṣiṇat* of Koṇḍaviḍu relate that some Redḍi families were living, since a long time, in the village of Chadaluvāḍa in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, and that their tutelary deity was god Rāghava of that place. The two accounts give their family name as Donti and narrate a story that, in the course of tilling the ground, some members of the Donti family found a treasure-trove which they appropriated without much ado, and without the knowledge of the villagers. However, some days later, the matter became public and the villagers compelled them to hand over the treasure to them. Under the circumstances, it is said, their tutelary deity, god Rāghava appeared to them in a dream and advised them to migrate to some other place, and wherever they were, to worship him in the form of a golden idol, assuring them that they would become prosperous in course of time. Thereupon the Donti family migrated to Anumakoṇḍa near Waraṅgal and stayed there for a long time, until a certain Allāḍa Redḍi of the same family came down with his friends and relations to the country of Koṇḍaviḍu. These are said to have been

Ep. Coll., Nos. 321 and 322 of 1937-38; Ins. Cod. Dts., No. 105, p. 450. Members of the Rēceṇḍa Redḍi family of Pillalamarri held high posts under the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal.

the founders of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. The date of their immigration to the Koṇḍaviḍu country is given as Śaka year (represented by R̥ṣis (7), Vārdhi (4), and Rudras (11), i.e., 1147, corresponding with the year Tāraṇa.⁸

Now, let us see if there is any truth in the account given above. Since the cyclic year correctly corresponds with the Śaka year it may appear as if there is some truth in this account. But it ought to be pointed out here that it is not corroborated by any other evidence, either by the inscriptions of the Reddis or by the extant Telugu literature of the period.

The family name Donti is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Reddi kings. The Telugu works "*Kāṣṭhakaṇḍam*" and "*Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*" written under the direct patronage of the Reddi rulers, refer to the family as Dēsaṭi, one of the subdivisions of the Paṇṭa community, and not as Dōsaṭi. Śrīnātha, the author of these two works describes the ruling Reddi family as "the great Dēsaṭi family of the Paṇṭa clan which is the head-ornament of the fourth caste and the royal road of pleasure-ground for Fame"—(*Caturtha-kulamāṇḍanamai, kīrtirihāra - ghaṇṭā - pathambaina Paṇṭa - Dēsaṭimah ānvayambuna*)⁹—). Vēma's court-poet, Eṣṛā Preggaḍa addresses his patron as 'Dēsaṭi Vēma'¹⁰ in his *Harivaṃśam*. Śrīnātha addresses Allaya Vīrabhadra Reddi, the ruler of Rājamahēndravaram as '*Dēsaṭivamsa-grāmaṇi*' (chief of the Dēsaṭi family). Another Telugu poet, Kommana, a contemporary of Vīrabhadra Reddi calls the Reddi rulers of Rājamahēndravaram as Dēsaṭis,¹¹ members of the Dēsaṭi family. These literary evidences prove beyond doubt that the Reddi rulers were of the Paṇṭa clan, and of the Dēsaṭi family. But it has to be pointed out that none of their inscriptions allude to them as Dēsaṭis. They broadly state that they belonged to the fourth caste which is split up into many divisions, and to the Paṇṭa Vamsa. Some of their inscriptions like the Kaluvacēru grant¹² of Anitalli describe Vēma as *Paṇṭa vamsādabhava*, one born in the Paṇṭa vamsa. But at the same time it may be noted that some of the stone records¹³ of Anavēma

8. Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-4-40; Loc. Rec., Vol. LXVII, pp. 7 ff. Sewell writes 'Native tradition at Koṇḍaviḍu states that Prolaya Vēma Reddi was not connected with the family of Donti Allāḍa Reddi, but was "a guest in his house". Allāḍa Reddi is said to have lived at Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvati, and his family are stated to have "entered" that place in A. D. 1225'—Vide *Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 18).

9. Bh. Pr., prose passage, 31, p. 6.

10. Hr. Vm., I, ix, v. 1.

11. Ks. Kh., III, v. 1.

12. Sl. VI. See Appendix to chapter, VII, part II.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff;

14. Ep. Coll., Nos. 380, 368 and 367 of 1920; *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI.

and Komaragiri as well, refer to each of them as "the moon to the ocean of Manuma kula"—(*Manumakula-rādhī-sardā*). Some of the nāyaks and corporate bodies also of the Telugu country claim to belong to Manuma kula. One Marduji Māraya Nāyaka is styled in an inscription¹⁵ of Saka 1275 as 'the Māndhātā of the Manuma kula'—(*Manuma kula Māndhātā*). Members of the merchant corporation, the Virabalañjas claim to belong to Manuma kula.¹⁶ A certain Malla Nāyaka of Śaka 1082 is praised as the "moon to the ocean of Manumakula"¹⁷ (*Manuma-kula-rādhī-sardhana-sulhākara*). Kōṭi Redḍi of Saka 1085 is stated to belong to Manuma kula¹⁸. Kālapa Nāyaka, an officer of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva was extolled as "the ornament of the Manuma kula"¹⁹ (*Manma-kulābharaṇa*). What this Manuma kula is and how and why the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu claimed to belong to that kula are matters to be elucidated by future research. The evidence cited above shows that the Redḍi kings, besides being members of the Manuma kula, were Dēsaṭis also of the Paṇṭa clan. So, the statement in the *Local records* that the Redḍi kings were of the Donti^{19a} family, has to be rejected.

Dēsaṭi Vamśa:

What does this Dēsaṭi signify? The term Dēsaṭi is found as a suffix to some proper names in early Telugu inscriptions of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D., especially in Kistna and Guntur districts. An early chief, the progenitor or the Vamśa-kartā of the Kōṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi family is known as Koṇḍa Dēsaṭi.¹⁹ An undated record²⁰ probably of the tenth or the early eleventh century at Inumella (in the Vinukoṇḍa taluk of Guṇṭūr district) alludes to some *pratiṣṭhā* made by one Kāṭya (Kātaya) dēsaṭi. The local feudal chiefs or maṇḍalikas who held sway in times of yore over the territory called "Ōṅgēru mārga" or the region through which the river, Ōgēru in Guṇṭūr district flows, were known as the 'Dēsaṭi-mahāsāmantas'. An inscription²¹ dated 1043 A. D., at Valivēru (in the Tenālī taluk of Guṇṭūr district) refers to maṇḍalika Guṇḍaya as the son of Dēsaṭti

15. Ibid. No. 184 of 1905.

16. Ibid. No. 180 of 1905.

17. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 649.

18. Ibid. No. 598.

19. Ibid. Nos. 602 and 603. *Manuma kula*, *Durjaya kula*, *Dinakara kula* and *Sōma kula* were the four chief ancient dynasties of the Andhra country, which gave rise to most of its ancient ruling families.

19a. There was however a Redḍi family named Dōntiparti (not Dōnti). Neither the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, nor of Rajamahendravaram seem to have had any connection with this family.

20. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1153.

21. Ep. Coll. No. 218 of 1936.

22. Ibid. No. 673 of 1920.

mahāsāmanta Nambaya of the Ōmṡēṡu mārga. Ēṡapa Nāyaka, the commander of the last Velanāṡi chief, Kulōttuṡga Pṡṡhivīsvara of the twelfth century A. D., is said to be the son of Ghadyana (Ghadyana), and grandson of Ēṡapa dēsaṡi.²³ An inscription²⁴ at Bejavaṡa dated 1229 A. D., registers a gift made by Malli dēsaṡi, son of Prōi dēsaṡi of the fourth caste. The presence of the suffix *dēsaṡi* in the above instances and its absence in the case of the Redṡi kings is unaccountable.

The term *Dēsaṡi* seems to be the developed form of *Dēśaraṡṡōṡi* which occurs in a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Čalukyan king, Ammarāja Vijayāditya VI of his tenth regnal year, that is, of Śaka 877 (955 A.D.). Ammarāja grants the village of Ponduva grāma in Atti-lināṡṡu viṡaya along with the title mahāsāmanta to his subordinate, named Māṡiya-Dēśaraṡṡōṡi, son of Kallikiya Dēśaraṡṡōṡi, and grandson of Māṡiya Raṡṡōṡi in appreciation of his services²⁵. This is the earliest dated reference to the term *Dēśaraṡṡōṡi* in inscriptions of the Andhra country. Just as *Raṡṡōṡi* became *Raṡṡaṡi*, *Raṡṡi* and *Raṡṡi*, *Dēśaraṡṡōṡi* appears to have changed into *Dēśaraṡṡaṡi*, *Dēśaraṡṡi* and *Dēsaṡi*. Had *Dēsaṡi* not been the contracted form of *Dēśaraṡṡi* it would not have the double t; *Dēsaṡi* in course of time might have become *Dēsaṡi*. The early form *Dēśaraṡṡōṡi* persisted till the thirteenth century A.D. It is found in an inscription²⁶ dated in Śaka 1152 (1230 A. D.). The form *Dēsaṡi* occurs in many records. As *Dēsaṡi* is the later and contracted form of *Dēśaraṡṡōṡi*, it may probably signify the indigenous section of the Redṡi tribe, as opposed to the foreign immigrants of a later period.

The *Dēsaṡlas* were mentioned in an inscription²⁷ dated in Śaka 1069 from Konidena in Guṡṡūr district, along with other nāyaks and kṡatriya princes. On the analogy of *Bāpaṡla* (a town in Guṡṡūr district) *Dēsaṡla*, a probable variant of *Dēsaṡi* might also be construed as the name of a town. *Dēsaṡla* is known to be a town from the *birudāvaṡi* or *praśasti* of the seventy two nāyaks of the court of Pratāparudra of Waraṡgal. The *Dēsaṡlas*, one of the seventy two nāyaks who served under Pratāparudra had the title "the lord of *Dēsaṡlapura*".²⁸ (*Dēsaṡla-puravar* = *āṡhīśvara*). This title clearly shows that *Dēsaṡla* is a town.

23. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1338.

24. Ep. Coll., No. 321 of 1919.

25. C. P. No. 7 of 1937 - 38.

26. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1290; "*Bhōṡapūramuna Dēśaraṡṡōṡiṡnu*."

27. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 639; ".....Moṡṡavāṡi Guṡṡikarta Rācakoṡukulu, *Dēsaṡla*

28. Mss. Nos. 15-5-34; *Dēsaṡlavāri birudu*... "*Dēsaṡla-puravar* = *āṡhīśvara*, *Dannā-lakōṡa-rāya-vēṡyābhujāṡga*..." etc.

The existence of a hill fort called Dēsaṭi is known from an inscription²⁹ dated in 1005 A.D., of Mahāsāmanta Sōbhanarasa, a subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Iṣivabedaṅga Satyāśraya, wherein he was given the title *Dēsaṭi-giri-durga-malla*, the conqueror of the hill fort named Dēsaṭi. If this is accepted, then Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla might have been the early original habitat also of the Redḍis, just as Raṭṭalūr or Raṭṭalūr is said to have been the original habitat of the Raṭṭas or Raṣṭrakūṭas who had the title "lords of the town of Raṭṭalūr or Raṭṭalūru" (*Raṭṭalūru-puravar-ādhīśvara*). Even granting that Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla is a town, it is difficult to locate it. The above evidence makes it clear that the Redḍi kings were Dēsaṭis (Dēsaṭlas). The statements regarding their surnames in the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu and the *Local records* have to be rejected as they are not based on facts.

Before the foundation of the Redḍi principality the Redḍi nobles were living in Nellore district. We come to know from contemporary Telugu literature that towns like Simhāvīkramapuram (Nellore), Duvūru, Gaṇḍavaram and others in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of the present Nellore district, were the original abodes of the members of the Paṇṭa varṇsa or Paṇṭa clan³⁰. This is confirmed by another piece of evidence. The term Paṇṭa itself in Paṇṭa Kāpu or Panta Redḍi is capable of furnishing the clue.

'Paṇṭa' clan.

It is well-known that the ancient territorial divisions like Valanāḍu, Vēgināḍu, Pākanāḍu and Āruvēlu or Śaṭsahasradēśa of the Telugu country have given rise to many communal divisions or a *śākhās* like Velanāṭi, Vēgināṭi, Pākanāṭi and Āruvēla sects among the brāhman community. Similarly, it is probable that some of the communities of the fourth caste also, as has been pointed out by the late K. V. Lakshmanarao³¹, derived their names from these territorial divisions. Lakshmanarao opines that the Brāhmins and the Śūdras of the Teliṅgāna country formed into separate sects called Telagānyas and Telagas respectively. Similarly, the Velnāṭi sect of brāhmins, and the Velama community of the fourth caste derived their names from the territorial division of Valanāḍu. While the brāhmins of Kammanāḍu are known as Kamma brāhmins or Kammās, the Śūdras of the same *nāḍu* came to be called Kammās. In the same way, there are Pākanāṭi sect of brāhmins and Pākanāṭi Kāpus. It follows from this that many of the sects of the fourth caste being local communities, owe their names to

29. S. I. I., Vol. XI, (Bk. 1-, Vol. I, Pt. 1), No. 50.

"Srimat-Dēsaṭi-giridurga-mallam-"

30. Bh. Pr., I, pr. 31.

31. Presidential address, A. P. M., Vth Annual conference, Pithapuram, p. 45,

the ancient territorial divisions of the Andhra country. In the same way, can it be said that the community or sect of Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Reddis also derived their name from any territorial division? Was there an ancient territorial division by name Paṇṭanāḍu or Paṇṭarāṣṭra like Pākanāḍu or Pākaraṣṭra?

The Arulāḷa-Perumāḷ inscription³² at Kañcī, of Tammusiddhi, son of Erasiddhi, one of the Telugu Cōḷa chiefs of Nellore, bring to our notice a district named Paṇṭarāṣṭra. This inscription records the gift of the village of Muṭṭiyampākkam, the head quarters of Paṇṭarāṣṭra (in Saka 1127) to the lord of Hasti Sāila, by Tammusiddhi. Neither the village, Muṭṭiyampākkam, nor the Paṇṭarāṣṭra have yet been identified. Muṭṭiyampākkam may be identified with the present village of Muṭṭembāka in the Gūḍur taluk of Nellore district. As it was the head-quarters of the Paṇṭarāṣṭra, this territorial division may be taken to correspond roughly to the Gūḍur taluq and its neighbourhood. Like the Kammas and Velamas who derived their names from Kammanāḍu and Velanāḍu respectively, the Sūdras of this Paṇṭarāṣṭra are called Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Reddis.

Therefore, Paṇṭarāṣṭra and not the Anumakoṇḍadēśa, as stated in the *Local records* and the local *kāfiyats*, was the native country of the Paṇṭa Reddis. They gradually spread to the west and to the east and along the coast to the north. About the time of the subversion of the Kākatiya power members of the Reddi families which were instrumental in founding the kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram, were living, as stated before, in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of Nellore district.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out one interesting fact generally unnoticed. All the lithic and copper-plate records of the Reddis and the works of Śrīnātha state, without exception, that they belong to *Caturtha-kula* or the fourth caste. The Telugu *kāvya Śivalilā-vilāsam* by Kommanāmātya, while confirming this statement, alludes however to king Virabhadra, son of Allāḍa of Rājamahēndravaram as having been born in the Solar race.³³ While describing the family of the Dēsaṭis as having been born from the feet of god Viṣṇu along with the heavenly river Gaṅgā, Kommanāmātya compares Allāya Virabhadra with Rāmabhadra, son of the Ikṣvāku king, Daśaratha and states that both were born in the Solar race, skilled in archery and devoted to god Siva. He, thereby, suggests that Vīrabhadrā Reddi also was of the Solar race. Of course, the statement is

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 152 ff.

33. Vide, Appendix. Chapter VII, Pt. II,

self-contradictory, since one cannot be a member of the *Caturtha kula* and of the Solar race as well. Yet, it can be explained and justified in a way. Virabhadra may be said to have belonged to the *Sūrya vaṁśa* on his mother's side, as his father married the daughter of Bhīmalīṅga, son of the Ēṇuva chief, Cōḍa Bhaktisa of the Solar race.

Were the Reḍḍis Pallavas?

The Reḍḍi rulers assumed the titles 'Pallavāditya' and 'Pallava-trinētra', the sun and Trinētra or Śiva of the Pallava dynasty. The sign manual of some of the Reḍḍi kings like Prōlaya Vēma and Anavēma is 'Pallava Trinētra'³⁴. This naturally raises the question if they were Pallavas³⁵. It is worth remembering in this connection that the early Pallava dynasties that once ruled the Nellore territory, disappeared from the political scene, centuries before the rise of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. In the intervening period between the fall of the Pallava supremacy and the rise of the Reḍḍis some of the chiefs who traced their descent from Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuvetṭi or Trilōcana Pallava or Trinayana Pallava, held sway, generally as feudatories of the Cōḷa emperors, and occasionally as independent rulers, over a great portion of Nellore district during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the subversion of their power, these Pallava chiefs gradually became merged in the lower Hindu social strata, and very soon lost their distinctive racial entity. Hence no identification is possible of the new royal dynasties that sprang forth into existence in the fourteenth century in terms of the old ones. One cannot, therefore, positively assert that the Reḍḍis were originally Pallavas for want of unimpeachable evidence. The Reḍḍi nobles might have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Pallava feudatory chieftains of Nellore district of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Because of these family connections with the Pallavas or, because their country was Paṇṭa rāṣṭra which was a division of the original Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, the country of the Pallavas, the Reḍḍi kings felt probably justified in assuming such titles; for, during that period of Hindu revival everything old carried with it some awe and glamour. No other rational explanation can be offered to this question.

Reḍḍi Titles.

Very little is known about the early history of the Koṇḍaviḍu family before the foundation of the Reḍḍi kingdom. Yet, that it was sufficiently an important one is known from many of the titles of the

34. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff. The signature also of the donor Prōlaya Vēma is Pallava Trinētra; S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 243; C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

Ep. 35.Rep. 1900, p. 20 para 57.

Reddis which suggest some political activity. Telugu works like *Harivamśam*, the *Bhīmāśvara Purāṇam* the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and the lithic and copper-plate records of this period give the Reddi kings a long list of *birudas* or titles, some of which are of great historic interest. A careful study of some of them reveals to us some of the early achievements of this family. Those given below are of special historical significance.

Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa
Jaganobhagaṇḍa
Daṇḍena gōva (gōpa)
Aḷagiyavarada-sirah-khaṇḍana
Pāṇḍyarāyajakāśari (śimha)
Ceñcumala cūrakāra
Gujjaritaṭṭavibhāḷa
Rācūridurgavibhāḷa
Āncyaamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa

All these titles find mention in the records of the Reddi kings giving their *prasaṣti* or eulogy. It is obvious that the exploits suggested by the aforesaid titles must have taken place prior to Śaka 1252/1330 A. D., since they are found in their records subsequent to that date. The early history of the Reddis before the foundation of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom has to be reconstructed with the help of these titles, which, in a way, make up for the deficiency of records of the early members of this family. Let us now study the titles.

Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa: This title conveys the idea that the Reddis won a victory over Appaya Goppaya (Gōpaya), that is, either over two separate individuals, viz., Appaya and Goppaya, or over Goppaya, son of Appaya. Who is this Appaya - Goppaya?

Inscriptions of the Hoysāḷas of Dwārasamudra reveal that Appaya and Goppaya were the two able *daṇḍanāyakas* or generals of the Hoysāḷa king, Vīra Narasiṃhadēva II (1220-1235 A. D.) and were related to each other as father and son. When the Kāḍava chieftain, Kōpperuñ-jīṅga imprisoned the Cōḷa emperor, Rājarāja III (1216-1257 A. D.) at Sēndamaṅgalam (South Arcot district) Vīra Narasiṃhadēva II espoused the latter's cause and sent his two generals Appana and Samudra Goppaya or Gōpaya with orders to chastise the Kāḍava chieftain, to release the Cōḷa emperor from prison and to reinstate him in power. The two generals were successful in this campaign and achieved their object. The achievements of these daṇḍanāyakas were recorded in the Tiruvēṇḍipuram record,³⁶ dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III,

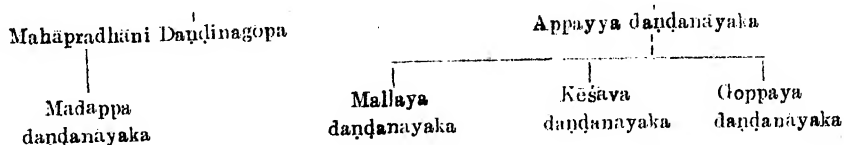
i. e., in Śaka 1153/1231 A. D. The same information is conveyed by another stone record³⁷ (in the Gubbi taluk of Tumkūr district, Mysore) dated Śaka 1155/1233 A. D., which registers the grant of a village by Vīra Narasiṃha II to his generals, Appaya daṇḍanāyaka and Gōpaya daṇḍanāyaka. We know from a record³⁸ of the Hoysāla general, Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka at Conjeevaram, dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III, that is, in Śaka 1153 / 1231 A. D., that he had the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (the sole hero of the world).

Madhurāntaka Pottapicōḍa Tirukkaḷattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla better known as Cōḍa Tikka, the powerful Telugu Cōḍa feudatory of the weak Cōḷa emperor Rāja Raja III, also took part in these wars. He was a contemporary of Hoysāla Vīra Narasiṃha and his son Sōmēśvara, also known as Karṇāṭa Sōmēsa. Tikkana Sōmayāji in his Telugu work, '*Nirvacanōḷṭara Rāmāyaṇa* states that Cōḍa Tikka subdued Karṇāṭa Sōmēśvara and reinstalled the Cōḍa emperor in his place and assumed the title 'Cōḷasthāpanācārya,' the 'establisher of the Cōḷa ruler'. He was in Kāñcīpura in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III, i. e. in Śaka 1153/1231 A. D., and instituted the service called the Gaṇḍagōpalauśandi in the temple of Varadarājaperumāl in that year³⁹. These Telugu Cōḍa-Karṇāṭa wars continued for some years more; for, an inscription⁴⁰ in the Mysore State, dated in Śaka 1162 / 1240 A. D., informs us that the Hoysāla monarch, Vīra Sōmēśvara was marching against Gaṇḍagōpāla.

The ancestors of the Redḍi rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu who were in the service of Cōḍa Tikka of Nellore about this period, probably took an active part in routing the forces of Vīra Sōmēśvara. In Śaka 1162/ 1240 A. D. Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka was at Kāñcīpura. He made a gift for a perpetual lamp in the Aruḷāla Perumāl temple in the

37. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Gb. 45.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 404 of 1919. Members of this family of ministers of the Hoysāla king, Vīra Narasiṃha seem to have the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (Vide, Ep. Coll., No. 617 of 1919). From the inscriptions at Conjeevaram (Nos. 404, 611, 612, 615 and, 617) the following geneology of these generals may be formulated.



39. Ut. Rm., I, v. 34.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 446 of 1919.

41. Ep. Carn., Vol., VI, Kd. 100.

twenty-fourth year" of the Coḷa emperor, Rājarāja III, that is, in Śaka 1162/1240 A. D. Evidently it was about this period that the Redḍi chieftains defeated Appaya Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka.

As a consequence of this defeat, the Hoysaḷa generals, in accordance with the custom of the age, had laid down their titles of *Daṇḍinagōpa* and *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* with their insignia at the feet of the victors, the Redḍi chieftains, which the latter assumed as a proud privilege. It was one of the customs prevalent in the mediaeval period for the victor to assume the titles of the vanquished to indicate the latter's complete subjection. The vanquished had generally no right to assume them until and unless he defeated his victor once again in the field of battle. In this manner many titles of merit, in ancient times, travelled from country to country and from family to family. The Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu got these titles, *Daṇḍinagōva* (mentioned in the Redḍi inscriptions and literature), *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* (Jaganobbagaṇḍa) and *Appaya-Goppaya diśūpaṭṭa* as a heritage from their forefathers who defeated the Hoysaḷa generals of Vira Sōmēsvara.

Aḷagiya varada-śiraḷkhaṇḍina: This title implies that the Redḍis cut off the head of Aḷagiyavarada whose identity is unknown. The Kaḍava king Kōpperuñjīṅga and his father were called Aḷagiya Sīyan, and Aḷagiya Pallava respectively. The term Aḷagiya or Aḷagiya may probably indicate that Aḷagiyavarada also was a Pallava prince related to Kōpperuñjīṅga. If this surmise is correct, this exploit also has to be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Pāṇḍyarūya-gajakēsiri: This title suggests that the Redḍi chiefs gained a victory over the Pāṇḍya king or kings. When did this event take place?

Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital passed into the hands of the Mussalman almost about the date of the fall of Waraṅgal. According to the recent researches made in South Indian History, we come to know that this event took place in 1323 A.D.⁴² The Pāṇḍyan power was shaken to its foundations by internecine quarrels and Khusrū Khān's invasion of Ma'bar in 1319 A.D. The conquest, therefore, of the Pāṇḍyas by the Redḍi chieftains must have taken place some time before 1319 A.D., presumably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra of Waraṅgal. Pratāparudra sent Muppiḍi Nāyaka, one of his able officers to the south "to restore his authority on the Southern frontier" by driving away the Pāṇḍyas from Kāñci, and to make it a military outpost to ward off enemy invasions from the southern region. The Kākatiya general set

42. Ep. Coll., No. 615 of 1919.

43. J. O. R.V.o, LXII, p. 212.

out with a huge army accompanied by able officers like Dēvari Nāyaka, Bāl Nāyaka, his own son, Pedda Rudra and several other chiefs belonging to Rōceṇḷa and other families. The five Pāṇḍyas, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vira Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya who were in possession of Kāñcī mustered their forces and offered stout resistance to the armies of Pratāparudra. A terrible fight ensued, in which Muppiḍi Nāyaka and his forces came out victorious. They captured Kāñcī in Śaka 1238 / 1316 A.D. and expelled the five Pāṇḍyas⁴⁴ from that place. The title *Pāṇḍyarūyagajakēśari* was conferred on the Rōceṇḷa chiefs and others who distinguished themselves in this battle. Since the Redḍis also had this title it is likely that they had also taken part in this campaign. It is not unlikely that Prōla, and his son Vēma, the young warrior aspiring to fame, accompanied the Kākatiya general to Kāñcī.

Ceñcumala-cūrakūra: 'Ceñcumala' is also referred to in inscriptions and literature as Ceñjimala' which seems to be the correct name. The meaning of this title is "the plunderer of 'Ceñjimala', the fortress of Gingee. This refers to some victory gained at Gingee by Vēma Redḍi himself or by his forefathers.

Vēma's dominions never extended so far as Gingee in South Arcot district. Since this title is mentioned in the earliest grant of Prōlaya Vēma, the exploit justifying that title must have taken place prior to the establishment of the Redḍi power, most probably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra when the Redḍi nobles followed Muppiḍi Nāyaka to Kāñcī. The Dākshāraṁ inscription⁴⁵ of Peda Rudra, son of Muppiḍi Nāyaka dated in Śaka 1243/1321 A.D., furnishes many details of this campaign. From this record we understand that Nārāyaṇavanam in Chittūr District and many other strongholds in its neighbouring country were reduced, the Śambuvarāyāns were brought under subjection, and the territory of the Hoysala emperor, Ballāla III in the Tamil country was overrun. After capturing Kāñcī, Muppiḍi Nāyaka pursued the Pāṇḍyas further south as far as Jambukēśvaram in Trichinopoly district⁴⁶. An inscription⁴⁷ of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva at Vriddhāchalam, south of Gingee, the details of the date of which work out correctly for 1315 A.D., praises the Kākatiya minister, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, and refers to a service instituted in his name. It was probably during their march to the south that Gingee was plundered by

44. Ibid, p. 199.

45. Ibid. pp. 213 to 216; also, see page 204; f. n.

46. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 430.

47. Ep. Coll., No. 72 of 1918,

the Reddi chieftains, some of the leading nobles in the army of Muppidi Nāyaka.

Gujjaritaṭṭu-vibhāḷa" (the destroyer of Gujjara or Gūrjara Cavalry): The only clear instance when the army of Gujarat is known to have been in action in the Deccan country about this period was during the famous siege of Kāmpili by the Imperial forces when Kāmpilirāya gave shelter to Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp who rebelled against the authority of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. "The king (Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq) having intelligence of the revolt" writes Ferishta, "commanded Khwāja Jehān, with many other officers and the whole of the Gujarat forces, to chastise the rebel chief."⁴⁸ Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp met the invading armies at Dēvagiri but was defeated, owing to the defection of one of his principal commanders, but fled to Sāgar. The Imperialists followed him thither. He then fled to the rājah of Kāmpili with his family and all his belongings and took shelter with them. The Imperial forces still pursued the rebel and laid siege to Kummaṭa in the kingdom of Kāmpili. Here they were defeated twice by the Hirdus.⁴⁹ This was probably the occasion when the Reddi nobles, joining hands with the king of Kāmpili, defeated the Imperial Gujarāt forces and assumed the title "*Gujjaritaṭṭuvibhāḷa*". Vēma himself with his brothers and relatives might have co-operated with the king of Kāmpili in this war against the common enemy, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. This event took place in A.H. 727 or 1326-27 A.D.

Rācūridurgavibhāḷa and *Āneyamaṇḍalīkaragaṇḍa*:—These two titles have to be considered now. '*Rācūridurgavibhāḷa*' means the destroyer of the fortress of Rācūru or Raichūr and *Āneyamaṇḍalīkaragaṇḍa*, the hero, or the conqueror of the Āneyamaṇḍalīkas, or the feudatory chiefs of Ānegondi. The exploit suggested by the first title must have taken place between Saka 1216/ 1294 A. D., the date of the construction of the fort⁵⁰ of Raichūr and Śaka 1258/1336-37 A.D., the date of the foundation of the Vijaynagar kingdom, the capital of which was at first Ānegondi. There is reason to believe that the Reddi chiefs secured the above two titles in the course of a single campaign during the independence movement in the Andhra country in the post-Kākatiya period.

Encouraged by the victory of the nobles in the Coastal region the Āraviṭi chief, Sōmadēvarāja rose against the local Muslim chiefs about Śaka 1251/ 1329 A. D., and re-conquered the country lying to the north and south of the Tuṅgabhadra. In the course of this successful

48. Ferishta, Vol. I. pp. 418—19.

49. *History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, p. 65.

50. A. S. P. P., Vol. VI, pp., 33 ff.

campaign he conquered many forts like Ānegondi, Rācūru and so on. It is not unlikely that the Redḍi chieftains, Vēma and his followers lent their whole-hearted support to Sōmadēvarāja, the leader of the revolt. The above two titles suggest that the Redḍis played an important part in reducing the fortress of Rācūru and subjugating the Āneyamaṇḍalikas.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the ancestors of the Redḍi's of Koṇḍaviḍu entered into military service sometime about the first quarter of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. They first served the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore or Vikramasīmhapura and later on, the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal. They slowly rose to prominence by gaining influence in the state through the favour of their immediate superiors and the Kākatiya provincial governors.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva :

The members of the Ghōḍerāya family were the gurus and spiritual guides of the Redḍi kings from the beginning of their political career. Errā Pregaḍa addresses his patron Vēma in his work '*Harivaṁśam*' as one who established his kingdom by the mercy of his preceptor, Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva (*Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅga-guru - kṛpā-s'hāpita - sāmraṭya samuddāpita - Vema - narēndra*).⁵¹ Vēma is also described in the Madras Museum plates,⁵² as the bee at the lotus feet of his *guru* named Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgaya. Members of the Ghōḍerāya family exercised over the Redḍi kings much influence as their *gurus* throughout their political career.

The identity of Vēma's *guru* Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva has not yet been established. There was one Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva or Gaṅgidēva, the minister of Āmbadēva, one of the powerful Kāyastha feudatories of Rudramadēvi, queen of Waraṅgal. Āmbadēva ruled the districts of Ghaṇḍikōṭa, Mulikināḍu, Rēnāḍu, Peḍakallu, Sakili, Ēruva, Pottapi and others from 1272 A.D. to about 1304 A.D. His inscriptions dated Śaka 1194, 1212 and 1213 or 1272, 1290 and 1291 A.D., are found at Tripurāntakam in the Mārkaṭpur taluk of Kurnool District. His minister,

51. “శ్రీ పర్యతేశ భక్తి

భ్యాకీరసుఖ భూదేవాయ గంగగరుకృపా

స్థాపిత స్వామ జ్యోతసు

ద్వీపిత వసుక్షితింబ దీప్తదిశేంద్రా ” — Hr. Vm., II. iv. v. 1.

This verse stated to be found in some of the manuscripts, is given as *Paṭhan-tara* in the Vāṭilla edition.

52. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 15.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva⁵⁴ was an able and upright administrator and carried out many charitable works. Himself being a great devotee of Śiva, he made several gifts to Śaiva temples, dug canals, constructed tanks, and set up feeding houses to Māhēśvaras or Śaiva devotees. He got the land surveyed and assessed after measuring it with a standard rod. This Gaṅgayadēva may be the same as the *guru* of Vēma, referred to in the Madras Museum plates and in the *Harivamśam*. If this identity is accepted, and there is nothing to go against it, it may be presumed that it was he who took the forefathers of Vēma into the service of Ambadēva and appointed them to responsible posts in the region of Tripurāntakam in Kurnool District.

Vēma's family:

The early members of the Koṇḍavīṭi family did not leave behind any records, even though their titles bespeak of their long and brilliant military career in the past. The reason for the absence of their early records cannot be easily explained. In fact, the inscriptions of the Reddis of Koṇḍavīṭu refer only to two earlier generations of Vēma and Prōla, grandfather and father of Vēma respectively. Of these Vēma, the grandfather is described as *vaṃśakartā*.⁵⁴ The Muṭlūru copper-plate record⁵⁵ of Prōlaya Vēma furnishes some interesting information about them. The original plates of this record are lost; but a copy of this grant is preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*. Besides stating that Vēma's grandfather Vēma was the *vaṃśakartā*, this record informs us that he was a powerful '*śaiṅya nāyaka*', commandant of forces. It is evident from this that Vēma, unlike his predecessors, rose to the position of a commander, presumably under the Kāyastha chief, Ambadēva. The statement that the family owed its rise to the favour of

52. Loc. Ric, Vol. XV, and XLV, Kaiśiyats of Gaṇḍikōṭa, and Andaluru Ep., Coll. No. 406 of 1911. The Drujjavaram grant (*Reddi Rapi.*, vol. III, pp. 137 ff.) of Anavema also states that his father Vema ruled the land by the favour of the great guru, Ghōḍerāya.

तेषां प्रशस्तमहिमापरधरिजातः

श्रीवेमभूमिमणो जगनोऽवगण्डः ।

श्रीघोडेरायगुरुवर्यदत्ताविशेषा

तृधिवी प्रशस्ति सकलामकलङ्कवृत्तिः॥

54. According to the *Vemabhūpalacaritam* (cento, I) of Vāmanabhāṭṭa Bapa Kāma Bhūpati was the founder of this Reddi family of Koṇḍavīṭu and Prōla, father of Vēma was his descendant.

Could this Kāma be identical with Kāma, a descendant of Brahma of the Rēcēra Reddi family of Pillalamarri and the general of Kakati Prōla II?

55. Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri gāru published this copy in the Telugu journal, *Reddi Rapi.*, Vol. III, (1926, Sept), No. 12.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva seems to be the bare truth. The same record informs us that Prōla was a *kṣamānātha*, a term connoting probably a higher rank and position in the state than that of his father. Another inscription⁵⁶ at Kandukūr in Nellore district extols him in hyperbolical terms as the crest-jewel of kings, and as having an army consisting of elephants. The Mallavaram record⁵⁷ of Vēma I calls him Kōmaṭi Prōla and describes him as 'a garuḍa to the serpents which are hostile kings'. These statements are mere hyperboles. At the most, they suggest that he was a nāyaka or a noble of some importance. The *birudāvaṭis* of the seventy two nāyaks confirm this opinion in a way. As stated before, the Dēsaṭlas, members of the Dēsaṭi family were one of the seventy two nāyaks that served the Kakatīya monarch, Pratāparudra. It is likely that Prōla, father of Vēma I was connected with the administration of the Triṣurāntakam region or its vicinity during the second decade of the fourteenth century A. D. It was probably because they were holding sway in this region that the lord of Kumārāgiri or Kumārasaṭila became their tutelary deity⁵⁸.

Though the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram were of the same Paṇṭa clan their families and gōtras were entirely different. The former trace their descent from Vēma and the latter from Dūvūri Perumāṇḍi Redḍi. The kings of Koṇḍaviḍu belong to the Vellacēri gōtra, and those of Rājamahēndravaram to Pōlvōla gōtra.

As stated already, the first member of the Koṇḍaviḍu family known to us is Vēma. His son Prōla, Kōmaṭi Prōla as he is also called, married Annemāntā, daughter of Doḍḍa Redḍi, a commander of note. He had by her five sons, named Māca, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Annaya and Malla, of whom Māca and Malla were the eldest and the youngest respectively. Erra Preggaḍa does not mention Doḍḍa in his work *Harivaṇṭam* while describing his patron's family, the reason for which might be his premature death.

Like their father Prōla, his sons Māca and Vēma also have the prefix Kōmaṭi to their names. Vēma was also called Kōmaṭindra, Kōmaṭi Vēma, Anavēma and Prōlaya Vēma (son of Prōla). It is not known how and why some of the members of this Redḍi family had come to bear the name Kōmaṭi signifying a Vaiśya or a member of the third caste, both as a prefix and a proper name. Whether true or not, a story current in the Telugu country for many generations and

56. N. D. I., II, Kr. 34, pp. 546 ff.

57. Ibid, III, O. 73. pp. 1022 ff.

58. The Redḍis even regarded that the kingdom over which they ruled, was offered them by god Tripurāntaka (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226).

preserved in the *Konḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of *Konḍavīṭu* furnishes the clue to this puzzle. It also tells us how the Reddis were able to establish their independent power within such a short time.

In brief, the story is this. There was one Allāḍa Reddi of the Donti family. A merchant (Kōmaṭi) by name Vēmana or Vēmu who had spent a number of years in forests with Siddhas and Yōgis and acquired a piece of philosopher's stone that transformed iron into gold, came as a guest to his house. The merchant Vēma took enough care to hide and protect his precious treasure in utmost secrecy. However, in course of time Allāḍa came to know of this and waited for an opportunity to rob it from him. He bethought himself of an ingenious plan and put it into execution. When Vēma was once absent from the house, Allāḍa took possession of the philosopher's stone and in order to be above suspicion, set the house on fire. Poor Vēmana, after returning home, became mad with dismay to find the house on fire. He asked Allāḍa about his stone, when the latter pleaded ignorance and replied that it might have probably shared the same fate as his own dear house, if ever there were any such thing on earth. Overpowered with grief and disappointment for the loss of such an invaluable treasure which cost him the labour of his whole life, Vēmana leapt into the fire and committed suicide.

Sometime after this, the story goes on to say that Komaṭi Vēma, once making his appearance in Allāḍa's dream, told him that he had come to know the truth of the affair and held out a threat that he would ruin his family, in case the money thus obtained was not utilised for charitable purposes. He also asked him to name his descendants after him. Tradition asserts that Allāḍa and his sons raising a large army with the money obtained by the philosopher's stone, defeated the local chiefs and rose to power.

This is the story and neither Allāḍa, nor the Donti family are historically true. However, we have to note this fact that many of the kings of *Konḍavīṭu* had the names Vēma and Kōmaṭi, names rarely found among the other Reddi families. It might be that the records wrongly give the names of Allāḍa and Donti for Prōla and Dēsaṭi; for, the Mañichālla copper-plate grant⁵⁰ of Prōlaya Vēma credits him with having known the art of alchemy (*Sraṇakara prasiddhim labdhavā*). This might be a mild and covert allusion to the story recorded in the *Konḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts*.

50. Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-16-17 and 15-3-64; Loc. Rec., XLVIII, pp. 190 ff., XII, pp. 13 ff.

Anyhow, in those dark days of misrule and anarchy consequent on the fall of Warāṅgal, when there was no recognised central government in the country, Prōla, like every other potentate, might have also tried for the acquisition of political power. He did not, probably, live long enough to achieve his object. Nevertheless, his political ambitions were fulfilled and his dreams realised only in his second son, Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu.

CHAPTER IV.

APPENDIX, 'A'

The term Redḍi has long been in use in the Telugu country as a suffix to the names of the members of the Kapu community. It furnishes to some extent the clue to the origin and history of this community. No word in the Telugu language has undergone so many changes in its evolution as the term Redḍi. Redḍi is the final form in the course of centuries of development, its immediate predecessor being Raḍḍi. The form Raḍḍi was in vogue till the seventeenth century along with its present form of Redḍi which came into use even as early as the fourteenth century. The word Raḍḍi was used by the Telugu poets, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa¹ of the sixteenth century and Mallā Redḍi² of the seventeenth century in their works. Inscriptions³ of the fourteenth century bear evidence to the fact that the term Redḍi was also in use then. Raḍḍi was the developed form of the term, Raṭṭaḍi which had been in use earlier than Raḍḍi. This form is found freely used in classical Telugu works⁴, as that was evidently the form current at the time of their composition. The word, Raṭṭaḷlu, plural of Raṭṭaḍi finds mention in the *Śivatattvasūram*⁵, a Telugu work by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitarādhya of the early twelfth century. Inscriptions⁶ show that the form Raṭṭaḍi was in use even from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Raṭṭaḍi evolved from Raṭṭōḍi of the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyan period. '*Raṭṭōḍi cēnu*' (the field of Raṭṭōḍi), *Raṭṭōḍi tōṃṭa*

1. "ఎడైతన పురై నీతల
రడ్డలు నడచిరి పురస్సరహృద్యమునా..." Pn. Mh., III, v. 75.
2. "రడ్డి కేటలు తిన్నాపురంబు సిరులఁ
బానలు లింగాపురంబును బోతనాని..." Sv. Dh., I, v. 60.
3. N.D.I., Nol. 11, O. 58, p. 994; Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1926.
For the term Raḍḍi, see, N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 79; II, Kv. 229; Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 314; N. D. I., I, A, 24 etc..
4. "...మీ రోజునెడి నడవకుండుకు
రాణలు రట్టలు నకుట రావల్లిటికి..."— v. 200.
5. N. D. I., Vol. III, P. 38, p. 1208; P. 22, p. 1180; Ep. Coll., Nos. 363 and 361 of 1905; A.S. P.P., Vol. II, p. 399; N. D. I., Kr. Vol. II, 67, p. 607; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 139.
Raṭṭōḍi, Roddōḍi, Raddōḍi, and Raṭṭaḍi are the variants of the same term Raṭṭaḍi *Raṭṭōḍi cēnu* (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 139 ff, Masulipatam plates), *Raṭṭōḍi tōṃṭa* (C.P., No. 6 of 1913 - 14); Ep. Coll. No. 675 of 1917; *Raṭṭōḍi Kāmpulu kacuvāru* (N.D.I., Vol. II, Kr. 67, p. 607).

(the garden of Raṭṭōḍi), *Dīnini Raṭṭōḍi Kāmuḥu kācuvāru* (May *Raṭṭōḍi Kāpus* protect this), passages like these occur in the records of the Eastern Chalukyan period. These show that the form Raṭṭōḍi was in currency from about the end of the seventh century to the tenth or eleventh century.

Even 'Raṭṭōḍi' was not the original term. It was the corrupt or the developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi which finds mention in inscriptions of the early seventh, and of the late sixth century. The term Raṭṭaguḍi, another variant of Raṭṭakuḍi finds mention in the early Telugu inscriptions discovered in Guṇṭūr, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts.

1. Raṭṭōḍi - (plural) Raṭṭōḍlu
2. Raṭṭaguḍi - (,) Raṭṭaguḍlu
3. Raṭṭagudi
4. Māramma Calki Raṭṭaguḍi
5. Kurramma Vallava Raṭṭaguḍi
6. Uttamāditya Raṭṭaguḍlu
7. Cōliya Raṭṭaguḍlu
8. Gaṅga Raṭṭaguḍlu
9. Raṭṭakuḍi

The above forms are found in the Telugu inscriptions⁶ discovered in the Proddaṭūru, Jammalamadugu and Kāmalāpuram taluks of Cuddapah district and in the Palnād taluk of Guṇṭūr district. From the evidence cited above it is clear that the term Redḍi evolved from Raṭṭakuḍi of the Telugu inscriptions of the seventh and probably of earlier centuries.

In an inscription at Dāksharam⁷ dated in the 34th year of Kullōttunga Cōḷaḍōva I the terms *Raṭṭaḍamu* (the office of Raṭṭaḍi, one of the forms derived from Raṭṭakuḍi) and *Rāṣṭrakūṭam* are used as synonyms in the Telugu and Sanskrit passages respectively. This makes it clear that the term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* was used as an equivalent in meaning to Raṭṭaḍi, the later form of Raṭṭakuḍi. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* therefore can safely be taken to be the Sanskrit form of Raṭṭakuḍi (the components *Rāṣṭra* being equal to *Raṭṭa* and *kūṭa* to *kuḍi*). The *Dēśi* word Raṭṭakuḍi and the Sanskrit term, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* being synonymous, are philologically the same. These terms were co-existent from very early times from about the seventh century or even earlier.

6. Ep. Coll., Nos., 384, 400, 400 b, 403, 408, 408 (a) of 1904; 798 of 1917; 337 of 1905; Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 342 - 43.

7. S. I. I., IV, No. 1281.

".....*Krundorgrāmē Rāṣṭrakūṭam sa-bhōgam*....."

"...గుర్దవారిగ్రామి రాష్ట్రకూటం సభ్యము..."

In fact, there were some Rāṣṭrakūṭa families which held sway over a greater part of the Deccan from the seventh century. Their records were all in Sanskrit, so much so, only the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa finds mention therein. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Malkhēḍ are described in the Kannaḍa passages in their copper-plate records as *Raṭṭa Vidyādhara*s, *Raṭṭa Kandarpa*s, *Raṭṭa kulabhūṣaṇa*s and *Raṭṭa vaiṣṭodbhava*s. The terms, *Raṭṭakulabhūṣaṇa* and *Raṭṭa vaiṣṭodbhava* mean an ornament of the Raṭṭa family and one born of the Raṭṭa family respectively. They indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was also called Raṭṭa kula or Raṭṭa vaiṣṇa.

Considerable difficulty is experienced in tracing the development of the term, Raṭṭakuḍi still further back owing to the absence of inscriptions written in South Indian languages during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa is not met with in early inscriptions. Only terms which are similar to Rāṣṭrakūṭa like Mahārāṣṭraka or Rāṣṭraka, find mention in records prior to the seventh century. We meet with the terms, Mahārāṣṭrakas in the Aihole inscription⁸ of Pulakēśin II, dated in Śaka 556 (634—35 A. D.), Mahārāṭhis in the Nānāghat, Karli and Kanhēri inscriptions⁹ of the Śāta-vāhana period, Raṭṭhikas in the Hāthigumpha inscription¹⁰ of Khāravēla, king of Kāṭiṅga, and Rāṣṭrikas in the Aśōkan or edicts,¹¹ of which Rāṣṭika (Shahabazgarhi), Rāṭraka (Mansera), and Rīṣṭika (Girnar) are the variants. One can easily recognise some sort of philological relationship between Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Rāṣṭrika of the Aśōkan edicts. Raṭṭa or Raṭṭika, a variant of Rāṣṭika, Rāṭraka or Rāṣṭraka may be recognised as the first member of the compound term, Raṭṭa-kuḍi.

Countries bearing names Āraṭṭa, Surāṭṭa, Marāṭṭa and Raṭṭa-paḍi or Raṭṭavāḍi etc., are very well-known. It is an established principle that countries generally take their names after the tribes settling or inhabiting therein. From this axiom I am tempted to conclude that Āraṭṭa, Surāṭṭa, and Marāṭṭa were probably different clans of the same ethnic stock and belonged to the same tribe.

Rāṣṭra, the Sanskritised form of Raṭṭa means now a district or a province and Rāṣṭrika, Rāṣṭriya or Rāṣṭrapāla was an official in charge of a Rāṣṭra. Even as early as the time of the Śāta-vāhanas raṭṭa or rāṣṭra came to mean a district or a province, e. g., Śāta-vāhanaraṭṭa. I hold the opinion that the term raṭṭa originally denoted the name of a tribe, and that it acquired the secondary meaning of a district or a province only at a later period.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6. —The country of the Mahārāṣṭrakas.

9. A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 107; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 61.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 79, l. 6.

11. A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 125; Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 453.

It is an admitted fact that the Indian population is a composite one, rather, an amalgamation of different tribes and races having their own respective culture and civilisation that had come and inhabited the Indian peninsula at some very remote period. The vocabulary of each tribal language consisted of words denoting their civilisation and institutions. As time rolled on, the different tribes and their vocabularies have got mixed up so thoroughly as to form a composite Indian nation and a composite Indian language (dialectical). The term *raṭṭa* or *rāṣṭra* which we now use to denote a province, probably acquired that meaning from the political constitution that had been in vogue among the *Raṭṭas*.

As stated before, the Sanskrit term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is equivalent to the *deśi* term *Raṭṭa-kuḍi*, *rāṣṭra* being the Sanskritised form of *Raṭṭa*. If such is the case the term *kūṭa* should correspond to *kuḍi*. Of the two forms *raṭṭa-kuḍi* and *raṭṭa-guḍi* the former is the correct and the early form and the latter, its variant and a late form; for, generally the initial guttural letter *ka* of many of the *dēśi* terms in Telugu is now changed into *ga*. Then, what is meant by the term *kūṭa* or *kuḍi*?

While editing the *Mālepāḍu* plates of *Puṇyakumāra*, the *ājñapti* of which was a certain *Māripidugu Raṭṭaguḍi*, the late Rao Saheb Mr. H. Krishna Sastri made the following explanatory observations on the terms, *Calki Raṭṭaguḍi* (*Salki Raṭṭaguḍi*), *Cōliya Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Vallava* (*Pallava*) *Raṭṭaguḍi* etc., occurring in the Telugu inscriptions discovered in *Cuddapah* district. "Its (the term *Raṭṭaguḍu*'s) significance", says he, "as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* which has been explained in the sense 'the headman of the village'..... In some inscriptions *Raṭṭaguḍi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family as *Salki-Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Gagga* (*Gaṅga*) *Raṭṭaguḍi*, *Cōliya-Raṭṭaguṭṭu* etc. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty *Salki* or *Calki*, *Gagga* (*Gaṅga*), *Vallava* (*Pallava*, *Vallabha* or *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*), and *Cōliya* or *Cōla* under whose patronage the dignity (*Paṭṭamu*) of *Raṭṭaguḍi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase '*Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhaṇ kuṭumbinah*' which occurs in copper-plate inscriptions, shows also that the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, were *Kuṭumbins*, cultivators (*kuḍi* in *Tamil*) who enjoy a higher social status than others of their community."¹²

In the passage given above the late Mr. Krishna Sastri tried to explain the prefixes *Salki*, *Vallava*, *Gaṅga*, *Cōliya* etc., and opined that *Raṭṭakuḍi* like its equivalent, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* was the name indicating the

12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 342 - 43.

dignity (*paṭṭapu pēru*). He did not attempt to explain the second component *kuḍi* or *guḍi* in Raṭṭaguḍi. He almost touched the point but did not account for it. It was the late Dr. Fleet who, while editing some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, was confronted with doubt as to how he should explain the term *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

"Now the word, *kūṭa*" writes Dr. Fleet, "has the meaning among others of 'the highest, most excellent, first' derived no doubt from its meanings of 'any prominence, a peak or summit of a mountain'. In literature it occurs in that meaning in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, (2, 9, 19), where Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) is represented as addressing Brahman as '*kūṭayōginām*' — 'O Chief of ascetics'. In Epigraphic records it is used in the same meaning in the official title '*grāmakūṭa*', a 'chief or headman of a village,' and also in the word, Rāṣṭrakūṭa in an official title meaning the headman of a territorial division, technically known as a rāṣṭra. The word in the same meaning was plainly employed in making up the full family name, Rāṣṭrakūṭa. And the use of it to fill out and give sufficient pomp to that form of the name very probably suggested by the actual existence of the word Rāṣṭrakūṭa as an official title. But we need not think that the name is itself the official title or that, like the official title, it means a headman of rāṣṭra. It was plainly intended to mean 'highest, most excellent' chief or leader of the Raṭṭas".¹³

If, as Dr. Fleet contends, *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa means a chief it is unintelligible why another word *pramukha* denoting the same meaning had to be used as in '*Rāṣṭrakūṭa - pramukhān*' of the Eastern Cālukyan copper - plate grants. The second suffix having the same meaning as the first one is redundant and unnecessary. The very addition of *pramukha* to Rāṣṭrakūṭa connotes that *kūṭa* should have some meaning other than what was given by Dr. Fleet. When he edited the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions he does not seem to have consulted the Telugu inscriptions discovered in Cuddapah district containing the term Raṭṭakuḍi or Raṭṭaguḍi. Either they had not been discovered by that time, or if discovered, his attention was not drawn to them because of their very recent discovery. If he was aware of the term, Raṭṭaguḍi his remarks on Rāṣṭrakūṭa would have been probably different.

In Raṭṭakuḍi the second part *kuḍi* seems to be a *Dēśi* word, and the abbreviated form of *kuḍiyan* which means a cultivator, a ryot or a farmer (a *kāpu*). The term *kuḍi* in the above sense still obtains in the words *kuḍivāram* (the cultivator's share as against mōlvāram or the king's share) and in *kuḍitala* (meaning land). *Kuḍi* in Raṭṭakuḍi

therefore seems to connote that the Raṭṭas were mainly *Kuḍiyans* or *Kāpus*, that is, cultivators. Even to-day the usage *Redḍi-Kāpu* is in currency in the Telugu country.

The Raṭṭakuḍis of the Telugu inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries were a section of the Raṭṭas who spread over the whole of the Central Deccan in a very remote period and had their settlements both in the Canarese and the Telugu countries. The term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukha* finds mention in the copper-plate records of the coastal Andhra Country from about the seventh century. It is absent in the grants of the Pallavas, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas and Viṣṇukunḍins- the dynasties that ruled the coastal Andhra country before the seventh century. It was Jayasimhavallabha I, the Eastern Čālukya monarch, son of Viṣṇuvardhana I who addressed for the first time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas at the time of making a grant of some land or village to brāhmins. This shows that the Raṭṭakuḍis spread along the sea-board as far north as Kalinga, and that they became the leaders of the village communities by the time of Jayasimha Vallabha I. Ever since that time, they maintained their reputation as the chiefs of the cultivating class of the Telugu country. The kings therefore found it necessary, at the time of making grants of lands or villages to brāhmins, to inform and address the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas* inhabiting a *nāḍu* (a territorial division) in which the land or village donated lay.

From the seventh century onwards some of the members of the Raṭṭakuḍi families held important posts also in the administration of the country. They were the *ājñaptis*, that is, executors of grants under the Telugu Čōḷa rulers of the Rēnāḍu country.

These leaders of the Raṭṭakuḍis in each village appear to have been responsible for the agricultural tax, either in kind or coin, to be paid to the king by the cultivators. This duty of collecting the king's share of produce from the village devolved in course of time on the chief leader of the Raṭṭakuḍis who eventually became a prominent officer of the state, the headman of the village, and the connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. His office was known as Raṭṭaḍamu, a term which came into vogue when the form of Raṭṭaḍi, a developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi was in currency. After the form Raḍḍi came into use, the office was known as Raḍḍikikamu. Now it goes by the name of Redḍikamu since Redḍi is the form now in currency. The office has been known as Raṭṭaḍamu, Raḍḍikamu or Redḍikamu in accordance with the duties originally performed by a Raṭṭaḍi (Raḍḍi or Redḍi) even if the office-holder were other than a Redḍi by caste,

CHAPTER V.

PRŌLAYA VĒMĀREḌḌI.

(A. D. 1324-25 to Cir. A. D. 1353)

The facts and circumstances under which the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu took its birth, have not all come to light. The available material is scanty and not well sifted at that. The foundation of this kingdom, we may say, was the result of one of the several attempts made by nobles and statesmen of the mediaeval Andhra country to restore peace and order out of the political turmoil and anarchy which followed the expulsion of Muslims from the land. It came into existence as the custodian of Hindu *dharma* and culture, and to revive the old Vēdic traditions and ritual which suffered a death blow and became almost extinct under an alien rule. The Mallavaram record¹ of Vēma dated in Saka 1247 is a very important one in the history of the Andhras in general, and of the Reḍḍis in particular. In fact, it marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Telugu country. The coastal tract was liberated by the date of that record.

Vemā Reḍḍi, son of Prōlaya Reḍḍi, a chieftain of Pākanāḍu or Pūṅgi viṣaya was the real founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom. The Mallavaram record describes him as the virtual Agastya to the ocean of the Mlēcchehas' *Mlēcch = ābdhi-Kumbh = ōdbhavaḥ*). It is clear from this that he had taken an active and almost the chief part in ejecting the Mussalmans. An ardent supporter of Hindu *dharma*, Prōlaya Vēma placed all his resources in men and material at the disposal of Prōlaya Nāyaka in the struggle for the liberation of his country and strove hard with the help of his brothers and relations to free it from the Muslim yoke. He knew that the strength of the Hindus lay in their union and so co-operated willingly with the other Hindu nobles. Their combined efforts bore fruit and their object was at last achieved. Hindu supremacy was firmly established in the coastal region.

The limits of Vēma's sphere of action during this troublous period are in a way defined by the mention, in the Mallavaram inscription, of the three important rivers, the Brahmakuṇḍi or Kuṇḍiprabhā (Guṇḍlakamma), the Kṛṣṇā and the Gautamī. It was probably during this period that Vēma, as stated in the above

1. N. D. I., III, O. 78, p. 1022; *Forgotten chapter*, pp. 89-40, foot note, 7.

inscription, granted to brāhmanas several *agrohāras* situated on the banks of the above-mentioned three rivers, - *agrahāras* which were probably in the enjoyment of the donees before the Pre-Muslim occupation of the country, - after rescuing them from the enemy. This is in a way borne out by two lithic records, one dated 'Saka 1237/1315 A.D., and the other undated,' at Mōgallu (Bhīmavaram taluk, West Godavari district) which register gifts of lands to a Saiva poet and *ācārya* Pramathakavi Sirigiri (Sirigiri) dēvayyanigarū. Anavēma is the grantor in the undated record. This Saiva poet, as is evident from the dated record, was a contemporary of the last Kakatiya monarch, Pratāparudradēva who ruled till Saka 1245/1323 A.D. Considering the nearness of time Anavēma, the donor in the undated record may be identified with Vēma, son of Kōmaṭi Prōlā Redḍi. This undated record supports the above contention that Vēma re-granted lands probably after freeing them from the possession of the Muslims and that his activities extended as far north as the Gōdāvarī.

We do not know about Vēma's political status and his relations with Prōlaya Nāyaka, the leader of the confederacy of nobles after the liberation of the country. It is however to be presumed that he was loyal and subordinate to Prōlaya Nāyaka; for, one of the later Redḍi inscriptions, the Kaluvacēṅṅu grant⁴ states that Vēma was one of the seventy five nayāks that served Kāpaya Nāyaka, the cousin and successor of Prōlaya Nāyaka.

Prōlaya Vēma was ably aided in these wars by his powerful brothers and his maternal uncles, Pōtaya, Nāgaya, and Cīṭṭaya. MallāRedḍi, the youngest brother of Vēma was, according to the Mallavaram inscription and the Telugu work *Harivamśam*, the commander of the Redḍi army. He warded off a Muslim invasion of the young Redḍi principality by defeating the hosts of Turuṣka-mallas like Alā-vaḍin and others.⁵ This Alā-vaḍin was no other than Alā-ud-Dīn, the first Bahmanī Sultān of Gulbarga who ascended the throne in 1347 A. D. (Saka 1269). The Muslims did not stop with invading Telingānā

2. EP, Coll., No. 758 of 1920.

3. Ibid, No. 754 of 1920.

4. A.S.P.P., Vol. II, pp. 93 to 112; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, (1944), June and July numbers; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, II, pp. 110-111.

5. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42; The Pedapūḍi grant of KōmaṭiRedḍi.

वेमाधिपस्यावजोपिमलभूवलभोसौ जगदेकमलः

अलावदीनादितुरुकमलान् समुल्लभद्भङ्गणान्विजिग्ये ॥

The same verse is also found in the commentary on the *Girls's ṣṛtisūktimālā* written by ŚivaliṅgaBhūpa of the Kandukūru branch of the Redḍis.

(Hyderabad state), the Waraṅgal kingdom of Kāpaya Nāyaka, but seem to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā river and attacked the Redḍi dominion. Mallā Redḍi, the commander of the Redḍi forces drove them away after inflicting a severe defeat on the Bahmani Sultan, Alā-ud-Dīn and protected the Redḍi kingdom. The date of this invasion cannot be fixed precisely. It must however have taken place some time after the coronation of Alā-ud-Dīn in 1347 A. D. All the brothers of Vēma as well as his son, Anavōta, assisted him in his campaigns and contributed much to his success. Mallā Redḍi, the commander of the army, is particularly credited, according to the *Harivamśam*, to have put to flight a group of enemy kings by the prowess of his arms and captured the famous sea-port of Mōṭupalli' (in the Bapaṭla taluk of Guṇṭūr district), the 'Caitravura' (the summer resort) of the Kākatiya records. Though the date of the conquest of Mōṭupalli cannot be fixed definitely, it is not unlikely that Mallā Redḍi achieved this victory during the early campaigns of Prōlaya Vēma in the coastal region. The capture of Mōṭupalli did not, however, give Vēma the entire command of the east coast. A large part of it still remained outside the jurisdiction of his authority. However, as a result of their successful campaigns the Redḍis grew powerful, and their importance increased in the coastal tract.

The Redḍis regarded themselves as masters of the south-eastern portion of the Kākatiya dominion extending from Sṛisailam in the Nandikōṭṭur taluk^a of Kurnool district to the east coast. They continued to administer this region as usual, as in the time of Pratāparudra with Addaṅki on the river Kuṇḍiprabhā or Guṇḍlakamma (in the Ongole taluk, Guntur district) as their capital. With their strong arms they conquered the rebel chiefs in their neighbourhood and assumed the role of independent rulers.

Of the five sons of Prōlaya Redḍi of Pākanaḍu Vēma was easily the most important. None of his brothers had his military skill, and

6. Vide. *Forgotten Chapter*. p. 80.

7. బాహదర్పనునం శ్రీతిప ధరణీపాలావలిం దోలియు

తానహోద్రగుడు మోటుపల్లిఁ గొని సప్తదీప్తపసవ్యస్తునం

కోనంబున్ దన కిచ్చు నెచ్చెలి సముద్రం బ్రీతిఁ గాంచుమన్

మహాశ్రీధ్రుంబువహించె మల్లరథినీసానుండు గోధోధధతిన్॥

—Hr. Vm. I, i. v. 23.

8. Inscriptions of Redḍi nobles like Ceraku Jagadaḍu Bollaya Redḍi and his son Rudradēva who held the position of the Mahasāmantas during the Kākatiya rule, are found in the Nandikōṭṭur taluk (Vide, Rangachari - Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, p. 948, No. 409 Loc. Rec. It was probably because of this fact that Prōlaya Vēma regarded the territory as far as Sṛisailam as belonging to the Redḍis and brought it under his sway.

far-seeing statesmanship. In his love of Hindu religion and institutions he truly represented the spirit of the age and the soul of the movement for the revival of Hindū *dharma*. Along with Prōlaya Nāyaka he took a lead in organising the forces of the country and concerting measures for its defence against possible Muslim attacks. He built a large number of forts, tradition says it was eighty four, like Dhānyavaṭi or Dharaṇikōṭa (Amarāvati), Dhanadaprōlu (Tsandavol), Vinukōṇḍa, Kōṇḍaviḍu, Kōṇḍapalli and Bellamkōṇḍa and stationed garrisons in places of strategic importance.⁹ His brothers and kinsmen who were attached to him and served him loyally, carried out his behests with unswerving devotion. They helped him in establishing law and order, and were mainly responsible in building a powerful Rēḍḍi principality south of the Kṛṣṇā.

Vēma I thus became the leader of the Paṇṭa Rēḍḍis and master of the new kingdom, the principality of Addaṅki which has destined to play a notable part in the history of the Andhra country for over a century. Although this Rēḍḍi principality came into existence as a result of the combined efforts of Prōla's family and his relations Vēma I is generally regarded as its founder, as it was under his direction that they worked. It is not, however, easy to explain how Vēma I was chosen king of the new principality in preference to his elder brother, Mācā Rēḍḍi. From 1325 A.D., Rēḍḍi inscriptions refer to Vēma as the ruler of the Rēḍḍi territory and not to his brother. In the light of available evidence, it is reasonable to state that Vēma's brothers and kinsmen recognised him as their chief from the beginning of the Rēḍḍi rule. The causes for this, of course, are not known, but that, however, is a different matter.

Mācā Rēḍḍi loyally obeyed and assisted his brother in setting up an independent state of the Rēḍḍis. The region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā at the end of its course was entrusted to his charge. He seems to have administered this region with Dhanadaprōlu, the modern Tsandavol (Rēpalli Taluk, Guṇṭūr district) as his headquarters. The Sanskrit prose work '*Vēmaḥpālacaritam*' written by poet Vāmana-bhaṭṭa Bāṇa refers to Dhanadapura as one of the *Śākhūnaguras*¹⁰.

Vēma I ruled his dominion practically as an independent chief, though nominally acknowledging his allegiance to Prōlaya Nāyaka and his successor, Kapaya Nāyaka. This subordination did not, however,

9. *Kōṇḍaviṭṭaṇḍakavile*.

10. ".... धनदपुरप्रभृतीनि शाखानगराणि, बङ्गल्याणानि द्वीपान्तराणि

भुजेन भूषणमिव भुवनभारमुद्वहन्, वन्द्यो बभूव भाचभूपालः"

last long. The first invasion of Telinganā by the Bahmanī Sultān, Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah shook the power of Kāpaya Nāyaka. The defeat he sustained at the hands of the Sultān greatly enfeebled his authority over the coastal region. He was not able to maintain his hold firmly either over the country above the Ghats or the region below. As a matter of fact, ever since the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom in the neighbourhood of Waraṅgal, Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal tract. His Gaṇapēs'varam inscription¹¹ dated in Śaka 1268, i.e., 1346 A. D., is his latest extant record. He seems to have appointed his cousin Toyyeṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his representative to carry on the administration of this region. His inscription¹² at Dakshāram is dated just the next year, that is, Śaka 1269 (1347 A. D.).

Vēma I was not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin and representative, Anavōtā Nāyaka was not powerful enough to keep in check the growing power of the coastal chieftains. Vēma I realised Anavōtā's weakness and incapacity to afford protection to people from external attacks either Muslim or Hindu. So he decided to carve out his own future and act independently. He broke his bonds of allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs and organised the defence of his dominion to ward off possible enemy-attack. He was now a full fledged independent ruler exercising authority in his own name.

The Kuluvacōḡu grant¹³ of Anitalli, dated Śaka 1345 (1423 A. D.) gives a different account of Vēma's assumption of independent rule. It says that Vēma, originally one of the seventy five subordinate chiefs of Kāpaya Nāyaka, began to rule the territory independently only after the death of his overlord. This is the only record which indicates the political relationship that existed between the Musunūri chiefs and Vēma Redḍi, and it is on the authority of this record that Vēma's allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs has been postulated above. However, there is an important discrepancy presented by this account. The statement made by the above record regarding Vēma's independent rule, is contrary to the known facts. Kāpaya Nāyaka was not only a contemporary of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh but also of his son, Muhammad Shāh I who ascended the throne in 1359 A.D. Excluding for argument's sake, even his early records, the Mallavaram and the Nekarikallu¹⁴ inscriptions, Vēma was issuing grants in

11. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 950.

12. Ibid, No. 1294.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff; *Rharrat* (1944).

14. Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1915.

his own independent capacity from Śaka 1254, that is 1332 A.D. This is the date of his Valivēṇu grant,¹⁵ and of his Kuṅkalaguṇṭa inscription.¹⁶ From that time onwards till Śaka 1275, i.e. 1353 A.D., the date of the latest record at Māṇikēśvaram¹⁷ to refer to him, several inscriptions of his reign have come to light. In none of them is there any reference to his overlord Kāpaya Nāyaka, to conform with the usual custom observed in the inscriptions of other vassal chiefs. This shows that Vēma was independently ruling the country even while Kāpaya Nāyaka was alive. In fact, it was Kāpaya Nāyaka who outlived Vēma as is evident from the former's contemporaneity with Muhammad Shāh I. It is, therefore, wrong to say that Vēma assumed independence after the death of Kāpaya Nāyaka.¹⁸ How this discrepancy arose and why such a wrong account was given in the Kaluvacēṇu grant is a mystery which is yet to be unravelled.

Vēma's records do not furnish any important historical information regarding his reign or his campaigns in different directions. They describe him in very general terms of customary hyperbole as 'a river with a great current to the trees of neighbouring kings,' as 'the full moon to the forest of water lilies of his friends,' and as 'a wind to the cotton of arrogant *manne* chieftains.' These statements do not help us in ascertaining Vēma's conquests or the extent of his dominion. The neighbouring kings and *manne* chiefs whom he conquered were probably the descendants of local nobles who held military fiefs under the Kakatiya monarchs. It is not unlikely that some of these were the chieftains of *bōyavihārādēśu* — country of the boyas, references to which are found in inscriptions¹⁹ discovered in the Ātmakūr, Kanigiri and Udayagiri taluks in Nellore district, and the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs. From the time of the Western Caḷukyas of Kalyāṇi these Cōḍa chiefs had become a formidable feudal power in the land and spread over great portions of Kammanāḍu²⁰ (comprising the present Narasāraopeṭa,

15. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII, p. 131.

16. S.I.I., Vol. No. 589.

17. N.D.I., III, O. 78, p. 1037.

18. There must have been a strong reason for such an obviously incorrect statement in the Kaluvacēṇu grant. The political relations between the Musunūri chiefs and the Redḍis do not appear to have been smooth in the later period of the reign of Kapa Nāyaka, or probably from the beginning of his reign. It seems certain that there was some rupture between the two houses as a result of the appointment of AnaVōta as the Viceroy of the coastal tract, or of some such question relating to administration.

19. Ibid, I.A. 37, p. 251; A. 38, p. 251; A. 39, p. 255;

Ibid, II, Kn. 4, p. 638; Kn. 10, p. 650;

Ibid, III, U. 46, p. 1392.

20. A record (Ep. Coll. No. 402 of 1915) of Śaka 1327 at Appāpuram in the Narasāraopeṭa taluk, Guntur district states that Kammanāḍu formed part of "the Kōṭa province extending by the side of the sea along the river Ōṅkāra, overshadowed by the Ś'risaillam hill" — Ep. Rep. 1916, p. 57.

Bāpaṭla and Ongole taluks in Guṇṭūr district) and Pākanāḍu (comprising the northern coastal taluks in Nellore district) in the coastal region. The country around Tripurantakam (in the Mārkapuram taluk of Kurnool district) was at one time under their sway. ²¹ Tripurantakam is on the north-eastern side of the Nallamalai hills and served as the main outpost to control the region to its west and south, and to command the trade routes leading to the upland country. Vēma was not slow to realise its strategic importance. He conquered the Tripurantakam region in the early years of his reign.

This region was the original abode of a branch of the Telugu Cōḍas who are called the Cōḍas of Ēruva or the Ēruva country. Of these Cōḍa chieftains, Kāmarāja, better known as Bhaktirāja, belongs to this period. According to his Madras Museum plates ²² he was at Śrīśailam or Śrīparvata (Nandikōṭkūr taluk, Kurnool district) in the course of a military campaign (*diśō jigīṣur* = *vicaran*) and made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu to a bachelor Śaiva teacher, Śrī Viśvanātha ²³ of the Kausika gōtra, a resident of Śrīparvata in Śaka 1277²⁴. It was probably at the same time he also granted the village of Ātukūru to the Lord of the Parvata (Parvatēśvara, that is, god Śrī Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata) at the instance of a certain Pōlidēvayya, chief servant of the Śaiva divine, Śanta Bhikṣāvytti yatīśvara of Śrīparvata. It was at the instance of the same Śaiva devotee Pōlidēvayya that he granted, probably about the same period, the village of Āmudālapalli ²⁵ to god Tripurantaka of Tripurantakam (Mārkapuram taluk, Kurnool district). Both Śrīparvata and Tripurantakam were included, as we know, in the Reddi dominion. Bhaktirāja

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 190 and 280 of 1905

22. J. O. R. Vol. V, pp. 128 ff; *Bhārati*, Vol. VIII, 1931, (July number), pp. 120 ff.

23. Viśvanātha or Viśvēśvara seems to have been one of the powerful Śaiva teachers who exercised great influence over the Telugu chiefs of this period. Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, according to the Kaluvacēru grant (A. s. p. p. Vol. II, pp. 93 ff), assumed the reins of government after the death of his cousin Prolaya Nāyaka and ruled his kingdom at the behest of Viśvēśvara. This Viśvēśvara appears to be identical with Viśvanātha to whom Bhaktirāja granted the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu.

24. The English equivalent of the date is Monday, 7th November, 1356 A. D. (Vide. *Bhārati*, Vol. VIII, pp. 795 ff). The grant was made on Monday, on the 15th of the month of Kartika (Mahakartikyam).

25. “భక్తిరాజాభ్యుదయే బద్ధతేజోవనకు

నర్మించె జెనవాడు నాతుకూరు

ధరణిఁ దిపురాఁతికన సంఘదాలపల్లె

రాయవేళ్ళాభుజంగువల్లూరుచె

నల్లె

కాలిదేవయ్య చెన్నారం బుల్లయూరి”,—Sv. Mh., I.

must have been there either as a friend or as a foe of the Reddis. The villages he donated to gods Tripurantaka, Parvatēśvara and to the Śaiva teacher Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata are enough to furnish the clue to locate his territory; but unfortunately, it is not possible to establish their identity as there are many villages bearing those names in different districts in the Telugu country. Though Bhaktirāja was an Ēruva chief he does not appear to have been ruling over that region. It is also not yet known if his father Gaṅgādhara and his grandfather Somarāja were ruling Ēruva; and if they were dispossessed of their principality by the Reddi kings. These questions have to be solved by future research. There is however reason to believe that Bhaktirāja was a friend of the Reddis in the beginning of their rule and that he was a younger contemporary of Anavēma²⁶ or Prōlaya Vēma. The Telugu works *Kāśikhāṇḍam*²⁷ and *Śivalilāvilāsam* inform us that

26. Ep. Coll., No. 754 of 1920; He is also called Annama Vema and Annaya Vema.

“శ్రీకంఠ బాహువిభవ
వ్యాకంఠవైరామయన్నయశేమా! -- Hr. Vm., II, iii.
... .. కీర్తి సుధా
సేకభంజియమానమ
హాకమలభవాడధానయన్నయశేమా! -- I bid, I vi.

27. “అనవేమశ్రీపాలు పౌత్రీయగు శేమాంబామహాదేవికి
ఘనం డేమ్యుల్లడ భూమిపాలునకు” - Ks. Kh., I.
“ధరత్రీనిధి యమ్మహారముం డేమ్యుల్లడ శోభవత్తీర్తి
శ్రీరమానందర భీమంగనుజేశ్వరేశ్వర సమృత్తిభా
స్వర కానణ్యనామనామవిరాసంధాత్రి శేమాంబిక
వరయిం చెడ అతిధికి గౌరవవృద్ధవ్యాపార సత్కాండెన” - Sv, VI., I.

While describing the descent of Allāḍa in his *Kāśikhāṇḍam* Śrinātha informs us that Allāḍa's wife Vemambika was *pautri* (grand-daughter, of Anavema whom the Telugu scholars and historians identified with his namesake, brother of Anavota and second son of Prolaya Vema. As Anavema, brother of Anavota, is not known to have had any male issue, the late Śrī Chilukūri Virabhadra Rao, the author of the 'History of the Andhras' (three Vols), interpreted the term *pautri* as *putryaḥputri* (daughter's daughter). This interpretation was accepted by all. According to this interpretation Vemambika, wife of Allāḍa, was the daughter of Bhīmaliṅga or Bhīma Coḍa by the daughter of Anavema, son of Prolaya Vema. If this identification is accepted we have to take Bhīmaliṅga to a late date. As Allāḍa was already actively taking part in the political affairs of the kingdom during Kumaragiri's rule as will be shown later on, he was not much removed in time from Anavēma to be the husband of his grand-daughter. Moreover, Bhīmaliṅga was probably a step-brother of Annadeva Coḍa, another son of Bhaktirāja. According to the Rajamahendravaram record (Mack Mss., Nos. 15-5-86 and 15-4-4) Annadeva Coḍa's coronation took place in Śaka 1289 (see, J. A. H. C., Vol. I, p. 40 f. n. 8), and he was already contesting for his kingdom in Śaka 1310 during the reign of Komaragiri. In the light of all these facts I presume Bhīmaliṅga to be Annadeva Coḍa's elder brother. To be consistent with this presumption I take Anavēma, grand-father of Vemambika, to be no other than Prolaya Vema. Like Doḍāmbika he might have another daughter who was given in marriage to Bhīmaliṅga or Bhīma Coḍa, son of Bhaktirāja,

Bhaktirāja's son, Bhīmalīṅga or BhīmaCōḍa, married the daughter (name not given) of Anavēma or PrōlayaVēma. Hence, it is not unreasonable to think that Bhaktirāja was not only a friend but also a relative of Vēma and probably helped the latter in his early conquests in the Tripurāntakam and Śrīśailam regions.

Inscriptions of the Redḍi chiefs in this region are found from Śaka 1268, the date of Vēma's earliest record²⁸ at Tripurāntakam. A certain Rāmā Nāyaka's subordinate, the lord of Ālakuṇṭala, and a noble of this period claims to have captured the forts belonging to Karikāla Cōḍa and cut off the head of one Manuma Mallidēva²⁹, a Cōḍa chief presumably of this region. These conquests, whether effected during Vēma's reign or not, indicate that there were Cōḍa chieftains in this region before or about the time of the Redḍi kings. It is likely that AnnamaRedḍi³⁰ and Anavōta, Vēma's brother and son respectively, took an active part in the conquest of this region and in its defence against enemies. Anavōta is referred to in a record³¹ of Vēma at this place. His paternal uncle Annama Redḍi had his gifts to god Tripurāntaka registered in a record³² dated in Śaka 1269 (1347 A. D.). Anavōta, the heir-apparent and one of the chief commanders of the Redḍi forces, was probably the governor of Tripurāntakam.

Extent of Vēma's territory:

Vēma's authority extended far beyond Tripurāntakam, over the region including Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam, the places of pilgrimage for the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas respectively. Vēma earned the gratitude of thousands of pilgrims by building steps to facilitate the ascent to the great shrines of god Mallikarjuna on Śrīśailam and of god Nṛsiṃha on Ahōbalagiri, and for the descent to the Pātālagangā of the Kṛṣṇā there. These places of pilgrimage indirectly suggest the limits of Vēma's authority in the western quarter. The date of Vēma's construction of these steps may be fixed with tolerable certainty. His Mallavaram and Mādras Museum records³³ do not allude to this act of piety. The

28. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.

29. Ibid. No. 184 of 1905.

30. Vēma's brother Anna Redḍi was one of the commanders of the Redḍi forces. He is described in the *Harivamsam* as follows:

అన్న చతుః పరుండు సః లాగ్ధపమన్వితం పన్న దానన,
పన్నం డభిన్న బాహుబల భాసి భనాంఘ్రిసరోజపూసనా
సన్నతి తిస్త్రిరాత్ముః పవనన్న విశోధి ప్రసన్న భావుః
భృన్నతకాలి కీలితశుభోదయుః మూర్జితః డయ్యెనెయ్యెడక.

31. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.

32. Ibid. No. 250 of 1905.

33. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

earliest inscription to refer to it is his Muṭṭūru grant ³⁴ dated Śaka 1265. All the Redḍi records subsequent to this grant allude to this work of merit of Vēma without fail. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that the building of steps at Śrīśailam and Ahōoalam was completed by March 1346, or a little earlier.

Now, the absence of Vēma's inscriptions in the region to the south of the Kandukūr taluk of Nellore district, makes it difficult to fix precisely the southern limit of his authority. A considerable portion of Pakanāḍu, the original habitat of the Redḍis, must have been liberated by Vēma very early in his reign. He was the earliest chief to take advantage of the defeat of the Mussalmans in the coastal region to extend his authority as far south as the Pennār. Nellore or Vikramasimhapura was the native place of his maternal grandfather. According to *Vēmathūpālacaritam* his father, Prōla or Kōmaṭi Prōla, married Anantāmbā alias Annemāmbā, daughter of Doḍḍa Redḍi of Vikramasimhapura. ³⁵ Ciṭi Peddana, grand-father of Peddana who was the minister of his son Anavēmā Redḍi, was the governor of Vikramasimhapura ³⁶ (*Vikramasimhapur-ādhyāsi*) evidently under Prōla or his son Vēma. Ciṭi Peddana's family rose to power and influence in the service of the Redḍi chieftains. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the territory as far as Nellore was under Vēma Redḍi in the beginning of his reign. Records of the Koṇḍaviṭi family are, however, conspicuous by their absence in the region to the south of Kandukūru.

It did not take much time for Vēma to discover that he was confronted with another rising Hindu kingdom, Vijayanagar, which was fast developing into a formidable power by the united efforts of Harihara I and his brothers of the Saṅgama dynasty. The Aṭakala-guṇḍu inscription, ³⁷ dated in Śaka 1261, that is, 1339 A. D., and the

34. *Redḍi Ravi*, Vol. III (Sept. 1926), No. 12.

In fact, the construction of steps to Śrīśailam is referred to in the prose passage (*Śrīśaila-sikhar=akṛāṇṭa-saupana-racanai-srēyas-saṇipadita*, etc.) in the Mañcalā record of Vēma dated Śaka 1262. This act of piety of Vēma is much praised in almost all the Redḍi charters without fail. If this work was already accomplished by the time of the Madras Museum plates, I think it would have certainly found mention therein. The original plates of the Mañcalā grant are lost. We cannot pin our faith too much on every title and passage in the prose portion containing the pras'asti. I doubt if the passage referring to the act is genuine.

35. *Vēmathūpālacaritam*, III p. 97. This work states that Prōla Redḍi's father-in-law had his daughter Anantāmbā or Annamāmbā by the favour of god Skanda (III, 17), and that he was a native of Vikramasimhapura. It gives him the title "*Udghaṭṭita-rīpubalatukkharaḡhaṭṭa*"; but does not mention his name.

36. Sr. Nd. I, v. 22

37. Mack, Mss., No. 15 - 4 - 27.

Ākumalla copper plate grant ³⁸ dated in Śaka 1262 (1340 A.D.) of Harihara I give him the title *pūrva-pāścīma-samudr = ādhīśvara*, lord of the eastern and western seas. This significant title suggests that by 1339 A.D., the dominions of Harihara I extended upto the coast both on the east and on the west. This fact is further attested by the provenance of inscriptions of Vijayanagar kings and nobles in the Kōvūr, Kāvali and Udayagiri taluks of Nellore district prior to 1346 A.D. The first Vijayanagar record ³⁹ in Nellore district is that of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukka I, brother of Harihara I, and was dated in Śaka 1265 or 1343 A.D. The next one is the Koḍavalūru (in the Kōvūr taluk, Nellore district) inscription ⁴⁰ of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, younger brother of Harihara I, dated Śaka 1268 or 1346 - 47 A.D. We understand from this record that Kaṁpa I was in charge of the region to the north of the Pennār. The above records prove that the kings of Vijayanagar extended their authority along the Pennār valley and were already masters of the region to the south-west of Kanigiri and Kandukūr, which they must have wrested from the Redḍis some time before 1343 A.D. They consolidated their power in this region by fortifying Udayagiri ⁴¹, and making it their chief and important stronghold in the east. Udayagiri, lying as it did on the south-western flank of the Redḍi kingdom, became a standing menace to it ever threatening its existence. In this way, the two rising kingdoms of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, ever since the beginning of their rule, came into conflict with one another in their struggle for supremacy in the coastal region, and this fight lasted for over a century.

The northern limits of Vēma's kingdom do not appear to have extended beyond the Kṛṣṇa river. No doubt, the field of his early activities spread as far as the Gōdāvarī; but it does not seem to have been the northern frontier of his kingdom. All the records of Vēma's reign are found to the south of the Kṛṣṇa which, therefore, may be regarded the northern boundary of the Redḍi principality during his rule.

The region to the north of the river, Kṛṣṇa was under the sway of the Musunūri chiefs and other local chieftains, probably their subordinates. The Musunūri chief Anavōta, popularly known as

38. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 30.

39. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 17.

40. N.D.I. II, No. 28, p. 789.

41. Some of the later Vijayanagar records refer to Udayagiri as the first *durga* belonging to the throne of the Rāyas (of Vijayanagar), *Rāyasūhāsanavilā madalidurgamaina Udayagiri*, thereby implying that it was the first important *durga* acquired and constituted after the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom - Vide, N.D.I., II, Kn. 80, p. 549; Kn. 77, p. 617.

Toyyēti Anavōta Bhūpāla, cousin and viceroy of Kāpaya Nāyaka, ruled the Vēngī country with Rajamahēndravaram⁴² as his capital.

Again the same river Kṛṣṇā divided the Reḍḍi kingdom on its southern bank from that of the Rēceṇḍa chiefs in the north-west, in the Teliṅgāna country with their capital at Rājukoṇḍa.

Vēma ruled his new principality very ably and justly. He strove hard to relieve the brāhman and the peasant from their miserable plight and to give them protection and every facility to follow their own pursuits and professions, unmolested by foreign aggression and internal disorders. He thereby rightly earned the title *dharmapraṭiṣṭhāguru*, the revered that established the *dharma*. He lavished his resources in supporting learned brāhmanas, the repositories of secular as well as spiritual knowledge, and the custodians of Hindu rites and rituals. In fact, it was to achieve the above objects that Vēma felt the need of building up an independent kingdom. Restoring to brāhmanas their *agrahāras*, which were in their enjoyment prior to the Muslim invasion, became his first and primary duty. He granted to brāhmanas many new *agrahāras* and thus earned the titles of *niṣṣimabhūdāna Paraśurāma* and *aparimitabhūdāna Paraśurāma*, frequently alluded to in the records of the Reḍḍi kings and in the Telugu works dedicated to them. A stray *Cūṭi* verse⁴³ current in the Telugu country states that Vēma granted as many as forty four *agrahāras* to brāhmanas, of which he granted three to the brāhmanas of the Vēgināṭi sect, thirty-six to those of the Velanāṭi sect and five to the Drāviḍas who were brāhmanas of the Tamil country, domiciled in the Andhra dēśa. From his title *anēkanagar = ōpakaṇṭha-praṭiṣṭhāpita-bahuvīdh = ārāma* we come to know that he took special pleasure in planting different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of many a town⁴⁴. In fact, the planting of a

42. “ వేంగి దేశములో

వేమన రాజమహేంద్రవరము

నడిపితి నాయ్యటి యనవోతి ధూపము ... ”

— Vs. Rm., I. v. 33.

43. तेषां श्रेष्ठतमो राजा वेमभूपालसत्तमः

ब्राह्मणोभ्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्गामान् ददौ क्रमात्

तयोवेगिकुलानेभ्यः द्राविलेभ्यश्च पञ्चमान्

वेलनांटिकुलेभ्यश्च षट्त्रिंशद्गामसत्तमाः (?)

44. “ The special administrative measure speaks highly of the cultured tastes of the ruler of the fourteenth century and of the sanitary principle which he inculcated nearly six hundred years ago, in laying out such gardens for the benefit of the citizens.”—Ep., Rep. for 1920, p. 120, para 60.

garden was one of the age-old *Saptasantiānas* that perpetuate one's name on earth, and hence it was regarded as an act of merit.

Vēma made zealous attempts to revive the Hindu ritual and institutions. He extended his liberal patronage to brāhmanas to perform religious sacrifices and earned the title of *anavarata-purōhita-kṛta-sōmapāna* ⁴⁵, one who made the *purōhitas* take the Sōma juice incessantly. In fact, this title as well as the title "*nissimabhūdāna-Paraśurāma*" ⁴⁶, a virtual Paraśurāma in granting limitless land, indicate the nature of his conquest which was in a way to revive the *dharma* of the land. Vēma also made several gifts of a religious character referred to and explained at length in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri's great work *Caturvargacintāmoṇi*.

Vēma's Political Status :

Though in the beginning of his reign Vēma acknowledged in a way the supremacy of the Musunūri chiefs, he was, as explained already, practically independent in his own territory. Subsequent to the invasions of Telingānā by the Bahamanī Sultan, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh he appears to have assumed full independence and ever since that time, he was busy in consolidating his conquests and placing the new principality on a firm basis. At the time of his death his authority extended as far as or a little beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the north and beyond Kandukūr (Nellore district) in the south and Srisailam (Kurnool district) in the west. His principality thus extended over a fairly large area, equal in size to, if not actually bigger than, the feudal kingdoms that flourished in the coastal region of the Andhra country during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Yet, it is noteworthy that Vēma did not assume the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* borne by independent rulers like the Kakatīya monarchs and by many of the feudal chiefs, some of whose territory was comparatively smaller in size than his own. In the place of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* we find only the simple and plain term *Śrīmatu*. Vēma's descendants followed his example and avoided the use of the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, so that it is

45. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 243,

46. A śloka in the Naḍupūru Grant of Anavēma (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 296) describes Prōlaya Vēma thus :

हेमाद्रिणा सम्प्रतिपादितानां

दानव्रतानां विधिवद्विधाता

निस्सीममुर्वी द्विजसात्सकृत्वा

तद्भुक्तशेषां स्वयमवमुक्त्वा ॥ v. 5.

not found in any of the records of the Redḍi kings, either of Koṇḍaviḍu or of Rājamahēndravaram, even after the growth of their principality into a big kingdom. It may, however, be noted here that in two stone records⁴⁷ of the last years of his reign Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth king of Koṇḍaviḍu is styled as Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā *maṇḍalēśvara*. We do not know if *maṇḍalēśvara*, an ordinary title like *maṇḍalika* was less conventional than the orthodox *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the only Redḍi king to assume even this ordinary title. This finds mention in a record of his subordinate, and not of his own.

It may be pointed out here that the Musunūri chiefs, Prōlaya Nāyaka and Kāpaya Nāyaka also, did not assume that title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, though the latter is described as *Andhra dēśādhiśvara* and *Andhra suratrāṇa* in some of his inscriptions. And mention should be made here that the kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I, almost from the start of their independent rule, assumed the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.⁴⁸

This omission of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Musunūri chiefs and the Redḍi kings is significant. The exact reason for the avoiding of this important title, the royal prerogative of the rulers of the middle ages, not only in the Andhra country but in the whole of Southern India, is not known; but it may be explained in one of two ways. Neither the Musunūri chiefs, nor the Redḍi kings received the royal insignia from an overlord in the same way as the feudatory chiefs from the Caḷukya Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I. Nor did they find sanction for any such title from mythological or religious sources as the Gaṅgas of Kāḷiṅga and the Caḷukyās of Vēṅgī, who are said to have received their royal insignia from god Gōkarṇēśvara on the Mahēndragiri and from goddess Nandabhagavatī on the Caḷukyagiri respectively. Nor were they the descendants of kings of either lunar or solar dynasties that ruled the country before. These were perhaps

47. Ep. Coll., Nos. 327 and 328 of 1936-37.

48. The *Sukraniti* enumerates as follows the titles of rulers of different gradations according to their incomes. *Samanta* is one who has an income from one to three lakhs; *Maṇḍalika* from four to ten lakhs; *Rajan* from ten to twenty lakhs; and *Maharaja* from twenty to fifty lakhs.

सामन्तनृपः प्रोक्तो यावत्तिलक्षयावधि

तदूर्ध्वं दशलक्षान्तो नृपो मण्डलिकस्मृतः ॥

तदूर्ध्वतुभवेद्राजा यावत्त्रिंशत्तिलक्षकः

पञ्चाशद्वर्षयन्ते महाराजः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

the reasons that influenced them to refrain from the use of the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. What actually seems to have prevented them from assuming the title was not the want of desire or the lack of opportunity, but the Hindu tradition which did not countenance the step. The Hindu *Dharma Śāstras* did not probably give them sanction to assume the title as they were not Kṣatriyas. They were not justified in laying claim to the royal prerogatives and exclusive privileges pertaining to the Kṣatriya caste, though they were undoubtedly the masters of the land, and lords of the country. While striving to revive and uphold *dharma* as envisaged by the *Śāstras* and age long custom, the Reddis and the Musunūri chiefs could not well go against their injunctions. The titles of *Andhra dēśādhiśvara* and *Andhra suratrāṇa* ascribed to Kāpaya Nāyaka stand altogether on a different basis. They are ordinary titles and do not connote more than they were intended to carry, the lord of the Andhra country, and the Andhra Sultān. The kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I of the Saṅgama dynasty, claim to be Candravanīsa Kṣatriyas - Kṣatriyas of the lunar race; they, therefore, were justified in assuming the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* from the beginning of their independent rule.

This seems to be the possible explanation for the omission of the important title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Reddi kings. The omission did not, however, lessen their regal power or importance. They were the undisputed rulers of the country which was won by their valour and strength of arms. Their commands were implicitly obeyed and loyally carried out. By the time of Vēma's death about Saka 1275 (1353 A.D.) the Reddi principality, which he founded, was a power to be reckoned with in the coastal region.

Vēma I had three sons, Anavōta I, Anamāca, and Anavēma and two daughters. Of the two, Doḍḍāmbā was given in marriage to Kāṭā Reddi II, " son of Māraya and grandson of Kātaya Reddi I. The other daughter, whose name is not known was married to Cōḍa Bhimā, son of Bhaktirāja. Anamāca appears to have died a premature death. Vēma's brother Anna had a daughter, named Vēmāmbā⁴⁹ who was married to Nalla Nūṅka, son of Nūka and grandson of Ciṭṭa. During his own life time Vēma made Anavōta, the eldest of his sons, *yuvārāja*, the king designate, and gave him sufficient training in the administration of the country. According to tradition recorded in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* Vēma, being disabled to govern the country owing to the severity of an asthmatic complaint, placed the burden of the kingdom on his son and took rest.

49. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 818 ff; Introduction, *Sṛṅgāra Śakuntalavyākhyā* by Kātaya Vēma.

50. Ep. coll., No. 572 of 1925.

Vēma's court poet Errā Pregada gives, in the introductory verses of his *Harivaṁśam*, an account of his patron as man and king. Vēma was an expert bow-man and a great warrior. He was humble, pious and god-fearing, and a true disciple of Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva. He was very liberal to brāhmins well-versed in Vēdic lore and gathered round him many Sanskrit scholars and Telugu poets. He acquired eternal merit by having *sapta-santānas*, the seven kinds of off-spring that continue one's name on earth. He bestowed *agrahāras* on brāhmins eminent in learning and *tapas*, and established them as the performers of sacrifices; built temples, and constructed tanks and made them worthy ones; he instituted *nidhis* (treasures), supported brāhman *agrahāras*, set up feeding houses and sheds for supplying drinking water, and planted flower and fruit gardens. He performed all the *vratas* and *dānas* prescribed by Hēmādri. Such were the achievements of Vēma, according to Errā Pregada and we may well accept this description as truthful, as Errā Pregada is rarely given to exaggeration on such points.

APPENDIX.

A NOTE ON THE CĪMAKURTI PLATE OF ANAVĒMA.

This record incised on a single copper-plate was secured by the Government department for Epigraphy from the karaṇam of Cīmakurti in the year 1920, and was edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 276 ff.

The inscription registers the grant of the village, Rāmatirtham in the Ammanabrōlu *sīma* or division, situated in the Śrīśailabhūmi (the province of Śrīśailam) as a *sarvāgrahāram* to Cīṭṭamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa Sāstrulu, son of KoṇḍuBhaṭṭāraka, and grandson of Kāmēśwara Bhatta of the Kaundinya gōtra. Yajus-sākhā, and Āpastamba Sūtra, in the Śaka year 1257 corresponding to the cyclic year Yuva, on the occasion of the *manvādimahāpunyakāla* on Thursday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight in the month of Kārtika. In addition to the above, the donee was granted, in the five villages of Cīmakurti, Bhīmēśvaram, Pulikoṇḍa, Mailavaram and Komarapuri, a fourth portion of the land in leaf (betel) gardens and sugarcane fields in the dry and wet lands below the tanks as *sarvamānya*, and a sixteenth portion of all kinds of produce raised in the remaining three fourths portion of that land, a fifth part of the income in coin *suvarṇmānya* (in the above villages), a tenth portion of the grain produce in the villages other than those (mentioned above), that were irrigated by the waters of the big tank, and lastly, 200 kuṇṭas of land in every big village and 100 kuṇṭas of land in every small village, measured by a pole of sixteen *bāra*, in the whole of the *sīma* as *sarvamānya*.

A careful study of this record in all its bearings made me suspect its genuineness. The points that gave rise to this doubt are noted below :—

(i) The language of all the copper-plate grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, particularly of Vēmā Redḍi, registering gifts of land or *agrohāras* to brāhmanas, was Sanskrit with the exception of the passage enumerating the boundaries, which was always in Telugu. This is Vēmā's second copper-plate record written completely in Telugu the first being his Koṇḍapalli grant (C. P. No. 5 of 1925-26), published in the Telugu journal (now extinct) *Śārada*, Vol. III (1925), No. 1. (May) pp. 89 ff. This is also a forgery like the grant under review.

(ii) Grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu generally bear the signature of the donors at the end—Pallava Trinētra, Anavēma, Vīra

Nārāyaṇa etc. This plate does not end with any sign-manual. During the post-Kākatīya period the sign-manual was the life-breath of a copper-plate document.

(iii) The term 'basava' instead of 'basuva', the correct form then in use in inscriptions, was used in one of the titles, namely 'anṛāyabasava-Śaṅkara'.

(iv) The date of the grant is irregular. The details furnished by this grant do not work out correctly; for, in the year Yuva, corresponding to Śaka 1257, Kārtika Śu. di. 12 falls on Sunday, and not on Thursday as stated in the grant.

(v) The *prasaṣti* recorded in this inscription is unusually long and is not furnished by any of the inscriptions of the Redḍi kings, either of Koṇḍavīḍu or of Rajamahēndravaram. It contains titles like *jala-durgajaludhi-bāḍabānala*, *sthaladurgo-havana-Hatāyudha*, *Kaṭiṅgarāya-mānamardana*, *manṇiyarāyamṛgavēṇakāra*, *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, *Janturnātarāyohallakallōla* which do not find mention in the other records of the Redḍi kings. "*Sangrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhujāsivikhaṇḍita* - *śatrukīlāḥ lavamāna-piśācagaṇa-stūyamāna-yaśōmaṇḍana* of the Amarāvati record of Prōlaya Vēma is faultily written as "*Sangrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhujāsivikhaṇḍitakīlā*."

The titles *Kaṭiṅgarāya-mānamardana*, *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, and *Janturnātarāyohallakallōla* suggesting the conquest of Kaṭiṅga, the defeat of the king of Orissa and the victory over the king of Janturnāḍu are very significant. If these important historic events suggested by these titles were really true, it is unintelligible why they did not find mention in other inscriptions of the Redḍi kings, either of Vēma I or of his descendants. This is the only Redḍi record which states that Vēma conquered Kaṭiṅga and Orissa. This is not corroborated by any other available evidence.

(vi) The unlikely event of Vēma I leading an expedition to Kaṭiṅga is another factor that strengthens the doubt regarding its genuineness.

Let us consider if there was any possibility for Vēma I to invade Kaṭiṅga. The date of the grant under review is Śaka 1257. It is not known if the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya, leader of the Hindu confederacy and the acknowledged lord of the coastal region, was alive or dead by that time. If the Kaṭiṅga invasion is accepted to be a fact, one of the following two alternatives has to be postulated: (i) Vēma I, Prōlaya Nāyaka's subordinate ally, could not have invaded Kaṭiṅga without inflicting a defeat on his overlord; (ii) if Prōlaya Nāyaka

or his successor Kāpaya Nāyaka had undertaken the Kaṭiṅga invasion, Vēma must have followed them. Evidence is wanting to prove both the above propositions, that Vēma I defeated his overlord and that the Musunūri chiefs led an expedition to Kaṭiṅga. Even if Prōlaya Nāyaka was dead by that time, his successor Kāpaya Nāyaka was the paramount lord of the coastal country till Śaka 1268, the date of his Gaṇapavaram record, and his successor was Toyvēṭi Anavōta (Vs. Rm., I. v. 33; S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1294). The Musunūri chiefs could not have tolerated Vēma's expedition to Kaṭiṅga and Orissa through their territory. Moreover, it was not the time for either Vēma or any other noble in the coastal tract to undertake an expedition of that sort, in or before Śaka 1257, the date of the grant under review, as their whole energy was concentrated in re-conquering Waraṅgal, which was finally wrested from the Muslims in Śaka 1258-59.

Under these circumstances I am unable to believe in Vēma's expedition to Kaṭiṅga either independently or on behalf of the Musunūri chiefs. The above considerations throw a doubt on the genuineness of the plate under review.

I am, however, ready to concede that the contents of the record are true. It seems to me that the original plates were lost, and this plate was subsequently fabricated to prove their claim over the lands and other proceeds, either in kind or coin, granted. The fabrication must have been done about the end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century; for, the exploits suggested by the titles of *Kaṭiṅgarāyamānamardana*, *Jaṇṭurnāṭarāyahallakalōla*, and *Vodḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhūma* were effected in the reign of Kumāragiri, as will be shown later on.

I, therefore, believe that this Cīmakurti plate is a forged one, prepared sometime after the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER VI.

ANAVOTA.

(Cir. 1353 A.D. to Cir. 1364 A.D.)

When Prōlaya Vēma died, his son Anavōta assumed the reins of government in about 1353 A.D., and ruled the kingdom in his own right independently.

Anavōta of the Musunūri family died at Rajamahēndravaram sometime before Śaka 1275. The region on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī was devoid of a ruler. Anavōta's cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal region, having been apprehensive then of an attack by the Bahmanī Sultan, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh. The Mañcikonḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōḅukonḍa assumed the role of a king in deference to the wishes of his father, and enforced his authority on the entire dominion previously ruled by the Musunūri chief, Anavōta.

Enthused by the inviting nature of the political situation in the coastal region, Narasiṃhadēva IV of Kālīṅga thought it to be a favourable opportunity to extend his authority towards the west. Accordingly, he led an expedition to the western country, and, crossing the Gōdāvarī, advanced as far as Śrīkākuḷam in Kistna district. His inscription¹ at that place dated in Śaka 1275, that is, 1353 A.D., bears evidence to his victorious campaign. This is the first clash that history records between the Redḍi kings and the Gaṅga monarchs of Kālīṅga. The inscription alluded to above records the gift of jewels and other things by Narasiṃhadēva's queen, Gaṅgamahādēvī, made to god Śrī Vallabharāya of Śrīkākuḷam. These presents are said to have been offered personally by the king's generals Kālīdasa Sēnāpati, Gōvinda Sēnāpati, and Gōpālajīyya on behalf of the queen. Narasiṃhadēva's further progress to the south of the Kṛṣṇā appears to have been arrested probably by the vigilance and valour of the Redḍi nobles who compelled him soon to retreat. Evidence is lacking to show that he crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and that the conquered region remained under his authority for a long time.

Very soon we find Anavōta launching his eastern campaign probably as a counter measure. He might have also realised the

necessity of uniting the whole of the coastal region under one banner, for the better defence of the country from any kind of aggression, and for the maintenance of law and order. Anavōta Redḍi appears to have been greatly aided in this undertaking by his friend and ally Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. He was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja as his sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga, as stated in the previous chapter. The title *Dvīpa-jētā* 'the conqueror of Dvīpa or Dīvi, given to Anavōta Redḍi in his Dākshāram inscription' dated in Śaka 1278 / 1356 A.D., was obviously assumed by him after his conquest of Dvīpa, effected early in the course of his eastern campaign against Kaḷiṅga soon after crossing the Kṛṣṇā.

'Dvīpa', which Anavōta conquered, has to be identified with the island mentioned in the Gaṇapēsvara inscription² of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva. This Dvīpa, or Peda Divipura as it was also called, is identical with the village of Talagaḍa dīvi³ in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district. Dhanada or Kubēra is said to have formerly created this Dvīpa at the junction of the Kṛṣṇavēṇī and the sea. Some centuries later, during the reign of Cōḍa, the Durjaya chief of Velanāḍu who had his capital at Tsandavōlu, his officer Nārāyana developed it into a big city with palaces, towers, lofty ramparts and extensive gardens. After the conquest of the coastal country, the Kākatiyas of Waraṅgal made it one of their outposts and further strengthened it. The reduction of such an impregnable *jaladurga* defended, by virtue of its location at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the sea, by a vast sheet of water all around, gave Anavōta Redḍi the coveted title of *Dvīpa-jētā*. The campaign, begun with such a brilliant victory, was no doubt assured of success throughout. Neither the records of Anavōta nor of his brother Anavōma furnish details of this eastern campaign; yet, they give us to understand that Anavōta, after the conquest of Dvīpa, advanced into the heart of Kaḷiṅga, relentlessly carrying fire and sword.

In the course of his eastern campaign Anavōta must have come into conflict with numerous petty chiefs who were ruling over the intervening region between the Kṛṣṇā and Kaḷiṅga. Of such chiefs Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the Mañcikaṇḍa family, the ruler of Kōḅuṅkaṇḍa was the master of Kōṇa, Kuravāṭa, Pānāra and other territories lying on either side of the Gōḍavārī at the time of Anavōta's invasion.

2. Ibid, No. 1397.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 82 ff; vv. 21, and 23.

4. Ibid, p. 84, foot note 3.

According to his Kōṛukonḍa inscription ⁵ he conquered these countries about Saka 1275 and succeeded in establishing his authority over the entire dominion of the Musunūri chief, Toyvūṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka. Anavōtā Redḍi must have met with great resistance from Mummaḍi Nāyaka, who appears to have ultimately yielded and become his vassal.

The date of the eastern campaign of Anavōtā is almost definitely known to us from his Dākshāram inscription. ⁶ Anavōtā made, in the course of this invasion, either during his march to or his return from Kaḷiṅga, a gift of five bells to lord Bhīmēśvara of Dākshāram in Śaka 1278, that is, 1356 A. D., on Friday, the fifteenth date of the bright half of the month of Vaisākha.

The Ippugallu grant, ⁷ one of the early records of Anavōtā's brother and successor Anavōma, alludes to the former's invasion of the Sabara (Savara) country. The Paccani Tāṇḍipaggu grant ⁸ of the same king explicitly states that Anavōtā's sway was recognised over the territory extending as far north as the Mēkhala range an off-shoot of the Vinḍhyas to the north-west of Kaḷiṅga. These are simple hyperbolical statements that have yet to be confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. The Kaḷiṅga country extending as far as the Mēkhala range never came under the sway of Anavōtā Redḍi. If at all there is any truth in those statements, it might be that there were some predatory military raids into the Kaḷiṅga country by Anavōtā Redḍi with a view to subdue it.

5. Ep. Coll., 44 of 1912; Ep. Rep. 1912, p. 68.

6. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1387.

7. C.P., No. 9 of 1921-22; An, An, (1922).

स्तानूनमसावशोकविटपीनीलस्तमालः पुरा

गौरश्चम्पकभूरुहः कुयुमिनश्चूतश्शुकश्यामलः

एवं वेमयअन्नवोतवृपतेः कीर्त्यामितानांवनै

वात्तेभ्यो बहुधावदन्ति शवगाप्रार्ची दिशां शास्त्रिनाम्॥

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 273.

शशास यः श्रीनगपूर्वभागा

दापूर्वस्ताकरमन्ध्रदेशम्

आमेखलं मेखलभूधरस्य

जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूपः॥

In spite of the successful nature of the campaign, the country north of the Kṛṣṇā does not seem to have come permanently under the sway of the Redḍi king, Anavōta. He was unable to exercise an effective control over the vanquished chieftains and nobles.

The passage *praty-abdam pratipakṣa-dēsa-jayinah* in a ślōka in the Kolluru grant⁹ of Anavōma describes Anavōta rather in hyperbolic terms as conquering the countries every year; thereby it suggests that there were campaigns of Anavōta against his enemies almost every year. Whether this statement is true or not, there is reason to believe that he invaded the eastern country more than once. His Dakshāram record testifies to one of his successful campaigns led against the region lying to the east of the river Gōḍāvarī. He was not invariably successful in all his campaigns against that eastern quarter, the number of which is not known. The Telugu Cōḍa chief, Bhaktirāja was, as we know, a contemporary (senior) of Anavōta. According to the Rajahmundry Museum plates¹⁰ of his son, Anadōva Cōḍa he defeated a certain Vir = Ānnavōta in a battle fought at Sūravaram.¹¹ During this period there were three kings bearing the name of Annavōta or Anavōta in the Telugu country, namely, Anavōta, the Padma Velama chief of Rājukoṇḍa in the Teliṅgānā country, whose date of accession to the throne is Śaka 1283/1361 A. D., Anavōta alias Toyvēṭi Anavōta, the Musunūri chief of Rājamahēndravaram, and lastly, Anavōta, the Redḍi king. There is no possibility for Cōḍa Bhaktirāja to come into conflict with Anavōtā Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, as his dominion lay far away in Teliṅgānā. The only other chiefs were Anavōta of Rājamahēndravaram and the Redḍi king, Anavōta. The king defeated by Bhaktirāja has the prefix vīra attached to his name. The inscriptions of this period inform us that the Redḍi king had that epithet. The Dakshāram and other Redḍi records call him Vir = Ānnavōta. Hence, it seems reasonable to think, on the authority of this evidence, though slender, that Vir = Ānnavōta suffered defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja in one of his campaigns to the east at Sūravaram. This town is now in the Nūjavīḍ taluk, Kistna district. Bhaktirāja, as we already know, was related to Anavōta. The reason for Bhaktirāja to oppose Vir = Ānnavōta in battle is not stated in the Rajahmundry plates of Annavōta Cōḍa, mentioned before. But it may be possible to guess.

In his eastern campaign Vir = Ānnavōta probably tried to subdue the chiefs of the solar line ruling in the country between the Kṛṣṇa and

9. Elliotts' Telugu inscriptions, No. 15-6-26, Vol. I. pp. 206 ff.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI (1941-42), pp. 14 ff; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

11. “येनैव सूरवरपट्टणसंनिधाने वीरान्नवोत्तनृपतिर्विजितो विनोदात्”.

the Gōdavarī. The villages granted by them as *agrahāras* to brāhmins indicate the location of their dominion. Most of the villages granted by them are found in the eastern half of the modern West Godavari district. The capital of these chiefs of the solar line was Sūravaram. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Sūravaram, the place at which Bhaktirāja defeated Vir = Ānavōta, with the capital of these solar chiefs. As the Rāvulaparti grant¹² of Uṇḍirāja II of this line is dated Śaka 1304, he, or probably his father, Tammarāja must have been a contemporary of Anavōta Redḍi. Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḍa married Irugāmbikā, sister of Pina Uṇḍirāja and daughter of Śrī Cakravarti of the solar race. It seems likely that Pina Uṇḍirāja was one of the chiefs of the solar line of Sūravaram, some of whom had the names of Uṇḍiśa and Uṇḍirāja. It is however difficult to establish his identity; for, the father of Uṇḍirāja¹³ of the Rāvulaparti grant was Tammarāja, and not Śrī Cakravarti. We do not know if he had the alias Śrī Cakravarti. Anyhow it appears likely that Bhaktirāja was related to these chiefs. His capital Kāmapurī seems to be identical with the present Kāmavaram or Kāmavarapukōṭa (fort of Kāmavaram, modern form of Kāmapurī) in the Chintalapūḍi taluk of West Godavari district. If this identification is accepted to be correct, then it may be presumed that Cōḍa Bhaktirāja's dominion comprised the agency tract in the western half of the modern West Godavari district. The solar chiefs of Sūravaram probably did not submit themselves to the authority of Anavōta for a long time, and hence there was trouble. Apprehending danger to his principality also Bhaktirāja, their neighbour, allying himself with those chiefs, opposed the Redḍi king Anavōta at Sūravaram, and in the battle that ensued, defeated the latter and drove him back. Probably this was how Bhaktirāja came to defeat Vir = Ānavōta at Sūravaram.

Anavōta Redḍi thus lost much, though not all, of his territory between the Kṛṣṇā and the Gautamī.

The inroads of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah of Gulbarga, the Rēcōḷa chiefs, and the Viayanagara kings further weakened the strength of the Redḍi kingdom.

12. C. P. No. 16 of 1917-18.

13. Uṇḍirāja, the donor of the Rāvulaparti grant, married a certain Rudramadevi of the Manavyasa gotra, the gotra of the Chalukyas of Veṅgi. It may be remembered in this connection that the Chalukya king, Virabhadra, son of Indus'ekhara Cakravarti, married Rudramadevi, daughter of Kakati Ganapatideva of Waraṅgal. Rudramadevi, wife of Uṇḍirāja of Sūravaram, was probably a descendant of Rudramadevi and Virabhadra of the Chalukya line. During this period Niravadyaprolu, the present Nijalavolu in West Godavari district, was a strong fortress of the later Chalukyas. It is likely that the Chalukya chiefs of Niravadyaprolu co-operated with the chiefs of Sūravaram and Cōḍa Bhaktirāja in checking the advance of Anavōta Redḍi and in inflicting a defeat on him.

During the early half of his independent reign the Bahmanī Sultan invaded Telingānā again. During this invasion the Muslim armies ravaged the whole of the Andhra country in the present Hyderabad State extending as far south as the Kṛṣṇā. Anavōta's Amarāvati inscription ¹⁴, dated Saka 1283/ 1361 A. D., refers to this invasion of the yavanas or Mussalmans from the west, and states that, on merely hearing the news of the approach of the yavanas, many kings, struck with fear, left their forts garrisoned with infantry and horse, and entered the forests with effort. ¹⁵ At this juncture Mallaya Vēma, the minister of Anavōta Redḍi, rising equal to the occasion, opposed the Muslim cavalry from the west, and inflicting a crushing defeat on them in battle, drove them back and saved the Redḍi kingdom. During this invasion the Muslims desecrated the old temple at Amarāvati, as they had previously done at Pillalamagṛi ¹⁶ in the Nalgonda district in Telingānā. The Amarāvati record referred to above was set up to commemorate the re-consecration of god Amarēśvara of Dhānyavāṭi by Anavōta's minister Vēma, sometime after the victory was won.

After the defeat of the Muslims and restoration of peace in the country, Anavōta betook himself to improve the internal and external trade, and to rehabilitate the ports in his kingdom, specially Mōṭupalli, the great emporium of marine trade in the Telugu country at this time. The sea-borne trade of the kingdom suffered heavily owing to the inequity of administrative laws governing commerce, and their rigorous application by officers of the state; consequently, the volume of trade diminished greatly. Though the port of Mōṭupalli came under Vēma's sway early in his reign, the country and the government did not derive much benefit from its trade. Anavōta inquired into the causes that had crippled the sea-borne trade and repealed the unjust laws. In Saka 1280/1358 A.D., he issued a new charter to merchants engaged in over-seas trade, setting forth therein the terms for carrying on trade at Mōṭupalli, and fixing duties on articles of import and export. This gave a fresh impetus to the sea-borne trade of the country. By his order Sōmaya, the governor at Mōṭupalli, got the charter inscribed on one of the pillars of the local Virabhadra temple. It stands there even to-day

14. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226.

15. "आयातायवना इतिक्षितिमुज[: *] शृत्वेव वार्त्तामहो
दुर्गायश्वभटाकुलानिसमयास्त्यक्त्वा वनान्याविशन्
श्रीमन्मल्लयवेमशौरिरनवोताधीशवाहुर्जयी
पाश्चात्यान् जगनोऽवगण्डविरुदो निर्जित्य संराजते॥"

16. I. T. D. H., No. 40, p. 113 ff.

as a monument to the king's regard for justice and the welfare of his people.¹⁷

The *Velugōtivarī Vamśāvaḥi* alludes to a war between Anavōta and the Rēceḥla chiefs. According to that work Mādā Nāyaka and his brother's son, Kaṭhāri Nāgā Nāyaka, attacked Anavōta Redḍi and defeated him in battle at Dannālākōṭa or Dharaṇikōṭa. This is the first clash in the struggle between the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and the Velamas of Rajukoṇḍa which continued with unabated fury till the middle of the fifteenth century.

Curiously enough the inscriptions of the Rēceḥla chiefs and those of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, so far known to us, are silent about the feud between the two houses. The Telugu and Sanskrit works also produced under their patronage, do not allude to any of the victories which either of them gained over the other. Yet, the *Cūṭu* verses in the *Vamśāvaḥi* may be accepted, with some caution, as evidence.

The fight between the Padma Velamas and the Redḍis seems to have begun in Śaka 1283 during the siege of Jalīpalli, laid by Anavōta Nāyaka and his brother Mādā Nāyaka, to avenge the assassination of their father, Singama Nāyaka. We are told that, in the garrison defending that fort, there were Redḍi nobles who aided the Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, who were probably related to the Āravīṭi chief, Sōma-dōvarāja of the Čaḷukya family. The Padma Velama heroes, in their revengeful spite, tried to extirpate their enemies altogether. After massacring in cold blood the garrison defending the fort, they pursued their enemies, who had escaped alive. During this chase Anavōta and Mādā crossed the Kṛṣṇā and conquered the region lying to the south of that river in Kurnool and Guṇṭur districts. All the forts of the Kṣatriyas in the taluks bordering on the Kṛṣṇā were reduced to submission, and the defenders, who happened to fall into their hands, were brutally murdered. The Redḍi dominion on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā from Śrīsaīlam in Kurnool district in the West

17. Ep. Coll., No. 601 of 1010; Ep. Rep. P. 61

This charter was inscribed on stone in three languages, namely, Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. The coastal trade between the Telugu country and the Tamil land must have been very considerable during this period, and the number of traders from the Tamil country visiting Moṭupalli must have been very large. Evidently, Moṭupalli, ever since its rehabilitation by the Kakatiya emperor Gaṇapatiḍeva of Waraṅgal in the thirteenth century, usurped the place of Ghaṇṭasala (Divi taluk, Kistna district) in trade, which had the alias of Čola-Paṇḍyapura in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, owing to the extensive coastal trade carried on by merchants from the Čola and Paṇḍya countries visiting that port.

lay prostrate at the feet of the advancing invaders,¹⁸ and was annexed to the Rēceṅḍa kingdom. This is indirectly corroborated by literary as well as epigraphical evidence. The statement, made in the *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*, a Sanskrit work on Rhetoric, written by Siṅgama Nāyaka II of the Rēceṅḍa family, that his father Anavōtā Nāyaka I constructed a flight of steps to the sacred mountain of Sṛisailam¹⁹ and made it accessible to pilgrims, suggests indirectly that that holy place was included in their dominion.

Māda, brother of Anavōtā, marched further east into the kingdom of the Redḍis, accompanied by his cousin Kathāri Nāgā Nāyaka. Anavōtā Redḍi was ready with his forces to give fight to the enemy. The *Vanīśūpaḷi* states that Māda, after crossing the Kṛṣṇā, attacked the Redḍi king Anavōtā at Dannalakōṭa, defeated him in battle, and put him to flight in the same manner as Arjuna drove away Duryōdhana while attempting to lift Virāṭa's cattle.²⁰ Anavōtā abandoned his arms and war material, and took to his heels. He also appears to have fallen into the hands of the enemy; for, it is stated that Nāgā Nāyaka released the Redḍi king Anavōtā, having imprinted, on his back, the marks of his ownlāñchana²¹ as a sign of defeat. Consequent on this victory, the Rēceṅḍa chiefs assumed the characteristic Redḍi titles, such as Jagadobbagamḍa, Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya, Rāyavēśyābhujāṅga²² etc., and made them their own.

18. Anna Redḍi, one of the brothers of Prolaya Vema and the uncle of Anavōtā Redḍi, seems to have been slain in the fight with these Rēceṅḍa princes in the course of this campaign. None of the *Caṭu* verses in the *Vanīśūpaḷi* alludes to this event except the Ainavolu inscription of Anavōtā Nāyaka. The portion containing the verse referring to this event, in the estampage in the epigraphical collection in the Andhra University, is damaged. It appears however from this verse that Anavōtā slew Anna-nṛpa or Anna Redḍi and ruled the region of the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari. The reading of the verse in question is however doubtful, and has to be verified from a fresh estampage before accepting the statement about Anna Redḍi as a fact.

19. “यश्चारुसोपानपथेन चक्रे
श्रीपर्वतं सर्वजनप्रगम्यम्” ।

—Vide, Introd.—*Rasārṇavasudhākaram*.

His brother Māda Nāyaka also is credited with the construction of steps to Sṛisailam (Vide, VV. Cr., p. 52).

20. VI. Vm., Verse 81.
21. Ibid, verse 51.
22. Ibid, verse 80,

The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūraṇṇa, in the introduction to his poem *Viṣṇu Purāṇam*, alludes to an incident which was probably connected with Annavōtā Redḍi's war with the Rēceḷa chiefs. Anna-vōtā Redḍi, according to this work, met in battle near Amarāvati, a *rāhutu* (cavalier), Kēsabhūpa by name, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and having spared his life, chased him away²³. The identity of this Kēsabhūpa is yet unknown. The above incident, if it had taken place during the struggle with the Rēceḷa chiefs, as seems likely, since it was fought near Amarāvati (Dannalakōṭa or Dharaṇikōṭa), shows that Anavōtā also was successful in some engagement, though the war finally terminated in his defeat.

The victories of the Rēceḷa chiefs, Māda Nāyaka and his cousin Nāgā Nāyaka over Anavōtā Redḍi, mentioned in the *Cātu* verses, appear to have been won by them in one and the same battle. In spite of success in battle Māda was not able to occupy any portion of the coastal territory of the Redḍi kingdom. Dharaṇikōṭa was evidently the objective of his attack; but the town did not even temporarily fall into his hands. It may be worth mentioning here that the course followed by the Rēceḷa chiefs at Dharaṇikōṭa was quite contrary to the practice they usually adopted towards their vanquished enemies. The release of Anavōtā Redḍi was indeed a step unprecedented in the annals of the Rēceḷa family. These considerations come in the way of our accepting the *Cātu* verses in the *Vamśāvali* at their face value. It seems, however, true that the Redḍis lost a considerable slice of their territory in the west in the Srīśailam province.

Anavōtā Redḍi was not allowed to reign in peace even after the war with the Padma Velamas. The rapid expansion of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the south and the south-west threatened the security of Koṇḍaviḍu. While Anavōtā was involved in struggle with his enemies in the east and the west, the kings of Vijayanagar were consolidating their power in the coastal tract. The fort of Udayagiri had already become their stronghold in the east. It served as an excellent military base to carry on further their work of aggrandizement. Anavōtā's entanglements with the Bahmanī Sultāns and the Rēceḷa kings left his kingdom comparatively weaker than before, and provided

23. ఈ నిఖిలంబు మెచ్చు నమరేశ్వరదేవుడు చూడఁ గృష్ణ వే
 టినది సాక్షిగా ననిక నిల్చిన రామకుఁ గనభూవిభక్త
 గానకుఁ దోగి జెన్నడచి కాచిన నేమయ యన్న వోరి భూ
 జానికి సత్ప్రబంధము లొసంగిన జన్నెలకంటివారిలోకం.

Vijayanagar an excellent opportunity to extend its power in the east. The Vijayanagar monarch Bukkaraya I did not let go this opportunity. He led an expedition into the eastern country²⁴ to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. The Vijayanagar records, found in the taluks in the eastern half of Kurnool district and in the northern-most divisions of Podili and Darsi of Nellore district, attest to this fact. As indicated by them Bukka I undertook this expedition about Saka 1285-86, that is, 1363-64 A. D., in the very last years of Anavōta's reign. The kaifiyat of Duvvapāḍu (Dūpāḍu) in the Mārkaṭapuram taluk of Kurnool district states that the Narapati kings of Ānegondi, by which term the kings of Vijayanagar are meant, became powerful, and conquered that region (around Duvvapāḍu) in Śaka 1286, corresponding to Krōdhi.²⁵ After its conquest, the Dūpāḍu province was entrusted to the charge of the chiefs of the Ravela family.

The Vijayanagar kings, in the course of their eastern campaign, came into conflict with the Rēceḡla chiefs who were then in possession of the Śrīsailam country and defeated them. Consequently, the Rēceḡla chiefs lost their possessions to the south of the Kṛṣṇā in Kurnool district.

Bukka I did not stop with the conquest of the Śrīsailam area. His advance towards the east made the position of the Reddis critical and Anavōta was not unmindful of it. He apprehended danger not only to his kingdom but also to the town of Addaṅki, the chief seat of his Government. He, therefore, was forced to change his capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu, a more impregnable place than the former, in the Narasārapet taluk of Guṇṭūr district. Even in the reign of Vēma I, when Addaṅki was the chief seat of Government, Kuṇḍinapura or Koṇḍaviḍu was the secondary capital of the Reddi kings. Now Anavōta strengthened it further and made it his primary capital. The transfer of capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu is referred to in the Manyamāpuram record²⁶ of Anavēma, brother of Anavōta dated in Śaka 1286. Since then, Koṇḍaviḍu remained the capital of the Reddis until its fall.

Anavōta lost heavily in his fight with the Rāvas of Vijayanagar. The limits of his kingdom in the west and south receded considerably

24. Mack, Mss. 15—3—56; Koṇḍūru kaifiyat.

From the kaifiyat of Koṇḍūru we learn that Bukkarāya, after his return from the eastern campaign, granted the village of Koṇḍūru, on the banks of the Pāpaghni in the Mulikinaḍu to his guru Candrabhūṣaṇācārya in Śaka 1292, corresponding to the cyclic year Sādhārāṇa.

25. Mack. Mack. 15—6—19. Duvvapāḍu kaifiyat.

26. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.

and the fortune of the Reddi kings was at a low ebb. Anavōta's last years were thus clouded by defeat and disaster. They were quite in contrast with the early years of his reign, some of which were probably punctuated with victories in the north of the Kṛṣṇā. Just at a time when the armies of Vijayanagar were penetrating into the heart of the Reddi kingdom, Anavōta appears to have passed away. His reign came to a close in the early months of 1364 A.D., i. e. in Śaka 1286. His latest known record, the Kollūru grant, bears the date of Śaka 1286.

Anavōta was a great soldier and fought many battles during his reign as well as in his father's. By his prowess and bravery he earned the proud name of Vīr = Ānnavōta. He associated himself with his father in the administration of his kingdom even while he was young, and practically bore the whole burden of the state in the last years of his father's rule. He strove hard to establish order in the country and to revive the *dharma* of the land. He is described in the records of his brother Anavēma as one who, on succeeding to the throne, made the kingdom free from enemies, and ruled the earth virtuously. He is said to have granted many *agrahāras* to brāhmins, made several *dānas* or gifts described by Hēmādri, and instituted many *śatras* or feeding houses in places of pilgrimage. He took great interest in the welfare of the people. Anavōta gave an impetus to trade by repealing the unjust laws bearing on it, and thereby not only earned the gratitude of merchants but also improved the wealth of the country.

The limits of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviṭṭu at the time of Anavōta's death cannot be well-defined. Some verses in the records of his successor Anavēma state that he ruled the Andhra country extending from the east of Śrīśailam to the sea and to the Mēkhala mountains²⁷ in the north. Kaṭiṅga, though conquered by Anavōta, was not, as stated before, under his firm grip. Another record²⁸ also of Anavēma states that Anavōta protected the country extending from the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the banks of the Gōdāvarī after conquering it from his enemies. However, from the evidence available to us, it may not be possible to accept even this statement. It does not therefore seem proper to say that Anavōta's dominion extended far beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east at the time of his death.

27. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 273.

28. C. P. No., 9 of 1921-22.

APPENDIX.

THE CŌḌA CHIEFS OF ĒṚUVA.

The ancient territorial division of ĒṚuva comprised portions of the present Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur districts. ĒṚuva seems to be the contracted form of the term *Ēru-vāyi*, which seems to mean a watershed region between two drainage areas. ĒṚuva was one of the important centres of the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs who spread to the north and the east, and established new principalities in several places both in Telingāna of the Hyderabad State and the coastal districts. There were extensive colonies of powerful Cōḍa chiefs who held sway from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries A. D.

The records which the Cōḍa chiefs of ĒṚuva have left behind are very scanty. They do not give us a full account of the ĒṚuva family. The few extant records furnish only the names of a few chiefs, and register the gifts they made to temples or brāhmanas. They do not help us to reconstruct their history, or to determine what exactly their status was.

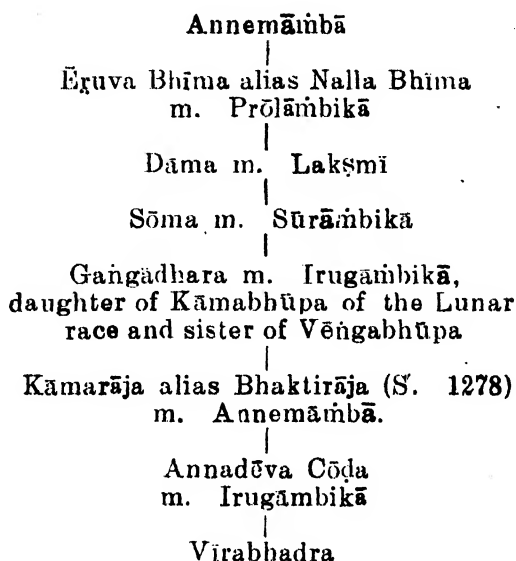
We are chiefly concerned here with the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs of the ĒṚuva family, contemporaneous with the Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. Their history is known only from two copper-plate grants, so far discovered, namely, the Madras Museum plates of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, and a few lithic records of the latter chief.

The Madras Museum plates¹ of Bhaktirāja record the grant of the village of Kāṇḍvakolanu at the holy place of Śrīśaila in Śaka 1278 to Viśvōsvara brahmacārin when the king had been there "in the course of his wanderings through the country, undertaken with a desire of conquering the four quarters." The object of the Rajahmundry Museum plates² is to register the grant of the village of Uttamagaṇḍa-Cōḍānnadēvavaram situated at the confluence of the rivers, Gaṅgā and Pinnasāni in Viṣṇināṇḍu to some brāhmanas. Of the above two grants, the latter furnishes much historical information about the donor as well as his father. The former does not mention even a single historical fact regarding either the donor or his predecessors. In fact, these are our only sources to know something about these two ĒṚuva chiefs, Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, who were contemporaneous

1. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128-148; and pp. 338-336.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff; J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

with the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu. Both the grants combined furnish the following genealogy of the donors.



According to the genealogy given above, Ēṇuva Bhīma or Nalla Bhīma is the first known chief of this branch. Since he was removed from Bhaktirāja by five generations he may be assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century. From what is known of him he appears to have been a powerful chief. An inscription³ at Tāllaproduṭūru in Cuddapah district gives an account of his conquests. It states that he conquered Viṣaṇiṇāḍu, Cakragottam, Manniya, Vaḍde Tekkali, Manthena, Vēṅgī, Kaḷiṅgam and other countries. There are some *Cūṭu* verses extolling Ēṇuva Bhīma's military exploits, of which the conquest of Viṣaṇiṇāḍu is one. He could not have made such extensive conquests by himself, a petty chieftain. He must have followed his suzerain lord who might have subjugated these countries. At the time of Ēṇuva Bhīma the Andhra country was under the rule of Gaṇapatidēva, the Kākatiya monarch of Waraṅgal. Gaṇapatidēva, as we know, invaded the eastern country as far as Kaḷiṅga. Rāja Nayaka's inscriptions both at Dākṣaram⁴ in East Godavari district and at Upparapalli⁵ in the Waraṅgal district bear evidence to the fact of Gaṇapati's conquest of Kaḷiṅga. Ēṇuva Bhīma, probably his subordinate, followed Gaṇapatidēva and distinguished himself in his eastern campaign.

3. *Bharati*, Vol. XV. i pp. 147 ff.

4. S.I.I., Vol. No. 1117,

5. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. III, pp. 16 ff.

We know nothing about his successors until we come to Kāmarāja, son of Gaṅgadhara. His great devotion to Śiva entitled Kāmarāja to the more popular name Bhaktirāja. He married Annemāmbā and had by her a son named Annadēva Cōḍa. From the Telugu work, *Śivalitāvilāsam*, we come to know that Bhaktirāja had another son named Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,⁶ who married a daughter of king Anavēma of Koṇḍaviḍu. Annadēva Cōḍa and Cōḍa Bhīma were probably step-brothers. The former married princess Irugāmbikā, sister of Pinnuṇḍirāja and daughter of Śrī Cakravarti of the Solar race belonging to the Haritasa-gotra.⁷

Bhaktirāja was a powerful chieftain. His exploits given below are recounted in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son Annadēva.

(i) Even while he was young, he defeated Boggara and other powerful *yavana* (Muslim) chieftains near Gulapūṇḍipura.

(ii) He overthrew the Gajapati monarch near Pañcadhārāla in the east and installed Koppulapati on the throne.

(iii) He defeated Śīnga in a battle fought near Bharanipāṭipura.

(iv) He won a victory over the demoniac forces of Dabaru Khān in the neighbourhood of Pedakoṇḍāpura.

(v) He overcame Vri=Ānavōta near the town of Sūravaram.

It is likely that these events are not mentioned in chronological order. The first of the exploits of Bhaktirāja given above probably refers to the time of the Musunūri chief Prōlaya Nayaka, the leader of the independence movement in the coastal Andhra country. It is probable that Bhaktirāja, even while he was young, took an active part in freeing the country from the Muslim yoke. The *yavana* chief Boggara was probably one of the subordinates of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Nothing definite is known about Bhaktirāja's victory over the Gajapati,⁸ and the restoration of Koppulapati to the throne.

6. Vide, Chapter, VII, Appendix.

7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

8. The Gajapati king referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa is in my opinion Vira Narasiṃha III. His reign came to a close in 1353 A. D. between the months of November and January corresponding to Kārtika and Pūṣya respectively. The last record of Vira Narasiṃha III and that of his son and successor, Vira Bhanudēva III, were both dated Śaka 1275 or 1353 A. D., the details of the former record being Kārtika S'u. di. 11, Tuesday and that of the latter, Pūṣya Paurṇamī, Thursday. In S. 1275 S'u. di. 11 in the month of Kārtika does not fall on Tuesday, but on Friday. As the name of the week day is clear in the inscription the *tithi* must have been wrongly read or wrongly inscribed. It must be S'u. di. 8 instead of S'u. 11. Then the English date equivalent of the former is 1353 A. D., November, 5, and that of the latter is 1354 A. D., January 9, Thursday.

To identify the chief Śiṅga, the adversary of Bhaktirāja is a problem; for, there are two chiefs of this name known till now who were contemporaneous with Bhaktirāja. Of these, one was the Rēceṅḡa chief, Śiṅgama Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, son of Dacā Nāyaka, and the other Śiṅgaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṅukoṇḍa. It is difficult to determine the opponent of Bhaktirāja who was defeated at Bharaṇipāṭipura, since this village is unidentifiable. The identity of Dabaru Khān also is unknown. Pedakoṇḍāpura, the place where Bhaktirāja defeated his foe, seems to be identical with the village of the same name, now uninhabited, in the Bhadrācalam taluk of East Godavari district.

Bhaktirāja's victory over Anavōta at Sūravaram has been already alluded to in the text of this Chapter.

Bhaktirāja's date of death is not known. The *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* preserve a very faulty copy of Annadēva Cōḍa's Rājamahēndravaram stone inscription⁹ which furnishes Śaka 1259 as the date of his coronation. The original stone, on which this inscription was incised, is now lost. The cyclic year corresponding to the Śaka year is given as Prabhava which is evidently a mistake; for, it corresponds to Śaka 1288 and not to Śaka 1259 as given in the copy. As the first two figures and the last one of the Śaka year in the copy are 1, 2 and 9 it is obvious that the Śaka year was 1289 (current) which appears to be the correct date of Annadēva's coronation. On the basis of this record Annadēva Cōḍa's father Bhaktirāja may be said to have been alive till Śaka 1289 (1366 A.D.).

9. Mack. Mss. 15—5—36, p. 175; 15—4—4, p. 231.

CHAPTER VII.

A N A V Ē M A

(Cir. 1364 A.D. to Cir. 1386 A. D.)

Anavōta had a son named Kumāragiri. As he was probably too young to hold the sceptre of the kingdom, Anavōta's brother Anavēma succeeded to the throne. The records¹ of Anavēma state that he was the self-chosen lord of the wealthy damsel of the kingdom, *Rājya-Śrīramanīsvayamvaratīḥ*, and that he bore its burden after the death of his brother. The term *Rājyaśrīramanīsvayamvarapatīḥ* suggests that Anavēma came to the throne, not by his own right and just claim but, by the choice of the nobles of his kingdom. He was eulogised in his Śrīśailam record² as *Rājyaramāramanīsvayamvaralabdhanāyakasaubhāgya*, one who had the good fortune to be chosen king by the sweet goddess of the state. These passages make at least one thing clear, that he was chosen king in succession to his brother, Anavōta. It might be that the ministers, commanders, and nobles of the kingdom realised the bad plight to which the Redḍi kingdom was reduced at the time of Anavōta's death by the extension of the Vijayanagar power in the south-west and the Rēcerla kingdom in the north-west, and did not probably view with favour the accession of the young prince Kumāragiri at that critical juncture. Their sole aim and object must have been the protection of the kingdom at any cost, for, they had nurtured it from its inception. Anavēma was Anavōta's brother. He stood by his brother in his weal and woe, and took an active part in many of the battles which his brother had fought. He would be a very happy choice; for, he might retrieve the honour and glory of the Redḍi kingdom. It is likely that these considerations stood foremost in their minds, when they elected Anavēma as their king in succession to Anavōta.

Anavēma could have placed the young prince on the throne and ruled the kingdom as his regent. But he does not seem to have approved of this idea. He must have felt that those were times when the kingdom required a strong and independent ruler at the helm who

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX1, pp. 269 B. Paccani Tāṇḍiparru grant; C.P. No. 9 of 1922-23.

सोयं भ्रातुरनन्तरं निजमहीभारं वहन् पैतृकम्
राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयंवरपतिः श्रीयन्नवेमप्रभुः ॥

2. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915,

ruled it as an absolute monarch in his own right, rather than as the prince's regent. His view prevailed and the ministers and nobles lent their full support to him. As a consequence, Anavēma ascended the throne and became king of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

It is likely there was a party favouring Prince Kumāragiri. They were evidently too weak to press their claims and fight out his cause. The circumstances of the Redḍi kingdom were none too propitious and probably the tender age of the young prince was not an encouraging factor. Though meek in early years of Anavēma's reign, the party of the prince gathered strength as years rolled by. Anavōta's brother-in-law, Kaṭaya Redḍi, and his nephew and son-in-law, Vēma Redḍi, had to agree to Anavēma's succession under the existing circumstances and to extend their co-operation to him, though unwillingly. Anavēma's career of conquest and restoration of the prestige and glory of the Redḍis must have won him strong and powerful supporters and weakened the hostile section at home, even if it did not actually bring them over to his side.

When Anavēma came to the throne, most of the territory which was conquered by his predecessors, Vēma I and Anavōta, through years of heroic fighting and able diplomacy, was lost to the Redḍis and passed into other hands. Vijayanagar became more powerful than before with her recent conquests, and was the mistress of the country extending from the eastern to the western seas and as far as Madura in the south. In the north the fertile valley of the Pennār and the Śrīśailam country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were again hers.

This was the situation when Anavēma took the reins of the kingdom into his hands. His records and *Cāṭu* verses bear evidence to the fact that he proved himself worthy of the choice made by the nobles in electing him as their king, and that his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity.

Like those of his brother Anavōta, Anavēma's inscriptions,³ so far discovered, are few in number, about a dozen and a quarter in all. Of these, his copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, recording gifts of villages to brāhmins and his charities to temples, do not furnish any historical facts relating to his reign. They merely contain eulogies of Anavēma, and his predecessors Vēma and Anavōta, and allude to

3. Of these, eight are copper-plate records, namely, i. Drjjavaram, ii. Īppugallu, iii. Paṇṇi Tāṇḍiparṇu, iv. Vānapalli, v. Naḍupūru, vi. Manyamāpuram, vii. Kollūru, and viii. Paḍaṇṇakūru. Copies of the last three records are preserved in the *Local records* and the Elliot's collection.

their religious works in general. A notable exception among these is his Śrīsaīlam record, an important document. This stone inscription does not, however, deviate from the conventional method of describing each reign as do the copper-plate records. In addition, it furnishes a long list of titles or *birudas* of Anavēma, some of which are no doubt hereditary ones; but, there are some new ones also, which roughly indicate the events of his reign. Under this category come the titles *Rājamahēndra - Niravadyanagar = ādi - bahuvīdha - sthaladurga - varga vidāḷaṇa - Balarāma* (a Balarāma in tearing asunder the many kinds of *sthaladurgas* like Rājamahēndra, Niravadya and other cities), and *Sāgara-Gautamī-salīla-saṅgama-sakala-jaladurga-sādhana - Raghurāma* (a Raghurāma in subduing all the *jaladurgas* situated at the confluence of the sea and the waters of the Gautamī). These point out to Anavēma's successful expedition to the country north of the Kṛṣṇā, and to his victories won in many battles and forts captured in the Gōdāvarī region. The Reddi kings, from the very beginning of their rule, were particularly desirous of bringing the whole of the coastal strip, extending from the Eastern ghats to the sea and as far as Simhachalam in the east under their domination. This tract, mainly watered by the rivers Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, is a fertile plain that constitutes itself into a geographical unit. The fight for the throne after the death of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja between his sons Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva seems to have afforded Anavēma an early opportunity to realise this old ambition.

As we know, Anavēma was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. His sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma. Cōḍa Bhaktirāja had another son, named Annadēva Cōḍa who was a powerful and ambitious prince. Both Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva Cōḍa aspired for the throne after the death of their father. In the internecine war which followed Bhaktirāja's death, Annadēva secured a measure of success. The extent of territory, to which Annadēva succeeded, is known from his Rajahmundry record.⁴ It refers to the many districts of the kingdom over which Annadēva held sway. Prominent among these were the Bhīmavṛōli Sima (the district of Bhīmavṛōlu, i.e., Bhīmavaram, West Godavari district), and Vēṅgināḍu (the territory surrounding the ancient town of Vēṅgi). It is reasonable to suppose that during the last years of Anavōtā Reddi's reign these countries were under the rule of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. After his death, Annadēva Cōḍa, probably ousting his brother Cōḍa Bhīma, usurped the throne for himself and ruled his paternal kingdom independently. The authority of the Reddi kings ceased beyond the river Kṛṣṇā in the east. It does not seem improbable that Cōḍa Bhīma repaired to Koṇḍavīḍu to get

4. Mack, Mds., No. 15-4-4, p. 231, and No. 15-5-36, p. 175.

Anavēma's help to recover his paternal kingdom. Anavēma took this opportunity to re-conquer the coastal region beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east which had slipped away from the control of the Redḍi kings. He set out with his army to reduce Vēngī and other districts in the Gōdavarī region, and particularly to chastise Annaḷva Cōḷa. By espousing the cause of Cōḷa Bhīma, Anavēma was able to secure the support and loyalty of some of the former's relatives, the local Redḍi nobles of the family of Doḍḍa Redḍi⁵, which proved invaluable in reducing the forts of Rājamahēndravaram, Kōṛukonḍa and others in their neighbourhood.

Anavēma's campaigns :

The eastern campaign of Anavēma was more than a success. The Śrīśailam record throws much light on this campaign. It does not describe it in detail. Nevertheless, the long prasasti of Anavēma in this inscription contains, as stated already, some new titles indicative of his conquests presumably, in this campaign. A study of this record enables us to know that Anavēma, after crossing the river Kṛṣṇā, pushed on victoriously as far north as Kaḷiṅga.

Of all the titles of Anavēma in this record, the first that claims our attention is *Dividurgavibhāḷa*, the breaker of the fort of Dīvi, or Dvīpa. We do not know if Anavēma inherited this title from his brother Anavōta, or if he re-conquered Dīvi if it had slipped away from the Redḍi control after his brother's death, and was justified in laying claim to that title anew. As the whole of the eastern region conquered by Anavōta, slipped away from the possession of the Redḍis, it seems reasonable to suppose that Anavēma re-conquered Dīvi also from the local chieftains who defied the Redḍi authority.

Anavēma, thereafter, subdued Vēngiāḍu, or the district of Vēngi. Its eastern half, as noted in the previous chapter, was under the rule of a dynasty of princes who claimed descent from the Ikṣvākus of the solar race. Their capital was Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa, in the Nūjavīd taluk, Kistna district. Tammarāja and his son Uṇḍirāja or Uṇḍiśa, whose

5. Doḍḍa Redḍi, one of the five sons of Perumāṇḍi Redḍi of the Dāvūri family, had three sons Annavrōla, Kōṭa and Allāḍa. Allāḍa Redḍi married the daughter of Kōmaṭi Vēma's son-in-law, Cōḷa Bhīma.

grant⁶ is dated in Śaka 1304, were the contemporaries of Anavēma. After conquering these princes of the solar dynasty, Anavēma proceeded to the northern Vēṅgī which formed part of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa. The preamble in the Śrīśaḷam record of Anavēma does not allude to his conquest of Vēṅgī. Yet, the reference therein to the capture of Niravadyaprōlu itself points out to his subjugation of that country, in which that fort lay.

Niravadyaprōlu, now known as Niḍadavōlu in West Godavari district, was a famous strong fort of the Eastern Cālukya times. After the shifting of the capital from the Andhra to the Draviḍa country by Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I, each of the later Cālukya princes became the governor of a local fort and held sway over its dependencies. Of such Cālukyan forts Niravadyaprōlu was one. Its rulers made their political position strong by contracting marriage alliances with the neighbouring feudatory families, like the Haihaya princes of Kōṇamaṇḍala⁷. These Cālukya princes were reduced to vassalage by Gaṇapatidēva of the Kakatiya family during his eastern campaign. Yet, in accordance with the general policy followed in respect of the conquered princes, Gaṇapatidēva gave his daughter Rudramadēvi in marriage to prince Virabhadra⁸ of the Cālukya family of Niravadyaprōlu, and secured

6. C. P., No. 16 of 1917 - 18.

This grant furnishes the following genealogy of these chiefs of the solar line belonging to the Haritasa gōtra.

Devaraja
|
Uṇḍiśa (I) m. Bimmidevi
|
Tammaraṇa m. Viramadēvi
|
Uṇḍirāja (II) m. Rudramadēvi (of the Mānavyasa gōtra)
(donor)

Uṇḍirāja II granted the village of Ravulaparti consisting of eighty shares to brahmins in Śaka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Duṁdubhi, on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Magha. The village was, on this occasion, surnamed Uṇḍiśapuram, probably after the king. The English equivalent of the date is 28th January, 1983 A.D. The other villages, which Uṇḍirāja is stated to have granted as *agraharas* to brahmins, are Gopavaram, Tvōṇkapalli, Cērvukanma-Kas'apaḍu, Cintapalli, Vipparru, Kaṭlaparru, Bhaṇḍarupalli, Karikarlapalli, Uṅguṭuru, Kōṇḍruprōlu, Kōḍakaṭlu, Niḍumrānūru, Pallivāḍa, Parumballi, Gūḍaparru, Tāṇḍiparru and the *khetaka* Tāṇḍipalli. Most of these villages are found in the West Godavari district. The record closes with the signature of Peda Uṇḍirāja and Vēṅgu. The former seems to be the popular name of the donor. There is no reference to any of the Redḍi kings in this record.

7. S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 124 and 125.

8. A. S. P. P., Vol. XXII, (1989), No. 4; Ep. Coll., No. 348 of 1921.

their friendship and co-operation in his further political endeavours and in the administration of the country. Niravadyaprōlu remained a Kakatiya stronghold until the subjugation of the Telugu country by the Muslims. Anavōtā Redḍi also must have subjugated the fort of Niravadyaprōlu in the course of his Kaṭiṅga campaign, though this fact is not noticed in any of his records, or those of his descendants. After northern Vēṅgī came under the control of Annadēva Cōḍa, Niravadyaprōlu became one of his chief strongholds.

Annadēva Cōḍa must have fought here desperately with Anavēma, as the loss of this fort meant practically the loss of his kingdom. Anavēma, however, succeeded in capturing the fort ultimately. With the fall of Niravadyaprōlu the principality of Annadēva Cōḍa fell into the hands of the invader. The paucity of Annadēva Cōḍa's records, virtually until Śaka 1326, leads us to conclude that he was dispossessed of his kingdom and driven away. It is likely that Anavēma declared Cōḍa Bhīma chief of that principality, and installed him in that office.

The capture of the strong fort of Niravadyaprōlu facilitated the conquest not only of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa but also of the fertile deltaic tract, comprising districts like Pānāra and Kōna which lay between, or in the vicinity of, the Vasiṣṭha and the Gautamī, the two main branches of the Gōḍāvarī. This region consisting of some strong *jaladurgas*, situated at the confluence of the waters of the Gautamī with the sea, was included in the dominion of the Mañcikaṇḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka and his brothers who must have opposed in vain the invading Redḍi armies.

Anavēma succeeded in occupying Pānāra, Kōna and other countries in the lower Gōḍāvari region. His Naḍupūru grant⁹ dated in 1374 A.D., his Palivela¹⁰ and Dākshāram¹¹ inscriptions dated in 1377 and 1381 A.D. respectively, and his Vānapalli plates¹² dated in 1381 A.D.,—all attest to the fact of his complete conquest of this deltaic area.

The route followed by Anavēma Redḍi in this triumphal march may probably be traced with the help of the records mentioned above. After capturing the fort of Niravadyaprōlu and the upper region lying along the southern bank of the Gōḍāvarī, Anavēma appears to have

9. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.

10. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 115.

11. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1879.

12. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

gone to the eastern low country where it was easy, as is even to-day, to cross the Vasiṣṭha and the Gautamī and to get at Rājamahēndravaram. Subduing the Pānāra country he crossed the Vasiṣṭha, and overran the Kōnamāṇḍala. This tract at the end of the course of the Gōḍavari, which was, by nature, the region of the *jaladurgas*, or forts whose strength lay in the deep expanse of water around, submitted to the Redḍi rule again. Anavēma secured, in this campaign, the co-operation of some of the Redḍi nobles like Kaṭaya Redḍi II and Māraya Redḍi II, sons of Māraya I and grandsors of Kaṭaya I, and Dodḍa Redḍi and his brothers of the Duvuri family, some of whom were his close relatives. Of these Kaṭaya Redḍi II had the significant title of *jaladurgamalla*¹³ because of his special skill in reducing the *jaladurgas*.

Anavēma, after crossing the Gōḍavari, laid siege to Rājamahēndravaram, the strongest fort on the eastern bank of that river. It was the chief stronghold of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, though Kōḷukonḍa was his formal capital. After a severe struggle between the contending armies, the fort of Rājamahēndravaram capitulated, and the Mañcikonḍa chiefs tendered their submission to the Redḍi monarch. The reduction of the *jaladurgas* in the deltaic region and the capture of the *sthaladurgas*, like Rājamahēndranagara and Niravadyanagara, is indicated by his titles in the Srīsailam record, alluded to before.

The fall of Rājamahēndranagara paved the way for the reduction of the country further east. The victorious Redḍi armies overran the eastern country up to Simhachalam in Southern Kāṭiṅga. This part of the country was rough and wild, and the impenetrable forests and inaccessible mountains afforded excellent protection for the *manne* chiefs or Virasāmantas who ruled the primitive folk of that region. These *manne* chiefs were a fierce and uncontrollable lot, and a constant terror to the frontiers of the more settled kingdoms round about. Their pillaging expeditions were many into the peaceful dominions of their neighbours. But they could not be got at, in their mountain lairs and so escaped all chastisement. It was held a great feat of valour in those days for a king to have reduced any one of these wild chieftains. It was their country, the whole of it, that Anavēma overran in his eastern campaign after the capture of Rājamahēndranagara.

Pithāpuram was once the capital of a line of Virasāmantas called Koppulas, whose territory, known as *Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala*, extended from the banks of the Gautamī to Kāṭiṅga in the north. Later on, these princes were driven to the north by the Mañcikonḍa chiefs of Kōḷukonḍa, and they settled finally in the region around Tuni.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. i; Ep. Ind. Vol. IV (Appendix to the Tottaramūḍi plates)

Contiguous with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs lay another kingdom, the territory of the descendants of the Eastern Cālukya prince, Bēta Vijayāditya, who was expelled from Vēngī by his cousin Tālaparāja during the tenth century A. D. Later on, these Cālukya princes set up a small kingdom, of which Elamañci (Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam district) was the capital. Their inscriptions recording their benefactions are mostly found in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañcadhārāla and its neighbouring villages. Of these Cālukya princes,¹⁴ Upēndra IV, son of Cennēśvara whose inscription¹⁵ is dated in Śaka 1294, and probably his paternal uncle, Upēndra V, son of Upēndra III, were the contemporaries of Anavēma.

Like the Cālukyas of Elamañci there were other local chiefs, the Matsya princes¹⁶ of Oḍḍādi who flourished in the southern Kāṭiṅga region during this period. Oḍḍādi in the Vīravalli taluk of Vizagapatam district was their capital. From a study of their records so far discovered, we find that Vīra Arjunadēva of this line, son of Jayanta, was a contemporary of Anavēma, and that his dates range from Ś. 1279 to Ś. 1303.

It seems certain that the contemporary chiefs of the above dynasties also shared the same fate as the chiefs of Kōṅṅukonda, and became Anavēma's tributaries. Even though Anavēma's records do not refer either to these princes, or to his conquest of their territories, their subjugation is a fact, since his Śrīsaṭṭam record describes him as *Simhācalādi-Vindhyapāda-pratiṣṭhāpita-kīrti-stambha*, one who planted pillars of fame at Simhāchalam and other places at the foot of the Vindhya mountains. This fact is further confirmed by Anavēma's inscription¹⁷ at Simhāchalam, which registers the grant of the village of Goṭṭivāda, obtained from the Matsya prince Vīra Arjunadēva of Oḍḍādi, to god Nṛsiṅha of Simhāchalam in the Śaka year 1297 or 1375 A. D. The donor was Anavēma's brahman general and minister Cennama Nāyaka, son of Nārāyaṇadāsa (Nārāyaṇadāsa). King Anavēma also made a gift of some coins, called *gaṇḍa māḍas*, to God Simhādrinātha for providing some services in the temple. This record enables us to know that the eastern or the Kāṭiṅga campaign of Anavēma came to an end by Śaka 1297 or 1375 A. D.¹⁸ Anavēma's Kāṭiṅga campaign

14. See, Appendix to Ch. VIII for a brief account of these chiefs.

15. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 921.

16. Vide, Appendix to Ch. VIII.

17. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 785.

18. King Anavēma seems to have constructed a building also to Simhādrinātha in the precincts of the Simhāchalam temple and named it Anavēmanagara after himself. This building is referred to in a record (S. I. I., Vol. VI. No. 806), dated in Śaka 1303, at Simhāchalam.

was a thorough success. He brought the country as far as Simhāchalam under subjection, and made the ruling chiefs subordinate to the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu.

After his return from this campaign Anavēma was obliged to turn his attention to the west. The Vijayanagar power was gradually encroaching upon the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. The limit of this penetration is borne out by two Vijayanagar inscriptions, one, the Mahānandi record ¹⁹, dated in Śaka 1332, of the Velugōti chief Tipparāja, a subordinate of Vijayanagar, and the other, an inscription at Chāṅgala-ṣiḍu in the Ēruva country dated in Śaka 1294, corresponding to the cyclic year, Paridhāvi. The former record confers, on Tippa's grandfather Gaṅgalrāju Cennarāju, the title of "the hero of the battle of Kottacerlakōṭa" (the village of Koccerlakōṭa in the Darsī division of Nellore district). The latter inscription ²⁰ registers the grant of the village of Viñjanampāḍu (Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district) in the Vinukōṇḍa-sima to god Pāpavināsanadēva by one of the Vijayanagar generals. These two records, of which one refers to the scene of battle in the Darsī division, and the other, to the gift of a village in the Narasaraopet taluk, prove beyond doubt that the Vijayanagar monarch Bukka I extended his territory almost right into the heart of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Besides the Vijayanagar kings, the princes of Rājukōṇḍa and Dēvarakōṇḍa also were forging ahead. They captured Waraṅgal and became the undisputed lords of Teliṅgānā between the Kṛṣṇā and the Gōḍāvarī above the Ghats.

Anavēma did not forget the humiliation his brother Anavōta had suffered during the Rēcerla raid against Dharaṇikōṭa. Since the coastal region as far as Simhāchalam in southern Kaṭiṅga in the east was secure under loyal and strong officers of state, Anavēma now launched an expedition to the west to recover his lost possessions.

The *Velugōtivarivamśāvalī* states that Mādā Nāyaka, son of Siṅgama Nāyaka I, and brother of Anavōtā Nāyaka defeated Anavēma when the latter attacked him. ²¹ Contrary to the general practice of

19. Ep. Coll., No. 173 of 1913.

20. Mack. Mss., No. 15—3—11.

21. "శింగయనాధపుర జేరిన (! జెనకిన) నావేమాఁ

నోడి పాణుకొండకు జూరవెరి" v. 108.

In VI. Vm. this is the only reference to king Anavēma, son of Prōlaya Vēma. It should however be remembered that king Peda Komāṭi Vēma also is referred to in this work as Anavēma.

describing this exploit in more than one verse, this so called victory was casually noticed in a lone foot of a verse, which gives rise to the doubt that Māda may not, after all, be the real victor. This suspicion is strengthened by Anavēma's inscription²² at Wazīrābād Vāḍapalli (in Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State) in the dominion of the Rēceṇḍa chiefs. This inscription, dated in Śaka 1299 corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅgaḷa, records the building of a tower to the temple of god Agastyēsvara Mahādēva and the construction of a *candraśāla*, and the granting of some gifts, for services in the temple, to that god by Kaḍiyam Pōti Nāyaka for the merit of his lord Anamāca Redḍi, a brother of Anavēma Redḍi. This record proves that Anavēma scored a decisive victory over the Rēceṇḍa chiefs, and annexed to the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, at least a portion of their dominion lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa. This fact seems to be further supported in a way by another inscription²³ of Annama Nāyaka, son of Cilukūri Ana Bhimā Nāyaka of the Dēsaṭḷa gōtra at Boorugugaḍḍa (in the same Nalgonda district). As the gōtra of the chief Annama Nāyaka is Dēsaṭḷa he seems to have been a member of the Dēsaṭḷa community. Like the Śrīsailam and Vāḍapalli inscriptions this record also is dated in Piṅgaḷa. Though this inscription does not refer to king Anavēma, yet it is likely that Annama Nāyaka was one of his subordinate nobles. If this surmise is correct, the Boorugugaḍḍa inscription marks the western limit of Anavēma's conquests in the Rēceṇḍa territory. On the authority of the two inscriptions cited above, it may therefore safely be assumed, in spite of the version in the *Velugōḍipūrānamāstavaḥ*, that Anavēma was the victor and the Rēceṇḍa chiefs were the vanquished. Anavēma also succeeded in recovering the country as far as Śrīsailam from the Vijayanagara rulers during this campaign. His Śrīsailam record²⁴ dated in Śaka 1299 bears testimony to this fact. He succeeded not only in recovering almost all the original Redḍi possessions that were lost before, but in extending also the authority of the Redḍi kings as far as Simhāchalam in Southern Kaṭṅga. He made new conquests, and maintained the whole territory intact,

22. A. R. H. S., 1934 - 35 (1844 F), Appendix.

23. I. T. D. H., No. 19 pp. 71-72.

In the facsimile impression the name of the gōtra is clear. The reading Desasa given in the text (l. 2) is wrong. The grant, registered in this inscription, was made on Thursday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭham, in the year Piṅgaḷa. The Śaka year is lost. In *Talaiḡāna Sasanamulu* the Śaka year also is given as 1300 (Vide, p. 167).

24. The date of this record is Piṅgaḷa, Māgha S'u. di. 7. Wednesday (6th January 1378 A.D.)

almost until the end of his reign. His Manyamāpuram grant²⁵, dated in Śaka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Dumdubhi, states that Anavēma ruled justly the country extending from Śrīsaillam (in Kurnool district) to Simhāchalam (in Vizagapatam district).

Anavēma's Titles :

Anavēma's titles *paricīṭānēkagativīṣṣavārāṇāmārāṇōpāya*, he who is acquainted with the different kinds of gait of elephants and the means of killing them, and *Prajāparicīṭacaturvidhōpaya*, he who is versed in the four expedients (namely, negotiation, bribery, sowing dissension, and open assault in overcoming enemies) unknown to people, furnish the clue to the success he had in his campaigns, and to the fact that he was master of a large elephant force, the chief of the four components of the army. The titles, *kṣurikākālī-Vēṭāḷa*, he who resembles in strife a Bētāḷa with his dagger, *kṣurikāsahāya*, he who has the dagger for his help, *karavāḷa-Vaināṭya*, a veritable Garuḍa with the sword, *Kaliyuga-Bētāḷa*, a veritable Bētāḷa of the Kali age, suggest his high qualities of daring courage and valour. By the series of victories he had won, he felt justified in assuming the titles (recorded in his Śrīsaillam inscription) *vikramapañjaranigrhītaripurājasimha*, he who held down the lions of his enemy kings in the cage of his valour, and *Vijayakuñjarālānanijabhujastambhasambhṛtayaśōmūṇḍana*, he who was adorned with fame gained by chaining the elephant of Victory to the pillar-post of his shoulder. After these conquests Anavēma made, probably in grateful devotion, a gift of bells, surmounted by elephants (*gaja-ghaṇṭā*), to the five holy places of Pañcārāmas, namely, Amarārāma (Amarāvati) Dākshāram, Kṣīrārāma (Pālakol), Kumārārāma (Bhīmavaram near Sāmalkot), and Bhīmārāma²⁵ (Guḍipuḍi near Bhīmavaram).

King Anavēma was the greatest of the Reddi rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu. He came to the throne by the choice of the ministers and nobles of the state at a time when its fortune was at a low ebb. He assumed the title *mahaniyandhradēśapatṭābhīṣekasamvṛtanmahābhāgya*, he who had the great good fortune of being crowned king of the glorious Andhra country. He repaired the loss sustained by the kingdom prior to his coronation, and enhanced its glory by his conquests. In his time, the power of Koṇḍaviḍu reached its zenith. It extended from Śrīsaillam to the sea, and from Kandukur to Simhāchalam.

25. No. 15-6-26, Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.

The original plates of this grant are now lost. A copy of this inscription is preserved in the Elliot's collection.

25. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

Anavēma was a just and righteous ruler. He maintained and protected the *agrahāras* granted previously to brāhmins besides giving some new ones. His Īppugallu, Drjjavaram, Nadupūru, Vānapalli, Kollūru, Manyamāpuram and Pedacheṭṭakūrū grants bear evidence to this fact. He was famed for his liberality and munificence. He devoted his wealth chiefly for the encouragement of learned men and gloried in their eloquence and scholarship.²⁶ He took delight in the company of great poets and pleased them with gifts of many thousands of gold coins²⁷ (*bahusahasra-suvarṇadāna-sintōḥita-mahākavībhava*). He performed many kinds of *dānas* like *brahmāṇḍadāna*, *kalpatarudāna*, *kanakadharādāna* and *gōsahasradāna*²⁸. He set up *satras*, feeding houses, in many holy places and provided for four kinds of food. He instituted the festival of Vasantamahōtsava or Madanamahōtsava, and by taking an active part in it he came to be called Vasantarāya, 'the king of the spring.' It was in Anavēma that the dreams of his father and brother to bring all the coastal region under one sceptre were finally realised. He was a Śaivite by religion and devoutly worshipped God Śiva. There are many *Cūṭu* verses extant that were composed in his honour, and many traditional stories which speak of his liberality. The Telugu poet, Vennelakanṭi Sūrana, author of *Viṣṇu Purāṇam* extols Anavēma as one who gave his support to brāhmins, his birudas to the nobles of the Paṇṭa clan, and his *naya* or political wisdom to his people²⁹. The results of his just rule are epitomised in a *Cūṭu* verse in Sanskrit current in the Telugu country which states that people got good food, fine clothes, musk, gold and chowries while he was the king of the land.³⁰

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 62, v. 20.

27. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

28. Ibid.

29. "తన బ్రతుకు ధూమిసురులకు

దన విరుదులు పంటకంఠ ధరణీశులకున్

దన నయము ధూమి పుజలకు

ననశమున యిచ్చెఁ గీర్తి నధికం దగుచున్" — Vn. Pr., (Introd.).

30. "..... భూమీశో చిరమన్త్రవేమన్తృతౌ భూయోలభన్తేజనా

మృద్రన్త్రం మృదులామ్బరం మృగమదం చామీకరం చామరమ్" — Sr. Sn., p. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

KUMĀRAGIRI.

(Cir. 1386 A. D. to Cir. 1402 A. D.)

Kumāragiri succeeded to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu after the death of his uncle, Anavēma, some time about S. 1308 / 1386 A.D. The Anaparti grant¹, his earliest extant record, dated in S. 1312 / 1390 A.D., says that he had, by that year, friendly relations with the kings of the north, east, south and west. The next record of his reign, the Gōpavaram grant² contains a verse which states "that Kāṭaya Vēma, exalting king Kumāragiri to the throne even as Śrī Kṛṣṇa exalted Dharmarāja, caused him to shine", that is, made him rule. This statement suggests that Kumāragiri's succession to the throne was not a smooth and peaceful one and that he had to fight for it.

The records of the Reḍḍi kings, neither of Koṇḍaviḍu nor of Rājamahēndravaram, furnish us any clue to identify the opponents of Kumāragiri. As already known, Prōlaya Vēma had three sons, Anavōta, Anamāca, and Anavēma. Kumāragiri was the son of Anavōta. Anamāca's records³ have not yet come to light. He is referred

1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 91 ff. The date of the grant is 22 April, 1390 A. D.
2. Ibid., pp. 211 f. The śloka containing the date reads as follows:

शाकेश्वे(वपे)न्दुगुणक्षितौ युवशरच्चक्रेयनेचोत्तरे
कृत्वा गोपवर्गं तमेवशुकसद्योगिप्रतिष्ठापिते
ग्रामं राजमहे द्रनामनगरीप्रान्तरे गोपिका
नाथायार्पितकाट्येन्द्रतनयः श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिः॥

The date of record is 27 December, 1395 A.D. The comparison between Kṛṣṇa and Kāṭaya Vēma and Yudhiṣṭhira and Kumāragiri seems to be significant, and not meaningless as some scholars are inclined to think. The writer of the grant, who must have composed the *Sāsana kāvya* under the direction of Kāṭaya Vēma, himself a great Sanskrit scholar, would not have aimlessly used these comparisons in vain, merely figuratively.

3. There is an inscription of Māca Reḍḍi at Uṇḍavilli. It is not clear, if the record belongs to this Māca.

to in the Vāḍapalli inscription⁴ of Anavēma dated in Śaka 1299. He probably died in the last years of Anavēma's rule. Anavēma appears to have had no male issue. Therefore, the rival claimants to the throne who opposed Kumāragiri's succession might have been his cousins, Vēma and Māca, sons of Peda Kōmaṭi, and grandsons of Māca I, brother of Prōlaya Vēma.

Kumāragiri's position and difficulties :

When Prōlaya Vēma founded the Redḍi kingdom at Addanki, it was really a small principality. It was left to his son Anavōta to elevate it to the dignity of a kingdom. In his efforts as well as those of his father in founding the kingdom, the whole family worked in a spirit of kinship and close co-operation. A like spirit permeated their administration as well; for, Vēma's elder brother, Māca, was posted as governor at Tsandavōlu, and his younger brother Malla at Kandukūru. Thus, the reins of government were in the hands of the three cousins, though Anavōta, who had his seat of government at Koṇḍaviḍu and was the more powerful among them, was looked up to for guidance and help by the other two. This difference in estate and power was transformed into one of kingship and fief, when Anavēma in the next generation secured great power and prestige for Koṇḍaviḍu by his statesmanship and conquering zeal. Tsandavōlu and Kandukūru, though relegated to the position of petty principalities, had still some kind of a claim to Koṇḍaviḍu and what protection and glory they could secure through its more powerful arms. It was in these circumstances, when the claims to the throne were vague and undetermined that Anavēma died childless. Peda Kōmaṭi's son Vēma must have thought that he had as good a right for the throne as Kumāragiri, son of Anavōta; and any way, he made a bid for power, and perhaps made use of arms as well in his behalf.

Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, his chief adviser in all matters. Owing to their near kinship with the ruling branch, Kāṭaya's family was gaining great importance. The power and prestige enjoyed by the members of that family was not wrought in a day or two. It grew gradually over the past two generations as a consequence of matrimonial alliances they had with the ruling family. Kāṭaya, father of Vēma under reference, married Kumāragiri's aunt, Doḍḍāmbikā, daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. Their son was Vēma, better known as Kāṭaya Vēma. He married Anavōta's daughter and

4. A. R. H. S., 1934-35 (1944 F), Appendix.

Kumāragiri's sister.⁵ It is but natural for Peda Kōmaṭi's sons, Vēma and Māca, members of the royal line, to resent Kaṭaya Vēma's familiarity with the young king Kumāragiri, and the influence which he wielded in the State. To the chagrin of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law his chief political adviser.

In seeking the advice of Kaṭaya Vēma on all important political matters, and treating him as his virtual minister, Kumāragiri really deviated from the traditional policy of the Redḍi kings, who invariably appointed brāhmanas as their prime-ministers. During the reign of Prōlaya Vēma, Rāmā Preggaḍa and Mallinātha were his ministers.⁶ In conducting the affairs of the state Anavōta was also assisted by the same Mallinātha, son of Rāmāraja, and Sōmaya Preggaḍa.⁷ In the reign of Anavēma also there were brāhmanas acting as ministers and prime ministers. Immaḍīndra,⁸ son of Mallayamantri was the political adviser of Anavēma. Another minister and commander of

5. The name of the sister of king Kumāragiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or literature. According to the late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao, she was Mallambika (A. V. S., Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kaṭaya Vēma's Daksharam inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavōta I. While editing the Kaluvacheru grant (A.S.P.P., Vol. III, pp. 103 ff) the late S'ri J. Ramayya Pantulu also writes that, of Doḍḍambika, and Mallambika, the two wives of Kaṭaya Vēma, the latter was the sister of Kumāragiri. Even the Tottarāmuḍi plates of Kaṭaya Vēma do not make the relationship between Mallambā and Kumāragiri or Anavōta I clear (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallasani or Mallambika was the daughter of king Anavōta I, and the sister of Kumāragiri.

Following Lakshmanarao and Ramayya Pantulu the late S'ri C. Virabhadrarao also wrote that Mallambika was the sister of Kumāragiri (An. Cr., III. p. 171, and p. 256). Mallasamma was the daughter of a certain Kanniboraya (?) (S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 103), and the sister of Mukkapirāya. We do not know who this Kanniboraya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name as such a name is unusual and strange. However, it is certain that Mallasani was not the daughter of Anavōta, and the sister of Kumāragiri.

6. N. D. I. Vol. III, O. 78, p. 1087.
7. Ep. Coll., No. 602 of 1909.
8. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 f.

“नीतो मन्त्रीश्वरो विद्यागोष्ठीषु विबुधाग्रणी :

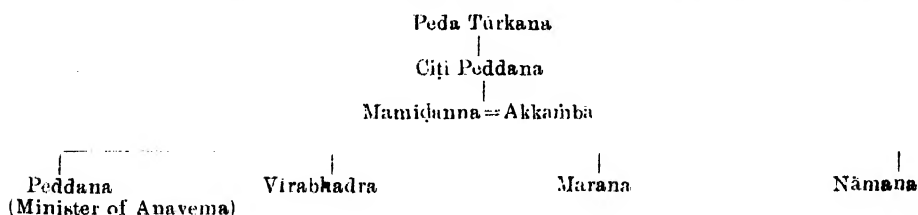
मित्रं हितोपदेशेषु भूभुजामिममदीश्वरः ॥ ”

Anavēma was Peddana,⁹ son of Mamiḍanna of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. Kumāragiri had implicit confidence in his brother-in-law Kaṭaya Vēma, and overlooked the claims of the hereditary brāhman ministers, probably on his advice, retaining only those officers in whom the latter had confidence.¹⁰ This perhaps was due to his anxiety to secure the kingdom for himself. While some of the nobles supported the claims of Kumāragiri, others loyally stood by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his brother, Māca. There was civil war in the kingdom between the rival claimants to the throne.

. It is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to trace the course of events of the war. The material at our disposal is very scanty. Only one or two inscriptions of Kumāragiri and of Kaṭaya Vēma have so far been discovered between the years, Śaka 1308 (1386-87 A. D.) and Śaka 1312 (1390 A.D.). The scarcity of records may be presumed to be due to the unsettled state of affairs in the country; for, the ruler of the land is not mentioned, as was the general custom, in any of the inscriptions of this period, which register gifts to temples by private individuals.

The term "kings of the south", in the Anaparti grant alluded to before, may probably refer to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his party. Kumāragiri appears to have come to an understanding with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, who was allowed full liberty and independence in his own affairs in his fief, so long as his activities were not prejudicial to the larger interests of the Redḍi kingdom. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was probably acknowledged heir to the throne after Kumāragiri, in case the latter had no issue

9. According to the Telugu Work, *Śrīngara Naiṣadham* his geneology is given below.



Peddana had three sons, Viz., Vēma, Pregaḍa and Siṅgaṇa. Peddana's brothers and sons sided Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

“అనంత విశ్వంభరమహా సర్వేశ్వరగౌరవశాసకశ్రీయ
 ఘనసంరంధరి విశ్వంభరమహాసర్వేశ్వరగౌరవశాసకశ్రీయ
 దినకేశవ శివ రాజ్యభారధరణ్య పాదదండంబు సై
 న్య సుత్రీకుండు మాహిశన్య కుసుం డేతన్యకుండే చెప్పగాఁ.” —*Sc. Nd.*

10. Kaṭaya Vēma had a brāhman minister, named, Peddi, son of Appaya (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226).

This is suggested by the Aminābād record¹² which states that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gained the throne of the kingdom in due course (*krama-pariprāpta-sāmṛājya-sinhāsanaādhyaśayini*). Hostilities ceased with the conclusion of this understanding, and Kumāragiri ascended the throne. It is not known when the civil war came to an end, and when Kumāragiri was anointed to the kingdom. This must have been before Śaka 1312, the date of the Anaparti record alluded to before. The first inscription to refer to Kāṭaya Vēma as the *pradhāni* of Kumāragiri comes from Simhachalam.¹³ It is dated in the Śaka year 1308 (expired). A still earlier record of Kāṭaya Vēma dated in the month of Āśāḍha of the same year is found at Amarāvati¹⁴ in Guṇṭūr district. It registers a gift by Appana Peddi, the chief executive officer of Kāṭaya Vēma for the latter's merit. The gift, registered in this record, was, no doubt, made to god Amarēśvara in grateful thanks for the successful termination of the civil war resulting in the enthronement of Kumāragiri. The termination of the civil war as well as the coronation of Kumāragiri must, therefore, have taken place just in the beginning of the Śaka year 1308 (1386 A. D.).

During the period between Śaka 1308 (1386 A. D.) and Śaka 1312 (1390 A. D.) Kumāragiri fought successful wars with the kings of the west, north and east, that is, probably with Vijayanagar, Rājakoṇḍa, and Kaḷiṅga respectively.

Vijayanagar Aggression :

When there was civil war in the kingdom, Harihara II, king of Vijayanagar, marched as far as Tripurāntakam and captured that stronghold. This fact is borne out by two of his inscriptions at Tripurāntakam dated Śaka 1307¹⁵ and Śaka 1308¹⁶, corresponding to the cyclic years Krōḷhana and Akṣaya respectively. Of these the first inscription registers a gift of land for the merit of Vira Dēvarāya, son of Harihara II, and the other, another grant of land by the *mahāpradhāni* Bhavadūra Oḷeya, son or minister of Bukka I. The Vijayanagar armies advanced even still further as far as Vinukoṇḍa in Guntur

12. A. S. P. P., Vol. IX, pp. 319-325.

13. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 781. The gift recorded in this inscription was made on Sunday on the 7th tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. The Śaka date is expired. The details work out correctly for Śaka 1309. The English date equivalent is Sunday, 20 October, 1387 A. D.

14. Ibid. No. 226. The gift registered in this inscription was made on Wednesday, the second tithi of the lunar half of Ādhika Āṣāḍha. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 270 of 1905.

16. Ibid. No. 257 of 1905.

district as attested by the Telugu drama *Kriṣṭābhīrāmam* written by Vallabhāmatya. The author's father, Tippana, the superintendent of the *ratnabhāṇḍāra* (the royal treasury consisting of precious gems) of Harihara II is stated to have been *Śrutaparvatadurga-mahāprathānārāḍ-gandhagajaniṃbu*, the mast elephant of the chief minister of *Śrutaparvatadurga* or the mountain-fort of Vinukonda. These acquisitions were made by the Vijayanagar king, Harihara II about the Saka year 1306-07 when a campaign was launched against the Redḍi kingdom as well as the kingdom of the Rēceḷa kings. In the course of this campaign Harihara II was able to recover again from the Redḍi kings the Srisaïlam area¹⁷, which remained, thereafter, under the rule of Vijayanagar.

King Kumāragiri, soon after the conclusion of the civil war, sent his generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēna with a large army against Harihara II to recover the Tripurāntakam and Srisaïlam districts. Kāṭaya Vēna succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the Vijayanagar forces. Harihara II's armies, which were sent against Waraṅgal, already suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the combined forces of the Hindu Rēceḷa kings and the Muslim Bahmanī Sultāns at Kottakonda¹⁸ in the present Mahaboobnagar district of the Hyderabad State. He, therefore, realised the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring Redḍi kings in order to strengthen himself against the growing power of the Bahmanī Sultāns and of the Rēceḷa kings. Hence, he thought it prudent to come to terms with Kumāragiri.

17. This country was first conquered by Anavōta I and his brother, Mada I, some time after Saka 1283 (See, VV. Vm., p. 17), then by Bukki I, and afterwards by Anavēma. I quote all the verses that bear testimony to the Rēceḷa rule over this region.

“एकोयं भाग्यलक्ष्मीं प्रथयति जगति ज्यायसीमन्ध्रदेशः

देवः श्रीशैलनाथस्त्रिभुवनतिलको यत्त्रचाहोवलेन्द्रः

वाहिन्योयत् हरिहरतनूगौतमीकृष्णवेण्यौ

यंचासावन्नवोत्प्रभुरवतिसमं माधवेनानुजेन ”

V. 19. --Ainavōlu inscription.

“प्रत्यर्थिगायिगोवाञ्छसोयं समरसात्यकिः

श्रीशैलविन्ध्यमध्योर्वीमण्डलं परिपालयन्”

—V. 26.—Umāmahēś'varam inscription,

“विन्ध्यश्रीशैलमध्यक्षमामण्डलं पालयन्सुतैः

वंशप्रवर्धकै रथान् भुङ्क्ते भोगपुरन्दरः ”

—V. 40 —*Rasārjyavasudhākaram*,

18. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Ck. 15; V. O., p. 121.

Kāṭaya Vēma also was anxious to come to an agreement with the Vijayanagar king, as it would be to the advantage of Koṇḍavīḍu to have the Vijayanagar power on its side against both its external and internal enemies. Accordingly, a treaty appears to have been concluded between Kāṭaya Vēma on behalf of Kumāragiri and Harihara II, by which Tripurāntakam was ceded to Kumāragiri. The provenance of the Vijayanagar records at Srīśailam subsequent to Śaka 1307 makes it clear that Kāṭaya Vēma consented to give away a major portion of the Srīśailam country to Harihara II. Tripurāntakam and the stronghold of Vinukonda once again came into the possession of king Kumāragiri. The marriage alliance, alluded to in the Vēmavaram plates¹⁹ of Allaya Vēmā Redḍi, refers to this period. Harihara II cemented this political alliance by giving his daughter Hariharāmbā in marriage to Kāṭaya Vēma himself.²⁰

Relations between the Rēcerla Chiefs and the Redḍis :

The Rēcerla princes also were busy in extending their territory. The *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali* states that Kumāragiri was defeated in battle by Singama Nāyaka's son, Mādā Nāyaka.²¹ Contrary to the usual method, followed in describing the victories of the Rēcerla kings elaborately in one or more verses, this event is noticed very briefly in one or two verses in that work, and dispensed with very lightly. If at all this was true, it must have taken place in the course of the Kāṭiṅga campaign of Anavōta I at the far end of his reign. It took place subsequent to Ś. 1302, the date of his inscription²² at Simhāchalam. Vēdagiri I or Peda Vēdagiri, son of Mādā Nāyaka I and Singa's son Mādā Nāyaka II appear to have taken part in this campaign.

19. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, v. 22. p. 242.

20. I accept the Śloka relating to this alliance as emended by Pandit V. Prabhakara Śāstri Garu.

21. “కొమరగిరికి గోరి సింహయామాదు

తనరఁ బెట్టిన బొమ్మఁ దలఁపవైతి. “v. 108, p. 39.

“తనర మీపెదతండ్రి) దాచఁపూ పాలుండు

కొమరగిరికి బొమ్మ గోరి పెట్టె.” v. 121, p. 43.

It may be noted here that, other than Dāca, father of Anavōta I and Mādhava I, there was no other king bearing the same name in the Rēcerla line. Dāca was not a contemporary of Kumāragiri. The very mention of Dāca makes this event doubtful.

22. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 1081.

The reading *gayinivāṇḍaina* is wrong. The correct reading should be *gayagōva-ṇḍaina*.

According to the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali* Vēdagiri reduced the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi²³ in the Tuni division of East Godavari district. If the defeat of Kumāragiri by Śiṅgaya Māda is a fact, it must have been achieved in the region to the north of the Gōḍavārī in the course of this raid. From the way in which this event is reported it certainly was not a resounding victory for the Rēceṅṇas. It must have been a mere skirmish at some outpost with neither party worsted. It is interesting to note that Kaṭaya Vēma, the most redoubtable soldier of Koṇḍaviḍu is not mentioned even once in the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvali* as having been defeated by the Rēceṅṇa kings.

Sometime after his accession to the throne Kumāragiri deputed Kaṭaya Vēma along with prince Annavōta II to conquer the eastern region as gathered from the Anaparti grant.

Annadēva Cōḍa:

Now, a solitary inscription²⁴ of Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja at Tripurāntakam which registers the grant of the village of Kañcanapalli to god Tripurāntakadēva, has to be taken into consideration. It does not mention any Redḍi king of the period. It is not known in what capacity, whether as a friend or as a foe of the Redḍis, he was there at that time. None of his records, prior to Saka 1326 with the exception of this solitary inscription, has been discovered. Hence this record is really a riddle. It is likely that, since his dis-possession of kingdom by Anavēma, he had been wandering from State to State in search of a supporter, who would espouse his cause and help him in recovering his territory. Probably, he vainly tried to take advantage of the civil war and joined one of the parties in the hope of gaining some help to fulfil his desire. It might be, during these peregrinations, that Annadēva Cōḍa chanced to be at Tripurāntakam. This is, however, a conjecture. It is even possible that his presence at Tripurāntakam might have some connection with the incursion of the Rēceṅṇa kings in the north.

Kumāragiri's eastern campaign:

Anyhow, by Śaka 1312 (1390 A. D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, king Kumāragiri was ruling the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom peacefully, either having already come to a settlement with his enemies, or after conquering them. His copper-plate grants do not furnish any details of the

23. VV. Vm., p. 37. Pedda Vēdagiri Naḍu had the title *Beṇḍapūḍidurgavibhāṇa*: See per contra, VV. Vm. Introd., p. 20.

24. Ep. Coll. No. 254 of 1905.

war he waged with the neighbouring powers. Only the Anaparti grant furnishes the information that Kaṭaya Vēma, his minister and generalissimo, conquered the Gajapati king and other chieftains between the Vindhya and the Siṃhādri mountains during his invasion of the eastern country, undertaken at the bidding of his sovereign. As stated already, this expedition to the eastern country was launched subsequent to the military raid of Anavōta Nāyaka II of the Rāceṇḍa family subsequent to Śaka 1302, the date of his Siṃhāchalam record, and prior to Śaka 1312, the date of the Anaparti grant. Kaṭaya Vēma's Sarpavaram inscription²⁵, dated in Śaka 1310, might probably serve to indicate the date of the Kaṭiṅga invasion, which was probably undertaken in the autumn of that year.

Kaṭaya Vēma's conquests in the eastern quarter are not detailed either in the Anaparti or the Gōpavaram grants of Kumāragiri. The commentaries on Kālidāsa's dramas, written by Kaṭaya Vēma, however, mention some of his conquests in this region, evidently during this campaign. From the introductory verses²⁶ in his commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* he is known to have conquered (1) Mollēṭi durgam or the fort of Mollēru; (2) Kimmūru-durgam or the fort of Kimmūru (3) Beṇḍapūḍi; (4) Vajrakūṭam; (5) Rāmagiri and (6) Virakūṭam. An account of these places given below will show that they are all in Kaṭiṅga.

Identification of places conquered:

(i) *Mollēṭi - durgam*: The fort Mollēru is in the Yellavaram division of Godavari district. An undated inscription²⁷ at that place records the construction of Vēmasamudram (tank) by a certain Vuppula Hanmaya for the merit of Kāṭama Reddi Vēma Reddi, evidently after the conquest of this place by the latter.

25. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 7, The English date equivalent is Friday, 7th August, 1388. A.D.

26. These verses are given as appendix to the paper on the Tottaramūdi plates published by the late s'rī J. Rāmāyā Pantulu Ep. Ind., vol. IV. and by Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanya Śāstri Garu in A. S. P. P. Vol. X.

धार्ढ्यादीसुराग्रतृटितगिरितटे यत्तमोल्लेखिदुर्ग

दुर्ग किम्भूरुसंज्ञदलितरिपुबले दुर्गमवेण्डपूडिम

दुर्भेदं वज्रकूटं जितवतिरभसा रामगिर्यारव्यदुर्ग

विरव्यातं वीरघोष्टं गलितमपुह्दं वीरसन्नाहधार्ष्टयम् ॥

Pandit Prabhākara Śāstri Garu has also given the above verses in his *Sṛṅgārā Srinatham*. In some of the copies of the Commentary, instead of Mollēṭi-durgam we find the reading of Mākḍēdi-durgam which seems to be wrong (Vide. A. S. P. P. Vol. X, p. 52).

27. Ep. Coll., No. 238 of 1924.

(ii) *Kimmūru durgam*: According to the *Local records*,²⁸ there was in times of yore a Kirāta chief, Kimmīra, who built a town named Kimmūru after his own name in the neighbourhood of the mountains, some fourteen krōs distant from the holy place of Dākshāram, and the country around this town comprising fifty four villages, like Tamīre (the ancient name of Peddāpuram), Kattamūru, Kātrāvulapalli, Guḍivāda, Ulimēsvaram, Kāṇḍrakōṭa, Jaggampēṭa and Maḡḡipāka was called Kimmūru *Sima*. Since all the villages, said to have been situated in this *Sima*, are now found in the Peddāpuram taluk of the East Godavari district, the old Kimmūru *Sima* may be roughly said to correspond to the present Peddāpuram taluk, in East Godavari district. Kāṇḍrakōṭa, now a village situated on the bank of the river Ēlēḡu, six miles north of the present town of Peddapuram, is traditionally known to be the ancient town of Kimmūru, where ruins of an old fort are still to be seen. The *Local records* furnish the interesting information that, after the time of Vēmā Redḍi (probably Kaṭaya Vēma), a noble named Redḍi Peda Veṅkappa held sway over Kimmūru, Prōlunāḍu, Kottapalli, Garugumilli, Kovvāḍa and Kūṭāla (Gūṭāla) *Simas*, and that he gave Kimmūru *Sima* as a military fief to one Isukapalli Peddāpatra²⁹, on condition of payment of the revenue derived from that *Sima* to him, after defraying the expenses incurred for maintaining his army. It seems likely that Redḍi Peda Veṅkappa was appointed to rule over that region by Kāṭaya Vēma, after his conquest of the eastern country.

(iii) *Beṇḍapūḍi*: This is now a small village in the Tuni division of Eāst Godavari district. It was once a great stronghold and the capital of a province. The *Local records* ascribe the building of the fort to the Kākatīya monarchs of Warāṅgal. Local people point out to the ruins of what must, at one time, have been a very large fort. Old coins are said to be found here occasionally.³⁰ Many dilapidated temples are found among the ruins. After the conquest of this fort, Ariyēṭi Annayamantri, brother of Ariyēṭi Liṅṅamantri, appears to have been apointed as its governor. Since then his family came to be known as the Beṇḍapūḍi family.

(iv) *Vajrakūṭam*: This appears to be identical with present Vajragaḍa or Vajraghar (Diamond fort), "lying six miles from Narsapatam off the road to Anakāpalli" in the Golḡonda taluk of Vizagapatam district. According to the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer,³¹ "the

28. Kf, Km.

29. Ibid. pp. 8-4.

30. DG., Gd., 284.

31. Pp. 255-56.

ruins of a very large fortress, built at the base of two hills and now cultivated, are still to be seen in it, and local tradition gives the names of seven forts with which it was once defended..... Small gold coins of two kinds, neither of which have yet been satisfactorily identified, are found round about the fort after heavy rain, and a small square stone with old Telugu inscriptions on all four sides is to be seen near the middle of its eastern wall."

(v) *Rāmagiri*: This is Rāmagiri, one of the *ṭhānas* " in the upper division of the Jeypore estate. It is said that there was an old fort here, on the site of which "a victim was sacrificed here - (Meriah sacrifice)." ³²

(vi) *Virakūṭam*: This is identical with the present Viraghaṭṭam in the Pālakonda taluk of Vizagapatam district. It "contains the remains of a considerable mud fort in which are now located" according to Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, "the dispensary and the police lines." ³⁴

During the period under review Virakūṭam was ruled by a dynasty of Pallava chiefs belonging to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and to the Kāḍuveṭṭi vaṃśa. The kings of this dynasty appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century during the rule of Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I (1070 A.D.,-1120 A.D.). A brief account of this Pallava dynasty is given in an appendix to this chapter. Puruṣōttama II and his son, Saubhāgyadēvarāja were the contemporaries of Anavōtā Redḍi and his son, Kumāragiri. Saubhāgyadēva ruled from Śaka 1322 to Śaka 1346. His records bearing Śaka dates 1322, 1342, and 1346 have come to light at Simhachalam. His predecessor Puruṣōttama must have been the Pallava king of Virakūṭam who was defeated by Kāṭaya Vēma in his eastern campaign, and is represented by only two records dated in Śaka 1278 and 1279 at Simhachalam.

The exploits of Kāṭaya Vēma, described in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, are not the only conquests effected during this eastern campaign. A *Cūṭu* verse³⁵ in Telugu, given in the

32. DG., Vj. p. 271.

33. Ibid., p. 202.

34. Ibid., p. 292.

35. Ct. Mm., II, p. 66.

కాటయరెడ్డివేమఁ డెవఁపూట మహాస్థుతచంద్రుఁడై

కాటమఁ జేసికొంటఁ గొని గౌతమవాహిని చాటి వాయు యా

కొలుల నున్న రాసుతులఁ గోమాలక వరఁ గొనిమ నప్పైబో

సూర్యులక మోటక ప్రకట నంజరధాటికిఁ గొండవీటికిఁ.

Cāṭupadyamanimañjari states that Kaṭama Redḍi Vēma crossing the river Gautamī, reduced Kaṭmaṅṇikōṭa, the fort of Kaṭamaṅṇu, and brought from that place Kṣatriya princes and maidens as captives to Koṇḍaviḍu. This must have been effected in the beginning of the campaign, soon after crossing the Gautamī. The location of this Kaṭamaṅṇikōṭa³⁶ is, however, not known.

Besides this, another of his important and noteworthy victory is revealed by his title, recorded in the Gōpavaram grant of Kumāragiri, dated in Saka 1317 (1395 A.D.). This grant gives Kaṭaya Vēma the significant title of *Kaṭakacūṛakāra*,³⁷ the plunderer of Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapati monarchs of Kaṭiṅga and Orissa. This title suggests that his conquests did not stop with Simhāchalam and its surroundings but extended as far as Cuttack in Puri district of Orissa.

In the light of the above facts there is reason to believe that the Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram also accompanied Kaṭaya Vēma in this eastern campaign, and were instrumental in extending the authority of Kumāragiri over the whole of the Kaṭiṅga country. The conquest of the eastern country as far as Cuttack or Puruṣōttam is also claimed by Allāḍa Redḍi's sons, Vēma and his brother, Doḍḍa Redḍi, the Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram. The Vēmavaram plates³⁸ of Allaya Vēma, dated in Saka 1356, state that he overran Kaṭiṅga, conquered the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas and set up pillars of victory at Simhāchalam and Puruṣōttam. Two contemporaneous Telugu works, named *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam* written by Śrīnātha, while mentioning in detail the countries subjugated by Allaya Vēma Redḍi, state further that he defeated the Gajapati,³⁹ the king of the Oḍḍe land ("Oḍḍe-dhātṛinātha") or Orissa, and the Sultān of Paṇḍua⁴⁰. The latter

36. This may be identical with any one of the two villages Kaṭrenikōṇa (Amalapuram taluk), and Kaṭrenipaḍu (Rajole taluk) in East Godavari district.

37. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 213, l. 42.

यः कटकचूरकारः प्रख्यातः पाण्ड्यराजगजसिंहः'

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242, v. 17.

जित्वा य. पटुसप्तमाडियनृपान् क्रान्त्वा कलिङ्गक्षितिम्
सिंहादौ पुरीषोत्तमे पटुजयस्तम्भान् सजृम्भन्यधात्॥

39. Ks., Kh., I, 69.

40. "పండువాన రజాని నానడఁ బిచ్చిన

భిక్షకులు విధిం బాని మండు

నా డొక్కత్రినాగం దుపదంబు తెచ్చిన

దింబాదుణ్ణి కంఠంబు వేయెను".—Bh. Pr., I, v. 37.

Telugu work states that Doddā Reddi planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilāka lake. According to *Sivalilāvilāsam* it was Allāḍa Reddi, father of Vēmā Reddi, who defeated Gauḍādhipati (king of the Gauḍa country), that is, the Gajapati monarch, and thereby earned the title *Gajapatiḍaḷavibhāḷa*.⁴¹ The references given above clearly prove that Allāḍa Reddi and his sons, the princes of Rājamahēndravaram, led a successful expedition as far as Puruṣōttam (Cuttack). It has to be decided now if this expedition was the same as that undertaken by Kāṭaya Vēmā, or a different one altogether. To get a satisfactory answer to this question, it is necessary to know in detail the conquests of Allāḍa Reddi and his sons. The Telugu works *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and *Sivalilāvilāsam* are the only sources that furnish a full and detailed list of their conquests. Of these three, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* was dedicated to Ariyēti Annamantri, youngest brother of Liṅganamantri, and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* to Virabhadra Reddi, brother of Vēmā Reddi and son of Allāḍa Reddi. Similarly, the work *Sivalilāvilāsam*, dedicated to Allāḍa Reddi's son, Doddā Reddi, was also of the same period.

According to the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* Ariyēti Liṅgana, the minister of Allāḍa Reddi conquered the lords of Jhāḍēsavana, Saptamāḍe, Barahadonti, and Janāḡunāḍu, exacted tribute from Uday = Ārjuna of the Mastya family of Oddādi, offered protection to the Puḷinda kings of the Nāga family of Rāmbha in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest, and maintaining friendly terms with the Yavana, Kārṇāṭa, and the Kāṭaka kings caused his master Allāḍa Reddi to rule the Telugu land.⁴² Liṅganamantri effected these conquests on behalf of

41. Vide, Appendix to Chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 42.

42. “గూఢేశ్వర సప్తమాదే భారమాంతరి

వంతునాది (?) క్షీణశ్వరాల గెడిచి

యొక్కాది మత్స్యవంశోదయార్జునశేరిఁ

బల్లవాధిపుశేరిఁ బలచనుంది

దండకారణ్యమధ్య పులిందరాజరం

భాహిరంశజాలకు నభయ మొసంగి

భానుమత్కుల వీరభద్రదాన్వ దేవేంద్ర

గర్వసంరంధించుఁ గట్టిపెట్టి

యవన కర్ణాల కటక భూధవులతోడఁ

జెలివి వాటి చి యేలించెఁ దక్షిణభూమి

దక్షిణభూమి నల్లద భరణినాథుఁ

భరిత యరియేటి లింగన ప్రభువరుండు”.

his master Allāḍa Redḍi; hence, they are virtually the conquests of Allāḍa Redḍi himself. The subjugation of Jhāḍē, Jantaḡunāḍu, Sapta-Māḍe, Bārahadonti, and Oḍḍādi are also ascribed to Allaya Vēma in the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* and the *Śivalilāvilāsam*.⁴³ The latter work informs us that Allaya Vēma brought into subjection, the countries of Sapta-Māḍe and Oḍḍādi, and defeated the Pallava king and the kings of Nandāpura and Rāṁpa.

In addition to the above conquests, the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* and the *Śivalilāvilāsam* mention some more places in the Kāḷiṅga country reduced to submission by Allaya Vēma and his brother, Allaya Vīrabhadra. They are not helpful to our discussion. A list of all the conquests of Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons, as indicated in the contemporary Telugu literature and the Vēnavaram plates cited before, is given below in a tabular form for the easy grasp of the problem. The table also includes the conquests that have not been referred to in the discussion above.

T A B L E
(on the next page)

43. Vide, Appendix to chapter. VII, Pt. II.

Conquests of Allāḍa		Conquests of Allya Vēma.			Conquests of Conquests of Allya Vira Allaya Doddā	
According to <i>Bhī-māvara Purāṇam</i> , or <i>Bhīmakaṇḍam</i> .	According to <i>Sivalitāvilāsam</i> .	According to <i>Sivalitāvilāsam</i> .	According to <i>Bhīma-khaṇḍam</i> .	According to <i>Bhīma-khaṇḍam</i> verse	According to <i>Kāśikhaṇḍam</i> .	According to <i>Kāśikhaṇḍam</i> .
Offered protection to Naga chiefs of Raṁbha		Raṁpa Immaḍi-rāja				
Protected the Pulunda chiefs of Daṇḍaka			Ciḍikāḍa, Kaṇṇuka-mūḷu (Sōmpēṭa), Kaluva-palli, Oḍḍadi			Loṭugrāḍa
	Oḍḍadi	Mastasyas	Jhaḍe Mākā-varam		Simhādri	Oḍḍadi
Conquered : Arjuna of the Matsya family of Oḍḍadi		Nandapurēsa Pallava Puru-ṣōttama (Mākā-varam.)		Pallā-kōṇḍa		
Jhāḍēsavana Pallava Chief		Saṅgavarāja (Sruṅḡavarapu-kōṭa)	Jantaṛu-nāḍu	Poṭṭu-nūru	Kaḷiṅga	Śruṅḡa-varapukōṭa
		Sapta-Māḍiyas	Sapta-Māḍiyams		Sapta-Māḍe	
			Bāraha-donti Kaṭaka, Paṇḍuva	Kalāvenḍi puram		Bārahadonti
	Gauḍa-thi-pati		triśa, Paṇ-ḍuvā		Puru-ṣōttam	Venkatāyī

Jhādēsavana: Jhādēsavana is identical with Jhādē of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, said to have been subdued by Allāḍa's son Vēma. It means a great forest. Even at the present day the rulers of the Jeypore estate are known as *Jhādākhaṇḍ-pādushāhs*, the lords of *Jhādākhaṇḍ*. It has been a title of the kings of Nandāpura. Kommaji Sōmanatha, the protege of Dhanamjaya Dhātrāja, king of Pārvatīpuram, states, in his work *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa*, that his patron obtained royal honours from Vikramadēva Gajapati (of the nineteenth century), the Jhādākhaṇḍ-pādushah of Nandāpura⁴⁵. Jhādēsavana or Jhādākhaṇḍ is identical with the ancient *Mahākāntāra* ruled by Vyāghrarāja who is referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁴⁶ This Jhādē comprise the modern taluks of Pārvatīpuram and Bobbili, and at least a great portion, if not the whole, of the Jeypore state. It is said that Nandāpuram in the Pottāṅgi tuluk was the ancient capital of Jeypore⁴⁷, and the name of the dynasty which ruled over it was Silāvaṁśa. Nandāpurēs'a, who is said to have been defeated by Allaya Vēma in the *Śivalilūvilāsam*, was therefore the king of Jhādē (*Jhādēsavana*) and belonged to the Silāvaṁśa. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven-records which register gifts of its members in two holy places, one at Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district and the other at Śrīkūrmam in the Ganjām district. It was the king of Jhādēsavana or Nandāpura who was defeated by Allāḍa Redḍi and his son, Vēma Redḍi.

The conquest of this country by Allāḍa is attested to by another piece of evidence also. A native of the Bobbili country, by name Basuvaya, makes a gift of ten silver Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas*⁴⁸ (*Allāḍa veṇḍi ṭaṅkūlu*) to god Narasimhanātha of Simhāchalam for a perpetual lamp, in Śaka 1347, corresponding to the cyclic year, Viśvāvasu, that is, in 1425 A. D. From this it is evident that the *Allāḍa ṭaṅkas*, minted in the name of Allāḍa Redḍi, were current in Kaḷiṅga, presumably after his conquest of that country. This conquest must

45 “పృథుల సాలగ్రామ పీఠశోభిత మైన
చారుసందాపురాసానమందు
శ్రీశంకరాస్వయ శ్రీరవారిధి శశి
ఘోషంప సాదుష సకలరాజ
మకుట మాణిక్యరుజ్జుండితచరణు డౌ
శ్రీ విక్రమాస్వామి దేవజవ
తీంద్రుచే”

46. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7. 1. 19.

47. It is said that the present Jeypore State is but a portion of the domain of the kings of Silāvaṁśa of Nandāpura.

48. S. I. L., Vol. VI, No. 798.

have been effected prior to that date and only in the reign of Kumāragiri and not after, as will be shown later on.

Sapta-Māḍiyas: Both Allāḍa Redḍi and his son, Vēma Redḍi are credited to have conquered the kings of the Manne *Sapta-Māḍiyas* (*jīṭnūyah paṇu Sapta-Māḍiya-nṛpān*) and Bārahadonti. What were these Manne *Sapta-Māḍiyas* and Bārahadonti and where were they situated? *Sapta - Māḍiyas* or *Sapta - Māḍēs* mean seven *Māḍiyas*, *Ēḍu Māḍiyamulu* or *Ēḍu Māḍemulu* in vernacular. The term *Māḍiya*, same as *Māliya* or *Māliyu* is derived from *mala*, a mountain. The agency tracts or highlands in the Ganjam district, formed by the irregular chain of the Eastern ghats, are called *Māliyas*. They are the habitat of the forest tribes namely, the Khonds (Kōḍulu), and the Savaras. From very ancient times the whole of this tract appears to have been divided into seven divisions. The Canarese poet, Pampa of the tenth century A. D., in his work, *Vikramārjunavijayam* or *Bhārata*, describing the family of his patron lord, Arikēsarin II of the Cālukya family, states that Arikēsarin's father, Narasimha II conquered the kings of *Ēḍu Māḍavam* which are wrongly identified by some with *Ēḍu Māḍēmulu* or *Sapta - Māḍiyas*.⁴⁹ A *Cāṭu* verse⁵⁰ in Telugu given in the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimanjari* recounts the victories of Vēma Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi. According to this

49. Pm. Bh. 1:35. The *Sapta Kāṭiṅgas* which find mention in inscriptions and literature seem to be no other than these *Sapta-Māliyas*, the agency tracts of the Kāṭiṅga country.

50. Ct. Min., II, p. 72.

దండయాత్రాభూష తమ్మటప్పమలచే
 గంతులు వేయించె గప్పకొండ
 కిరవకాలాభిల కీలానలముచేత
 శేలపాం గడగించె చాలకొండ
 (?) అరట్టజాధట్ట హయధట్టమలచేత
 నుట్టితూర్పుతిరుచె బొట్టమారు
 భూరిత్రతాపాగ్ని బుటమలు వేట్టించె
 విశ్వేషులనె గా(కాళి)వెండిపురము
 ఆనగ నుతికెక్క శేఖరాచార్యు
 యరులపండువ మండువాయవనహరణ
 బలియధూళియ మాళువ బండికార
 విజయ గళురాను! అల్లాడ విభుని శేను "

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, who has done yeomen service to the Telugu literature, has to be congratulated for rescuing this very valuable verse from oblivions. This verse, which seems to have been composed by Śrinatha, narrates Allaya Vēma's conquests, some of which do not find mention anywhere else.

verse Vēma reduced Kappakoṇḍa, Palakoṇḍa, Poṭṭunūru and Kalāveṇḍipuram, destroyed the *yavanas* of Maṇḍuvā, and took the ruler of Baliyadhūliya-Māluva captive. The *Cātu* verse appears to be faulty. Baliyadhūliya-Māluva seems to be a mistake for Baliyagūliya-Māliya, one of the seven Māliyas or Māḍiyas. Even to-day it forms one of the seven Māliyas into which the highlands of the Ganjam district are divided, and bears the name Baḷigūda Māliya, a corruption of the old Baliyagūliya Māliya. With the help of this identification it becomes easy to emend Kalāveṇḍipuram. It also appears to have been wrongly written as Kalāveṇḍipuram. Kalāveṇḍipuram is the ancient name of the modern Kalahaṇḍi or Kalahaṇḍipura, the capital of the Kālahaṇḍi estate on the western border of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. It is not, therefore, difficult to identify Kalāveṇḍipura, wrongly written for Kālaveṇḍipura, with Kālahaṇḍipura, the modern Kālahaṇḍi. Paṇḍuva is the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal and Maṇḍuva (Mandu) that of the Sultān of Mālva. With these emendations this *Cātu* verse affords another proof to confirm Allaya Vēma's conquest of the Sapta-Māḍiyas.

Bārahadonti: Bāraha is twelve, and the term, 'the kings of Bārahadonti', seems to refer to the rulers of the twelve serial states or kingdoms. The term *donṭi* signifying a serial suggests that the twelve states lie adjacent to one another. As Vēma carried his arms as far as Kālahaṇḍi, the twelve states suggested by the term Bārahadonti appear to refer to the feudatory and tributary states of Orissa and the Central Provinces, bordering on the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. The correctness of this identification is established by the fact that Kālahaṇḍi (Kālaveṇḍipura) conquered by Vēma happens to be one of these states.⁵¹ The Redḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram offered protection to the kings of Bārahadonti and Manne-dharaṇṭpālas, that is, the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas ("Balavād-Bārahadonti-Manne-dharaṇṭ-pālāvarōdhāṅganā-vilasan-maṅgaḷasūtra - rakṣaṇakalāvīkhyāta-kāruṇya") after subduing them.

Jantaṇu Nāḍu: The next achievement attributed to both Allāḍa Redḍi and his son, Vēmā Redḍi is the conquest of Jantaṇunāḍu. This *nāḍu* or territorial division finds mention in inscriptions of the period under review. An identification of the villages said to have been situated in this *nāḍu* leads us to the conclusion that this district comprised roughly the tract of country now known as the Sruṅgavarpu-kōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district. It was ruled by a line of kings of

51. In a record (S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1239) of Kulōttuṅga Coḍa I at Dakṣharam the rulers of the tributary and feudatory states are mentioned as *Kosalakhaṇḍa-pālas* (कोसलखण्डपालनिवहैः), rulers of states belonging to the Southern Kosala country.

Gārtśyamada-gōtra and of the Surabhivāmśa. Their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, are found at Simhāchalam. The earliest and the latest dates furnished by their records are Śaka 1207 and Śaka 1383. These records do not help us in re-constructing a complete genealogy of these kings. A much damaged verse with a great *lacunae* in the Telugu work, *Śivalilavilāsam* states that, just as Raghurāma treated Vibhīṣaṇa with favour, Allaya Vēma established king Saṃgava (Saṃgavabhūpa) in Śruṅgārapuṅgōṭa (Śruṅgavarapukōṭa) as a token of his protection.⁵² The analogy between Saṃgavabhūpa or king Saṃgava and Vibhīṣaṇa, when stretched to its natural conclusion, suggests that Saṃgava had some quarrel with his brother (or some other relatives) who, gaining an upper hand, expelled him from the country, whereupon he took refuge with Allaya Vēma at the time of his invasion. Vēma killed his foe and established king Saṃgava in Śruṅgavarapukōṭa. The association of names of king Saṃgava and Śruṅgārapukōṭa clearly suggests that the former was a king of the Surabhi dynasty. As the history of Jantaṅuṇāḍu is not known, the event referred to by the above verse in the *Śivalilavilāsam* cannot be explained more satisfactorily. It is, however, interesting to note here that there was a Saṃgamarāja, (not Siṃgavarāja) in the Surabhi dynasty about this period. His inscriptions at Simhāchalam are dated in Śaka 1320 and Śaka 1321 (1398 A.D., and 1399 A.D.). His predecessor on the throne of Śruṅgārapukōṭa appears to be one Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja whose inscription at Simhāchalam is dated in Śaka 1290 (1368 A.D.). How Saṃgamarāja was related to his predecessor is not known. If Saṅgama and Saṅgava are identical, as it seems likely, then the date of the Kālīṅga expedition of Allāḍa and his son Vēma may be placed some time before Śaka 1320.

Oḍḍādi: Oḍḍādi, the territory over which the Matsya kings held sway, roughly corresponds to the modern Vīravalli taluk of the Vizagapatam district. The villages which are known to have been situated in the Oḍḍādi area, according to the records of the Matsya kings, are all more or less found in that taluk. Allāḍa's minister, Liṅgana is said to have collected tribute from the Matsya king, Udayārjuna of Oḍḍādi. Allāḍa Redḍi is described in the *Śivalilavilāsam* as having driven away the king of Oḍḍādi, and caused a big tank to be dug in his house-site. This work does not mention the name of the vanquished Matsya king.

A short account of the Matsya line is appended to this chapter. The records of the Matsya chiefs enable us to formulate a fairly long genealogy which shows at a glance many kings bearing the name of Arjunadēva. Among them there are Arjunas, Vīrārjunas, and Pratāpārjunas but not Udayārjunas. During the period beginning from the

52. Vide, Appendix to chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 51.

middle of the fourteenth century till the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., that is, between Śaka 1272 and Śaka 1347, Oḍḍādi was ruled by Virārjuna and his son, Pratāpārjuna. The records of the former yield him the dates Śaka 1279 - Śaka 1303 and those of the latter, the dates Śaka 1321 - Śaka 1343. One of these two kings, most probably the latter, must have been defeated by Allāḍa and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa. No king of the name of Arjunadēva is known after Śaka 1343 from inscriptions.

Rambhā : The *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* states that Liṅganamantri offered protection, evidently after defeating in battle, to the Nāgavamsa Puḷinda kings of Rambhā (Sanskritised form of Rāmpa) in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest. But according to the *Śivalilavilāsam*, it was Allāḍa Vēma who conquered Immaḍirāja, the king of Rāmpa. As Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa conquered Rāmpa (Rambhā) in the same campaign, the king defeated by Liṅganamantri also seems to have been the same Immaḍirāja. Rāmpa is the present village of the same name in the Chōḍavaram division of the East Godavari district. The rulers of Rāmpa were in all probability the descendants of the Nāgavamsa kings of Bastar or Cakrakōṭyam of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

Virakūṭam : It was Allāḍa, according to the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* and his son Vēma, according to the *Śivalilavilāsam*, that conquered the Pallava king, obviously of Virakūṭam. The latter work mentions his name as Puruṣōttama. The latest and the earliest dates furnished by the records of the last Pallava king, Saubhāgyadēvarāja, son of Puruṣōttama II are Śaka 1342 and Śaka 1322 respectively.⁵³ Therefore, the Pallava king Puruṣōttama, the adversary of Allāḍa and his son Vēma was, as shown already, Puruṣōttama II, a contemporary of Kumāragiri and his prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma.

The identity of the Pallava king, Puruṣōttama of Virkūṭam, the reference to the Surabhi king, Saṅgama of Jantaṅunāḍu and the allusion to Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas* in inscriptions in Kāḷiṅga, clearly establish the fact that the expeditions into the Eastern Country, led by Allāḍa and his sons and Kāṭaya Vēma, are identical.

The Gajapati king who was defeated by Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons and Kāṭaya Vēma was no doubt, Narasiṃhadēva IV, (Śaka 1299 - 1300 to Śaka 1331 - 32), son of Bhānudēva III of the Gaṅga dynasty. He

was the *Gauḍādhipati*, and the *Oḍḍedhātrinātha*, the ruler of Orissa and Kāliṅga.

In the course of this invasion, Kāṭaya Vēma, Allāḍa and his sons conquered the Cālukya kings of Elamañci (Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district) also. Reference is made to them neither in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, nor in the three Telugu works cited before. A *ślōka*⁵⁴, however, in the Vēmavaram plates of Allāḍa's son Vēmā Redḍi describing his conquests figuratively alludes to them. Here is the English translation of the Samskrit verse.

"By the flames of the intense heat (or majesty) of Allāḍa's (son) king Vēma whole *rocks* are broken to powder, the *hogs* bellow, the *tender sprouts* wither, the *fish-tribe* hide in the water, the *snakes* enter their holes, the *cobras* lurk in covert, the *cattle* go with grass in their mouths, the *lord of elephants* enters the river"⁵⁵. This verse describes the devastating effect of Vēma's *pratāpa* (valour) of forest fire, on the ruling princes of Kāliṅga. In this verse the terms denoting rocks, hogs, tender sprouts, the fish-tribe, snakes, cobras, cattle, and elephants are symbolically used to represent either the emblems or the names of different dynasties ruling in the eastern region conquered by Vēma, namely, Silāvaṃśa, Cālukyavaṃśa (Elamañci), Pallavavaṃśa, Matsyavaṃśa, Nāgavaṃśa (Rambhā), Siṇḍavaṃśa (Bastar), Surabhivaṃśa, and Gajapativaṃśa.

The Cālukya chief who was a contemporary of Kāṭaya Vēma, was Cōḍa Gaṅgadēva, son of Paṇḍirāja and Mallambā. A brief account of this family is given at the end of this chapter.

54. "अल्लाडक्षितिपाल वेमवृषते स्फीतप्रतापानलैः

चूर्णः पूर्णग्निना रटन्ति किटयः सापल्लवाः पल्लवाः

लीनं मीनकुलं जले श्विनबिला भोगश्च नागागुहा

गावो यान्ति त्रिणानना निविशन्ते सन्धौ गजानानपतिः" — II, 36-39, p. 242,

55, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 252-53, translation, v. 18.

In fact, Dr. Lionel D. Barnett, the editor of those plates perceived the significance of these terms, but he went wrong in some cases in identifying the dynasties indicated by them. This is what he writes :

"Under the figure of a forest fire is described the effect of Vēma's *pratāpa* (heat or majesty) upon neighbouring peoples. The *hogs* are perhaps the dynasty of Vijayanagar who maintained the Cālukyas device of a boar; the *tender sprouts* are the Pallavas; the *fish tribe* are the Pāṇḍyas, whose device was a pair of fishes, or perhaps the Matsya dynasty. The *lord of elephants* (*gajānāṣi-patih*) is of course the Gajapati of Orissa. The other "topical allusions" are obscure to me. On the custom of taking grass into the mouth as a token of submission. See R. Pischel."—foot note, no. 1 p. 252.

Allaya Vēma may be said to have defeated the Sultān of Bengals also during this campaign as is borne out by the term Paṇḍūa. The town of Paṇḍūa lies very near to the north of the English Bazaar in the Maldah district in Bengal. It was the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal for nearly half a century from A. H. 743 (1342 A.D.) to A.H. 795 (1392 A.D.). Again, this affords another piece of evidence to prove that Allaya Vēma's expedition into the eastern country was undertaken before Śaka 1314 (1392 A.D.).

The Anaparti grant explicitly states that Kāṭaya Vēma along with the Crown Prince, Anavōta II went to Rājamahēndravaram just before leading this expedition. It is clear, from the evidence cited before, and from the foregoing discussion that Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa, and Allāḍa's minister, Liṅganamantri, all accompanied Kāṭaya Vēma in this expedition from Rājamahēndravaram.

This eastern campaign of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu was a very extensive one. The Reḍḍi armies marched as far as Cuttack in the east, as far as the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal in the north and as far as the confines of the Central Provinces in the west. Kāṭaya Vēma was a *Kaṭaka-cūṣakāra*, plunderer of Cuttack. Allaya Vēma set up pillars of victory at Simhāchalam and Puruṣōttam⁵⁷, and his brother Allaya Doḍḍa set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilka lake.⁵⁸

After returning victorious from this campaign, Kāṭaya Vēma presented himself to Kumāragiri with the heir-apparent, Anavōta II, and placed before him all the valuable presents in jewellery, horses, and elephants offered by the Gajapati, and other kings of the eastern region as tribute. King Kumāragiri adequately rewarded his generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma. It was after the successful termination of the eastern campaign that Kāṭaya Vēma made Anavōta II, son of Kumāragiri, grant the village of Anaparti as *devabhōga* to god Gōpinātha at Rājamahēndravaram. King Kumāragiri also visited the holy place of Dākshāram, and having seated the young prince Virānavōta (II) on his lap he performed *tulāpurusa-mahādāna* at that place.

56. Riyāz-us - Salātīn, p. 98.

57. “सिंहादौ पुरुषोत्तमे पट्टजयस्तंभान् सजृम्भन्यधात्”

— Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 242, v. 17, ll. 35-36.

58. ఓరా! యశ్వమరణి నొడ్డ వసుధాధ్యక్షుండు ధాటిచమా-
 ఢేరిభాంకృతి ఘోర ఘోషమున నిర్భందించె నొడ్డాది శృం
 గారంజోటయు లోతుగడ్డయును నుష్టాటించె నత్యుద్ధతి-
 కీరాంభోధితటంబున న్నిలిచె దిగ్విమాజయస్రంధముల్ ||

— Ks. Kh, I: 52,

As a result of this conquest, the territory as far as Simhāchalam to the north of the Gōdāvari was permanently annexed to the Reddi dominion, and was thereafter constituted into a separate province, called the Eastern Kingdom or the Rājamehēndra Rājya, a province of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. King Kumāragiri appointed his son, Anavōta II as his viceroy over the new province of Rājamahēndravaram⁵⁹. Ariyēṭi Annamantri, the brother of Liṅganamantri was appointed governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi⁶⁰, the frontier military outpost of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This kingdom was divided into a number of *śīmas* attached to important forts and were placed under the charge of nobles on feudal military tenure⁶¹. Prince Anvōta II made Rājamahēndravaram his capital and ruled that province with the loyal support of Allāḍa Redḍi, his sons and ministers. Kaṭaya Vēma strengthened his alliance with Allāḍa by giving his daughter, Anitalli in marriage to his younger son, prince Vīrabhadra⁶².

Peace was established in the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom by Śaka 1312 (1390 A.D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, and friendly relations were maintained between the kingdom and its neighbouring powers. Kumāragiri had a trusted friend and an able statesman as well as a veteran soldier in his prime-minister Kaṭaya Vēma who guided the destinies of the kingdom.

While Kaṭaya Vēma was at the helm of affairs, king Kumāragiri freed from cares and anxieties, spent much of his time in cultural activities. Like his predecessor Anavōma, he also spent large sum

59. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI. pp. 194-95;

60. The surname of Annaya was originally Ariyēṭi or Ārēṭi. The very fact that he was called Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya shows that he was later on made the governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi, presumably after the conquest of that fort by Kaṭaya Vēma. Anna's surname Ārēṭi was later on changed to Beṇḍapūḍi by virtue of his constant residence at that fort.

61. “శేమారెడ్డి తిరువతను యీసంతతివారి నాడు రెడ్డిపెద వంకప్ప అనే అయన కొవ్వడ, గురుగుమిల్లి, గూటాల, కొత్తపల్లి, కిమ్మూరు, నోలునాడు అధికారము చేస్తూవుండి వారివద్ద పరదారుడైన యిసుకపల్లి పెద్దాపాత్రుడు అనే పాత్ర సామంతుడికి కిమ్మూరు నీమ అధికారము చెప్పి ఆ నీమవల్లవచ్చే పైకము పెద్దా పాత్రుడువశానవుండే కిబ్బంబివారికి వగతులక్రిందను నియమించి విశేషించినపయికము నగరికి యిచ్చేలాగుననున్న యీప్రకారము మొకరరర చేసివుండిరి...” — Kf. Km. pp. 8-4.

62. Ks. Kh., I. v. 43.

of money in celebrating the Vasantōtsava or the festival of the spring, which enlivened the social life of the day. The enthusiasm and fervour, with which he celebrated that festival, rightly earned him the title of *Vasantarāja*, which was improved to *Karpūra-Vasantarāja* by the generous quantities of camphor he scattered among people during this festival. He was a great lover of music and dance and studied all the old works on dance written by Bharatacāryas and dance-experts and produced a comprehensive work on that art called *Vasantarājya*⁶³ after his own name.

Premature Death of Anavōta II :

While things were going on like this peacefully and prosperously for the kingdom, an event of great consequence happened about Saka 1317 (1395 A.D.). It affected the course of the political history of Koṇḍavīḍu. Anavōta II, the only son of Kumāragiri and his viceroy at Rājamahēndravaram died a premature death. His death must have taken place after Saka 1312 and before Saka 1317, the dates of the Anaparti and the Gōpavaram grants respectively. This death left Kumāragiri without a heir to the throne, and necessitated the appointment of a new viceroy to the Eastern Kingdom. It required a strong ruler at Rājamahēndravaram to keep in check the predatory raids of the neighbouring chieftains and of the Gajapati monarchs of Kāṭya Vēma. Instead of appointing him as the viceroy of the eastern territory he conferred upon him the Rājamahēndravara Rājya in appreciation of his great and numerous services to the state. King Kumāragiri had every reason to be grateful to his able brother-in-law. By the prowess of his arms and by his statesmanship Vēma defeated the kings of Vijayanagar and recovered a great portion of the Redḍi kingdom in the south; he carried the Redḍi arms successfully up to Cuttack and annexed the eastern country as far as Siṃhāchalam. And above all, Kumāragiri owed the kingdom itself to him. It was only with Kāṭya Vēma's powerful support that he was able to gain the throne. He must have entertained the idea of adequately rewarding him for his services for a long time. Though stricken with grief he took this opportunity to show his love and admiration for his illustrious brother-in-law. And so, he conferred on him the whole of the Eastern Kingdom⁶⁴. This act of Kumāragiri should not be

63. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1 ; Sr. Sr. p. 57.

64. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 210, v. 22; See also his Gōpavaram grant, pp. 211 ff.

interpreted as splitting the Reddi kingdom into two parts, the province to the east of the Gōḍavarī from that which lay to its west, and the bestowal of the former on Kaṭaya Vēma with exclusive regal rights. Kumāragiri does not seem to have meant it that way. The Rajamahēndravara Rajya conferred on Vēma was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr (*Vīrajīvita*). It was not a new policy adopted by Kumāragiri. This custom had been in vogue from ancient times in the Telugu country. The only difference lay in the extent of the territory assigned. The early kings granted only one or two villages as *jīvita*, whereas Kumāragiri bestowed, as was appropriate, a whole province upon the great general.

Kumāragiri's Last Years of Rule :

This step caused considerable political discontent in the country and we cannot call Kumāragiri's action exactly wise. Kaṭaya Vēma, always had many bitter opponents in the court. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his supporters had always looked askance at his achievements; and their jealousy and resentment at this signal recognition, by their king, of this daring rival of theirs must have been well-nigh impossible to bear. Kaṭaya Vēma's departure to Rajamahēndravaram gave them an opportunity for their sinister activities in Koṇḍaviḍu. Unfortunately for the king, there seems to have been a devastating famine at about this time, spreading death and disease all over the country; and the disaffected element at the court seized the occasion to weaken Kumāragiri's authority. There is reason to believe that the famine at this time extended all over the Deccan country. Ferishta says that a famine occurred during the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, that is, Muhammad Shāh II, a contemporary of Kumāragiri, "when he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Gujarat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate⁶⁵," of course, in his own dominions. Robert Sewell informs us that there was a big famine, known as the Durgādēvi famine which began in Śaka 1318 (1396 A.D.) and lasted for twelve years⁶⁶. It is said that the severity of this famine was so great that it was not forgotten for a long time after. These famines, referred to above, must have affected the coastal Telugu country also. The paucity of inscriptions registering any gifts in the last years of Kumāragiri's reign may be due partially to the famine conditions, and to the growing unrest and political discontent prevailing then in the country.

During this period Sultan Firūz Shāh, who came to the throne of the Bahmanis in November 1397 A. D., led his first invasion against

65. Birgg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 349.

66. H.I.S.I., p. 205.

Vijayanagar in 1398 A.D. The Muslim armies not only ravaged the Vijayanagar dominion as far as Udayagiri but also threatened the existence of the Reddi kingdom. The steps taken by Kumāragiri to meet the foe and repel the invasion are not known. But, as will be proved later on, one Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, a distinguished noble of the kingdom, appears to have defeated the muslims on the plain outside the town of Kāmbamumēṭṭa and driven them back.

There is reason to believe that the Gajapati monarch of Kāṭiṅga also contributed to the internal disorder and weakness of Koṇḍaviḍu by his attack on the eastern frontier. An inscription⁶⁷ dated in Śaka 1321 (1399 A. D.) from Sarpavaram (in the Cocanada taluk of the East Godavari district) belonging to one Goggayadēva, an officer of Kumāragiri, states that he defeated the armies of the Gajapati in front of *Viharaṇagiri*. *Viharaṇagiri* or *Kriḍādri*, according to the *Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmyam* in the *Vāraha Purāṇam*, applies to Simhāchalam, "because of the assumption, on this hill, of the Nṛsiṃha form of Hari for slaying Hiraṇyakaśipu and protecting Prahlāda."⁶⁸

The kings of Vijayanagar also did not let go this opportunity. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Muslim armies from the Vijayanagar territory, the governor of Udayagiri Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara II, taking advantage of the weak rule of Kumāragiri and the internal dissensions in his kingdom, advanced with his armies accompanied by his son Rāmacandrarāya, and occupied a considerable portion of the territory in the south. The Enamadala record⁶⁹ of Harihara II in the Narasāraopēṭ taluk, and the Mūrkoṇḍapāḍu⁷⁰ and the Parucūru⁷¹ grants of Dēvarāya I and his son, Rāmacandrarāya, all dated in Śaka 1322 (1400 A.D.) bear testimony to the limits of the Vijayanagar aggression.

67. S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1, v. 8.

विहरणगिरेः पुरस्तादजयः प्रांशुगजपतेः सैन्यम्

प्रणमति गोगयदेवस्तोयं धर्मैकशासनान् भूपान्"

68. Tirumalai *Sri Veṅkaṭeśwara*, Vol. I, p 23.

69. Ep. Coll., No. 417 of 1915.

70. Mack. Mas., No 15-6-21.

“शाकेरूपफालवाञ्दे नरपतितिलको देवरायः प्रमाथे

सोदाद्रावूरिमल्लान्वयवरविदुषे यज्जनेग्राममग्र्यं

पौषे राकारव्यपर्वण्यदिशशिपतिः कौण्डिन्यसद्गोत्रिणो....”

The verse is faulty. Pramāthi corresponds to Śaka 1321 and not to 1322.

71. N. D. I., Vol. I, CP, No. 1.

While the kings of Vijayanagar were penetrating in the south, prince Kōmaṭi Redḍi, son of Maca I and grandson of Pina Kōmaṭi Redḍi of the Kandukūru branch advanced along the coast and occupied, at the end of Kumāragiri's reign, the country extending as far as the Tenāli taluk in the Guntur district as evidenced by his Pedapūḍi grant⁷² dated in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.).

It is likely that, in these circumstances, king Kumāragiri had to carry on the administration by resorting to force, and by suppressing the discontent and lawlessness. It is no wonder if, in these circumstances, the *Local records* state that Kumāragiri's rule was an oppressive one. There is reason to believe that, in these last years of his rule, some of the nobles sided with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and fought against Kumāragiri.

There are three or four stone records of a chief, named Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaningāru in the taluks of Guntur, Bapatla, Palnadu and Repalli. These do not refer to any reigning king of Koṇḍavīḍu. Each of the records in the Guntur⁷³ and Bapatla⁷⁴ taluks state only the length of the measuring rod of the fields as determined by Puruṣōttamayya, the *rāyasam* of Rāyapa Nāyaningāru. Of the other two, one⁷⁵ mentions the chief, Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaningāru and his *rāyasam* Puruṣōttamayya, and the other⁷⁶ registers the gift of land by Singa Paṇḍita, agent of Malaka Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaningāru for the merit of his master, and of Rāyapa Nāyaningāru in the cyclic year, Prabhava on the 6th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja. The former record also furnishes the date; the portion containing the date, however, is damaged. Only the numerical one in the Śaka year, the cyclic year Bahudhānya and the month of Āṣāḍha stand out in the date portion. Now, the question arises as to the identity of this Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka. It is commonly known that the Velugōṭi chiefs are a branch of the Rēceṇḍa family. It is now to be ascertained if he had any connection with the Rēceṇḍa kings.

72. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42.

“ शाकाब्दे ऋतुनेत्रलोकशशिवे(के) संवत्सरे तारणे

माखारव्यामुडुपोपरागसमये श्रीकोमटिश्मापतिः

दद्याल्लक्ष्मणदीक्षितायविबुधाम्ण्यैर्गुरोर्वासरे

येल्लेपेदिकुलोद्भवाय विदुषे श्रीपेद्दपुडि मुदा॥ ”

The English date equivalent is Thursday, 15th Jan. 1405 A. D.

73. Ep. Coll., No. 145 of 1917.

74. Ibid., No. 825 of 1922.

75. Ibid. No. 542 of 1928-29.

76. Ibid., No. 23 of 1929-30.

It is evident from inscriptions cited above that Rāyapa Nāyaka was a noble administering the country. Even though the two dateless records are excluded from consideration as of little use to our discussion, the other two records prove that he was governing at least some portion of the Guntur district. His contemporaneity with king Kumārāgiri is proved from a reference to his officer, Malaka Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, who is evidently Gajarāvu Tippa of the Telugu *Cāṭu* verse given in the *Cāṭupadyamañjari*.¹¹ This *Cāṭu* verse, which recounts his victories, states that he conquered the Mussalmans on the plain outside the town of Kambamumetta in the presence of a certain Ambarāya, put to flight the enemy warriors near the town of Kōnūru, defeated the armies of Kaṭāya Vēma in the vicinity of Guṇḍugolanu, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Caṇḍapāmātya near the big hill fort in Koṇḍaviḍu. This Tippā Nāyaka, even according to the *birudāvali* of the Koppunūlla family 'in the Telugu work *the Birudāvalis of the Seventy two Nāyaks in the service of Kakatiya Pratāparudra of Waraṅgal*', was a contemporary of Kāṭāya Vēma. Therefore the cyclic years, Prabhava and Bahudhānya mentioned in the records of Rāyapa Nāyaka fall in this period, and correspond to Śaka 1309 (1387 A. D.) and Śaka 1320 (1398 A. D.) respectively. It is thus evident that Rāyapa Nāyaka was a contemporary of Kumārāgiri. His inscriptions, therefore, suggest any one of the following two conclusions; (1) that, in case the Velugōṭṭi chief, Rāyapa Nāyaka, had any connection with the Rēceṅḷa chiefs, he must have conquered some portion of the Redḍi kingdom and was ruling independently; or (2) that he had no connection with the Rēceṅḷa king and he was only a subordinate of Kumārāgiri. From a

77. Ot. Mm., II, p. 65.

యనకుల గెల్వడే యంబరాయలుమాడ

నెట్టెన కంబముపెట్ట బ్రెట

పరిపంథి యోధులఁ బరపడేవాడిమై

సుద్దండవృత్తి కోనూరిముద్ద

కాటయవేను భూకాంతు నైవ్యంజేల్లఁ

గొట్టడే యల గుండుగొలినిక్రేవ

చమడపామాత్యుని సాచిగాఁ గొట్టడే

కొండపీ దాపెద్దకొండ గడిని

ప్రబలరణరంగజయభేరిభాక్యకుండు

రాయచేకోలుగండ ధరావిభుండు

రామగణురామ చలభద్రరామనిభుకు

కీప్రబలుడైన గజరావు తిప్పకుండు॥

reference to the dates in his inscriptions which are found scattered over a wide area in the heart of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, he cannot be said to have been ruling it independently. He must have been a vassal of Kumāragiri. He does not seem to have any connection with the Rēceṅṅa chiefs of Rajukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Now, the occasion or occasions on which Rāyapa Nayaka's subordinate Gajarāvu Tippa Nayaka defeated the Muslim army, Caunḍapāmātya and the forces of Kāṭaya Vēma have to be ascertained. It is probable that he defeated the Muslim armies of Sultan Firūz Shāh, when they were advancing into the Redḍi kingdom during the invasion of Vijayanagar, as stated in an earlier context. His other exploits appear to refer to the early years of Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. So they will be adverted to in his reign. Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nayaka and his subordinate Gajarāvu Tippa Nayaka sided Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and fought on behalf of the latter against Kāṭaya Vēma, as is evident from the *Cāṭu* verse cited before.

The latest inscription⁷⁸ of Kumāragiri is his Kottūru record dated in Śaka 1322, corresponding to the cyclic year, Vṛṣa. This inscription (in the Bejawāḍa taluk, Kistna district) registers a grant of land to god Vasantarāya Lakṣmī Nṛsimha by Kumāragiri Redḍi.

It is likely that seeing the sad plight of the country Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi Redḍi and grandson of Mācā Redḍi I, seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu about Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.) with the aid of his nobles.

Kumāragiri appears to have gone to Rājamahēndravaram and spent his last days there. He seems to have fallen ill there; for, a grant⁷⁹ made by Kāṭaya Vēma for his recovery from illness in Śaka 1324 corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu, on the occasion of the Makara saṅkrānti in the month of Puṣya, has come to light. Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after this date.

78. Ep. Coll., No. 896 of 1926. The Śaka year is wrongly given as 1312; This seems to be a mistake for 1322. The Śaka year corresponding to Vṛṣa was 1323. Probably, the Śaka year 1322 had expired and 1323 was current.

79. A. S. P. P., Vol. X. (cited by Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri Garu in his article on "Kāṭaya Vema").

APPENDIX.

SOME DYNASTIES OF KALINGA.

The Kingdom of Kalinga was under the rule of the Gajapatis of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty who had, as stated before, established their power there as early as the fifth century A. D. Since that time they were the undisputed sovereigns of the Kalinga kingdom until their fall in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. They became gradually the masters of the Utkala or Ōḍhra country also. The forests of Kalinga were reputed for their best variety of elephants, which formed one of the chief divisions of the armies of those days.

The wild and mountainous nature of a greater portion of the country of Kalinga afforded ample opportunity for the origin and rise of many petty local dynasties of valiant chiefs, who wielded much power and influence locally during the middle ages under review. The extent of the dominion of each one of these families was small and the rulers were petty chieftains; yet they were very hardy and brave, and their strength chiefly lay in the situation of their strongholds, inaccessible and impregnable, which generally come under the category either of the *giri-durgas*, or of *vana-durgas*. The conquest of even a single one of these manne chiefs, as they were generally called, who were experts in archery and mountain warfare, was hailed as a great achievement. The victor assumed the high-sounding titles and the insignia of these vanquished chiefs. These manne chiefs generally used to give incessant trouble on the frontier regions to their neighbouring kings, when there was any civil war in their dominions, or when they proved to be weak rulers.

Having recognised the difficult nature of the country, Bhānudāya I, one of the Gāṅga sovereigns, introduced certain administrative reforms and re-organised the administrative machinery. "For the welfare of the kingdom he appointed sixteen ministers (of State or *Pātra Sāmantas* as they were generally called), well-versed in politics and capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy of various kinds and of unfailing resolution." He used to govern his kingdom with their advice. His wise example was closely followed by his descendants, to whom this reform proved to be of immense help in carrying out the administration of the country smoothly, in ordinary as well as in critical times.

Each one of the local chiefs of Kalinga appear to have been ruling their dominion independently as is evident from their inscriptions.

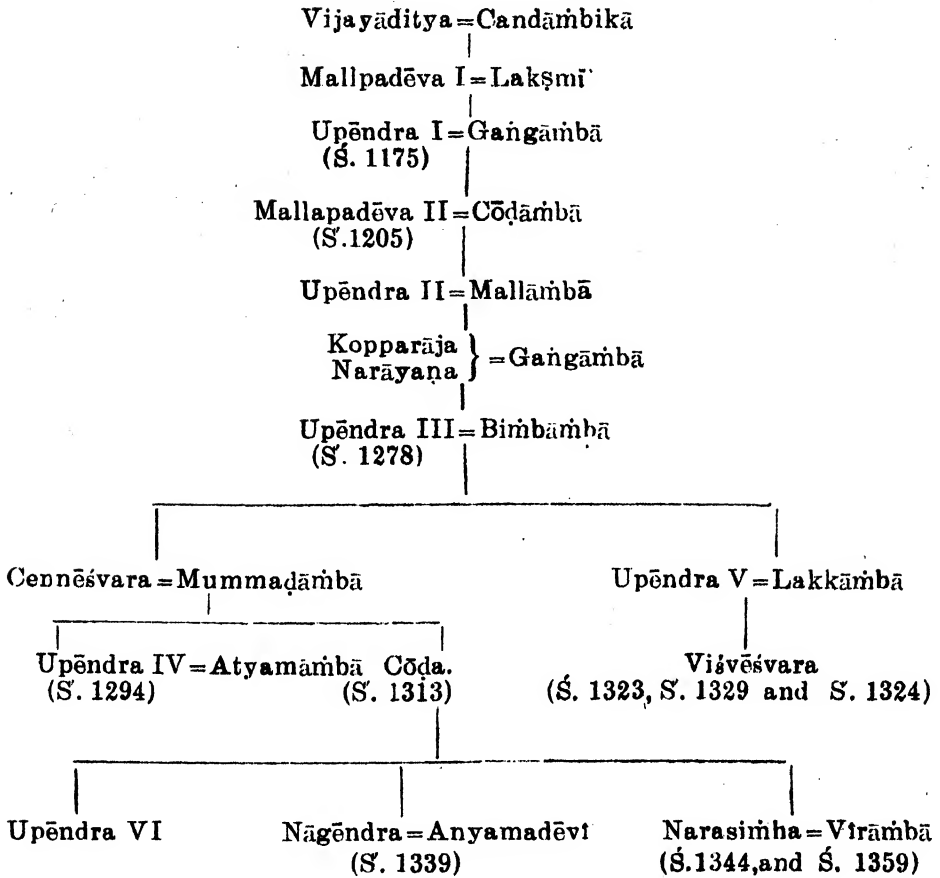
They do not acknowledge or make mention of their sovereign rulers in their records. We are not informed anywhere about the nature of the political relations that subsisted between these chiefs and the Gāṅga sovereigns. Yet, it is probable that the *Iātra Sāmantas* or the sixteen ministers of State were appointed or selected out of these local chiefs. Tradition records that they rendered military service to their Gāṅga overlords in times of need, and that they were practically independent in the internal administration of their own dominion. For the service they rendered, the Gāṅga sovereign in his turn probably was bound in duty to protect them from foreign aggression, and to treat them with royal honours according to their status, on all state and important festive occasions.

Of such local dynasties of Kaṭiṅga those that are noted below appear to have played an important part in the history of the period under review.

The Cāḷukyas of Elamañci:

These were a branch of the later Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī who ruled the country around Pithāpuram for some time. Later on, when their dominion was occupied by the Western Powers, they migrated to the east into Kaṭiṅga. There they held at first important positions in the State under the Gāṅga monarchs, and ultimately became their feudatories during the period under review. Their dominion lay in the region around Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district. They had matrimonial alliances with their Gāṅga sovereigns, which enhanced their prestige and status among the other *sāmantas* of the land.

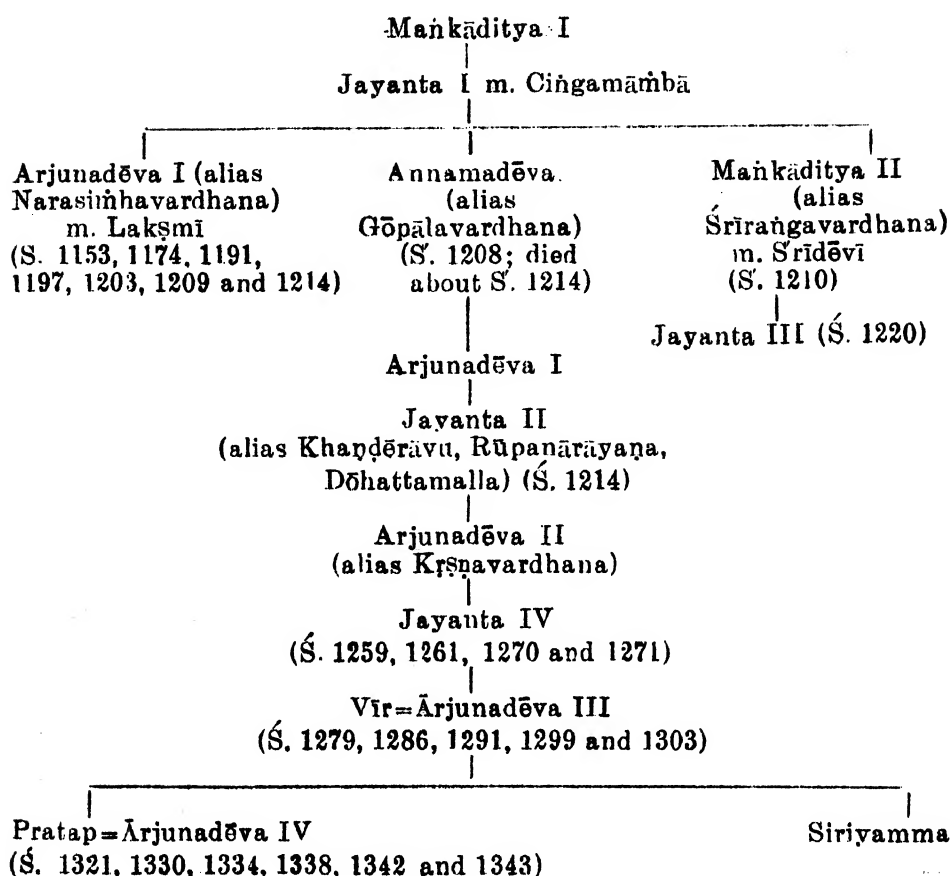
Upendra III of the Cāḷukya dynasty, son of Kopparāja Nārāyaṇa and Gaṅgāmbā, was a contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma and his son, Anavōtā Reddi of Koṇḍaviḍu. The genealogy of the Cāḷukya chiefs of Elamañci (Yellamanchili) is given on the next page :



The Matsya Chiefs of Oddādi:

These belong to another dynasty of local chiefs who had their capital at Oddādi, the present Vaḍḍādi, twelve miles from Anakapalli in the Vizagapatam district. The first chief of some historical importance in this dynasty appears to be Maṅkāḍitya whose grandson Pratāpa Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, was the donor of the Dibbiḍa plates. These chiefs rose to power only from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The first records available are those of Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, whose earliest inscription at Dākshāram is dated in Ś. 1153 (1231 A.D.).

The records of these chiefs, found at Simhāchalam and Dāksharam including the Dibbiḍa plates all combined, furnish a fairly long ancestry of these chiefs, as given in the table on the next page. In this genealogical table the early chiefs till the time of Maṅkāḍitya I are left out, because of their unhistoric character.



A word of explanation regarding the construction of the above genealogical table seems to be necessary.

An inscription of a certain Jayantarāja at Simhachalam, dated in Saka 1261, states that the donor, a son of Arjunadēva, was the grandson of Jayanta who may be identical with Jayanta II or Jayanta III of the above table. Since his son was Arjunadēva who might have been named after his grand-father, Arjuna I, he is taken to be identical with Jayanta II.

There is another Arjunadēva whose records range from Saka 1279 to Saka 1303. The name of his father is not mentioned in any one of his records. He might be the son of Jayanta IV.

There is another powerful Matsya chief, named Pratāp=Arjunadēva, son of Vir=Ārjunadēva. The dates of his inscriptions range from Saka 1321 to Saka 1343. This Arjunadēva may be identical with

Arjunadēva IV. Probably, to distinguish the son from the father who had an identical name, the father was named Vīr=Ārjunadēva in his sons' records.

These considerations led me to frame the genealogy of the Matsya chiefs as shown above.

The Surabhis of Jantaṅgaṇaḍu:

The tract of country now known as the Sṛṅgavarapukōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district roughly represents the ancient country of Jantaṅgaṇaḍu. It was ruled by a line of chiefs of Gārtśyamada - gōtra, who are said to belong to the Surabhi family. The dates of their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, found at Simhāchalam, range from Saka 1207 (1285 A.D.) to Saka 1383 (1461 A.D.), a period of nearly one and three quarters of a century. These records do not help us in re-constructing their line completely. The chiefs of Jantaṅgaṇaḍu, mentioned below, flourished during the Redḍi period.

Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja (Śaka 1241 and Śaka 1258)

Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja (Śaka 1290)

Saṅgamarāja (Saka 1320, and Śaka 1321)

Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja (Śaka 1342)

Of the above four kings, the first two were probably one and the same.

The Pallavas of Virakūṭam:

These Pallava chiefs of the Bharadvāja - gōtra claim to be the descendants of Kāḍuveṭṭi (Kāḍuveṭṭivamaśavatāra). Their banner was 'khaṭvāṅga' (*khaṭvāṅgadhvaja*), and their ensign, the bull (*Vṛṣabha lāñchana*). They ruled the tract of country around their capital Virakūṭam, now called Viraghaṭṭam in the Palakonda taluk of the Vizagapatam district. They appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century. Their early inscriptions, found at Dāksharam dated prior to the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., mention only a few chiefs, namely, Sūraparāja, Bayyarāja and his brother Gaṇṭi Bayyapārāja. Their later inscriptions ranging from the fourteenth century are found at Simhāchalam. For the intervening period of nearly three quarters of a century, no records of this family have so far come to light. From the later records a tentative genealogy of these Pallava chiefs may be formulated as shown on the next page :

Śrīyādēvī, alias Śrīraṅga Lakṣmī

Puruṣōttama (Śaka 1230)

Narasimha = Lakumādēvī or Lakṣmīdēvī (Ś. 1270,
1274 and 1279)

Puruṣōttama II = Madanarōkhā
(Śaka 1278 and 1279)

Saubhāgyadēvarāja
(Śaka 1322, 1342 and 1346)

The Chiefs of Śilāvaṁśa of Nandāpura :

These are another dynasty of chiefs who ruled the western agency tracts of the Vizagapatam district, with Nandāpura in the Potraṅgi taluk as their capital. It is said that the present estate of Jeypore was but a portion of the kingdom of the chiefs of Śilāvaṁśa. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven records which register gifts of these chiefs in two holy places, Śimhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and Srikūrmam in the Ganjam district. The names furnished by these records are :

1. Visvanātharāja, son of Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1275.
2. Bhairavarāja, son of Akkamādēvī, Śaka 1292.
3. Bhachchaladēvī, daughter of Bhayyarāja, Śaka 1318.
4. Gaṅgarāja, son of Bhayyarāja or Bhairava, Śaka 1349.
(Gaṅgarāja's maternal uncle was Śiṅgarāja of the Matsya family, son of Jayanta of Oḍḍādi).
5. Viśvēśvara alias Viśvanātharāja married Śiṅgamādēvī, daughter of Jayantarāja of the Matsya family, Śaka 1349.
6. Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1357.

Besides these there were other petty families in Kaṭiṅga about whom little is known.

CHAPTER IX.

PEDA KŌMAṬI VĒMA.

(Cir. A. D. 1402 to Cir. A. D. 1420)

Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi Redḍi and grandson of Macā Redḍi I succeeded Kumāragiri to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu about Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.). Kumāragiri's records show that he was alive till Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.)¹. Yet, from the paucity of his records in the region to the west of the Gōḍavari, it is evident that his authority practically ceased over the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom a few years before his death.

Succession of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Desiring to arrest the internal disorder and the attacks all around on the Redḍi kingdom, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have seized the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu by force. Some of the nobles, like Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka and Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, fought on the side of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in this war of succession, and helped him considerably in gaining the throne. According to the Telugu *Cāṭu* verse² referred to in an earlier context, Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka is stated to have defeated the armies of Kāṭaya Vēma in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍugolanu in the Ellore taluk of the West Godavari district. This defeat of Kāṭaya Vēma shows that he tried his best, on behalf of his sovereign Kumāragiri, to prevent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from occupying the throne. It is likely that he was actuated to do so more by the desire of gaining the kingdom for himself, as Kumāragiri had no son to inherit it. In fact, it was more a war waged between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma for succession to the throne rather than between Kumāragiri and the latter. The battles of Guṇḍugolanu and Kōṇūru referred to in the above mentioned *Cāṭu* verse, were some of the engagements that had taken place in the course of this war. If the same verse is relied upon, it may be said that, just at this juncture, Harihara II of Vijayanagar, probably with the object of diverting Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's forces and helping his ally and son-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, made another incursion into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, which shook its very foundations. Caṇḍapāmātya³,

1. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1.

2. Ct. Mm., II, p. 65.

3. A record of Nāgayamantri son of Caṇḍapāmātya, dated in Śaka 1345 Śobhakṛt, is found at Tripurāntakam in the Mārkaṭapuram taluk, Kurnool district (Ep. coll., No. 255 of 1905).

the Vijayanagar general, penetrated as far as Koṇḍaviḍu, the capital. Again, Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, the loyal general of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, defeating Caunḍapa in the neighbourhood of the fort of the big hill in Koṇḍaviḍu, put him to flight and saved the kingdom. At last, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's efforts were crowned with success, and he duly ascended the throne. He ruled the region lying along the northern bank of the river Kṛṣṇā and the Koṇḍaviḍu country. His Kaluvāmula⁴ and Nandamūru⁵ grants dated in Śaka 1326 and 1333 respectively, bear testimony to the fact that his power extended on the northern side of the Kṛṣṇā also. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gave his brother Mācā Redḍi the tract of country lying along the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. Mācā fortified Koṇḍapalli (Kistna district) and made it his capital.⁶

A damaged *Cāṭu* verse⁷ in Telugu in the *Cāṭupadyama-nimajjari* narrates some events which must have taken place about the beginning of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign. What

“చంద్రపామాత్యుని సాచి గాఁ గొట్టఁడే
కొండపి దాపెద్దకొండగడిని”

4. Sr. Sr., pp. 12—14, Anubandham.

5. CP., No. 14 of 1919-20.

6. “तस्यानुजो वेमनृपस्य माचक्षितीश्वरो लब्धमहीविभागः

श्रीकोण्डपल्लीं निजराजधानीं कृत्वा सुखी दीव्यति धर्मधुर्यः”॥

Sr. Sr., Appendix p. 11, Balyapalli grant of Mācā dated in Śaka 1336.

7. అచెంప నుద్దండ! (అచ్చంపు వుద్దండ!) అనవేమపురమును

గావలంబు తోరణ కట్టిరేసి

ధరణికోటను గల్లు ధనధాన్యవస్తువు

లరికట్టుకొని చూడలాడిరేసి

మునుకొని యభిమానముద్ద(1) భక్తింపంగ

సారకుఁ జేతులు సాచిరేసి

అభ్యంగ నము సేయు నన్న గారికిఁ [నన్న వేముకు] చెచ్చు

నూనెలో చెప్పలు నూటిరేసి

కణఁగి శత్రులు [చిత్తులు] సేయునాఘాత్యమునకు

నోర్చియుంటివి నీసాటి యుర్విఁ గలఁడే

[ఓర్చి కీర్తులు గాంచెరి వుర్విలోన

నెన్న రాజులు సాటిరా రవ్వరైన]

ననుదరిపువీర గజవేశ్యాభుజంగ!

అతులబలభీను! పెదకొనుటన్న వేము”

parts of the verse remain intelligible, pay a tribute to the charity and spirit of tolerance shown by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, in the face of the grave villainy and outrage perpetrated by the sympathisers of Kaṭaya Vēma. The brāhmins of the court were with the deposed king, mindful perhaps of his many benefactions to them. And when these found Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma as their lord and king, their impotent resentment surged into vile deeds of destruction, before they finally took flight from Koṇḍaviḍu. After his abortive attempts to regain power Kumāragiri appears to have fled to Rājahāhēndravaram accompanied by his brother-in-law, Kaṭaya Vēma, and spent his last days there.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests :

By the time Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was firmly established on the throne, the kingdom of Vijayanagar was in the throes of a civil war, consequent on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Harihari's sons Dēvarāya I, Virūpākṣa II, and Bukka II contended for the throne. Dēvarāya I probably recalled some of the armies from Udayagiri, the seat of his government while he was *yuvarāja*, to fight out his cause. There was disorder and anarchy in the Vijayanagar provinces. The Reḍḍi kings were not slow to take advantage of the internal disorders in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Taking this opportunity Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's commanders attacked the Vijayanagara armies in their newly occupied territory, and after defeating them in battle and driving them away, recovered their lost possessions. Kōmaṭi Vēma re-conquered also the coastal plain from his cousin Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi II, son of Maca of the Kandukūr branch, as is borne out by his copper-plate records. He and his brother Māca strove hard to establish peace and order in the kingdom. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests maintained the reputation of Koṇḍaviḍu as a military power, though on a reduced scale.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's relations with Kaṭaya Vēma, even after the death of Kumāragiri, were anything but smooth. He wanted to establish his sovereign rights over the Rājahāhēndravara Rājya which was more or less a military fief. He, therefore, expected Kaṭaya Vēma to acknowledge him as his overlord, and to render him the services obligatory on a vassal. With the death of Kumāragiri, Kaṭaya Vēma, who was already opposed to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, never recognised the latter as his sovereign. He defied his authority and asserted his independence. The act of Kumāragiri in conferring the Rājahāhēndravara Rājya on Kaṭaya Vēma thus turned out to be the greatest political blunder of his rule. It divided the Reḍḍi kingdom into two halves, each fighting against the other, and made it an easy prey to its neighbours who had long been casting hungry looks on it. The first chief to take advantage

of this enmity between the Koṇḍaviḍu and the Rajamahēndravaram kingdoms was Cōḍa Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḍa, who made a bid to recover his lost principality. He was backed up in the beginning of his fight by the Velama kings of Dēvarakōṇḍa, of whom Peda Vēdagiri, son of Māda I, had given asylum to him.⁸ There is reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma also co-operated with Annadēva Cōḍa in his struggle.

Kāṭaya Vēma was fully aware of the danger arising out of this alliance. He was hemmed in on one side by Annadēva Cōḍa and on the other, by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Annadēva Cōḍa had already, by Śaka 1330, the date of his inscription⁹ at Pōlavaram (West Godavari district), recovered his kingdom. Kāṭaya Vēma, therefore, wanted to renew his friendship and alliance with the Vijayanagara rulers. This view is supported by Kāṭaya Vēma's inscription¹⁰ at Ahōbālam in the Cuddapah district, dated in Śaka 1332, which registers the grant of a number of villages to god Nṛsimha. It cannot be argued that Kāṭaya Vēma was at Ahōbālam as an invader; for, the circumstances in which he was then placed preclude any such possibility. Therefore, it must have been a friendly mission of Kāṭaya Vēma which can account for the presence of this solitary record of his in the Vijayanagar territory. By the time of the Ahōbālam record of Kāṭaya Vēma, Dēvarāya I was firmly established on the throne of Vijayanagar. He came out successful in the civil war that convulsed the Vijayanagar kingdom on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A. D.), and was crowned¹¹ king in Śaka 1329 (1406 A. D.). The result of Kāṭaya Vēma's mission is not known. Whether Kāṭaya Vēma and Dēvarāya I met each other or not, the former appears to have been assured of the help of the latter, as is borne out by a close study of later events described in the Rajahmundry Museum plates¹² of Annadēva Cōḍa.

Dēvarāya was true to his word. He marched with his armies into the territory of the Koṇḍaviḍu kings. He penetrated into the heart of the Reddi kingdom, probably at a time when Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was actively co-operating with Annadēva Cōḍa against Kāṭaya

8. "నల చోడభక్తిరాయ ననదేవరాజును

దెంపారం నాంచె విడిచి తాత. . ."

—VV. Vm., v. 122, p. 44.

9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

10. Ibid, No. 84 of 1915.

11. Mack. Mss., 15—8—35.

12. J.A.H.R.S., vol. I, pp. 172 ff; Ep. Inl., Vol XXVI, pp. 33 ff.

Vēma. This Vijayanagar thrust into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom was intended probably to help Kāṭaya Vēma indirectly, by creating a diversion and to compel his enemies to withdraw some of their troops from the eastern front. Dēvarāya's inscription¹³ at Inkollu in the Bāpaḷla taluk of Guṇṭūr district, dated in Śaka 1333 Nandana, that is, 1412, A. D., indicates the date of the Vijayanagar aggression. Dēvarāya I tried to extend the authority of his house over the coastal tract of the Reḍḍi kingdom, and capture Mōḷupalli, their premier sea-port in the Bāpaḷla taluk, Guṇṭūr district. Though he temporarily succeeded in gaining control over a portion of the Reḍḍi territory, he failed to achieve his object. He did not succeed in holding the conquered tract permanently under his sway. The absence of the Vijayanagar records in the Bāpaḷla taluk is a clear proof of the fact that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was able to expel the enemy from the kingdom and bring it again under his rule.

It is unfortunate that we have no direct evidence relating to the fight between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma. But the position is clear from a close and careful study of events mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions of this period. In spite of the pressure brought to bear on him by the Vijayanagar raids, there is some reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma vigorously prosecuted his campaign against Rājamahēndravara Rājya which finally ended with the death of his bitter opponent Kāṭaya Vēma. *Kāṭaya Vēmuni - talagoṇḍa - gaṇḍa*¹⁴ (one who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), one of the many *birudas* of the nobles of the Koppunūḷla family, implies their claim to have slain Kāṭaya Vēma, probably in battle; and we know that Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka¹⁵ of that family, a subordinate of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, took an active part in these wars. Hence, it may not be unreasonable to think that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in his wars with Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. No records of Kāṭaya Vēma after Śaka 1336 have come down to us.

The history of Rājamahēndravaram subsequent to Kāṭaya Vēma's death is difficult to trace. The terms of alliance between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Annadēva also are not known to us. The latter was able to

13. Ep. Coll., No. 798 of 1922. The Śaka year 1333 is an expired one. Nandana corresponds to Śaka 1334.

14. 8/5-2-33 "*Birudavaḷi* of the "Seventy two Nāyaks"; Vide *Koppunūḷlavari-birudu*. See also Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-5-32 and 15-4-3.

15. "మహాపదవీసామంతులైన కొప్పనూళ్ళనాయంకులైన గజరావు సంకీర్ణపులైన తిప్పారావు అన్నమనేడు మొదలుగా..." —Ibid.

occupy the Rājamahēndravara Rājya only after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma's son, Komaragiri II. He was not destined, however, to rule it for a long time. He was opposed by Allāḍa Redḍi who espoused the cause of Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and the sole surviving heir to the kingdom. Allāḍa finally succeeded in driving away his enemies from the kingdom and ruled it on behalf of Anitalli as her regent. In this struggle with Allāḍa, Annadōva seems to have lost his life. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma failed thus in his attempt to regain the Rājamahēndravara-Rājya, even after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. He did not, however, give up his endeavour.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Allāḍa

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's position was even now precarious and insecure. He was between two powerful foes, the king of Vijayanagar in the west, and Allāḍa in the east. He came to know of the strength of Allāḍa and his zeal in prosecuting the fight for the independence of Rājamahēndravaram. Therefore, in order to strengthen his position he made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān, Firūz Shāh. It is likely his minister Mamiḍi Siṅgaya managed wisely in negotiating an alliance. He is described in the *Śrīgāra Naiṣadham* as *yavan=ādhiśa-sabhā-niraṅkāva vaco-vyāpārā-pāruṅgata*¹⁶, one who fluently carries on conversation in the court of *yavanādhiśa*, that is, the Bahmanī Sultān, Firūz Shāh. This Redḍi-Bahmanī alliance is referred to in the *Velugūṭivāri Vamśāvaḷi*¹⁷ also. The Padma Velama kings of Dēvarakōṇḍa, the bitter enemies of the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, did not like this alliance. They could not, however, prevent it as they were only subordinates to the Sultān. Having obtained the help of the Bahmanī Sultān, Firūz Shāh, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma attacked Rājamahēndravaram.

Allāḍa Redḍi was prepared for this eventuality. He met the combined armies of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Firūz Shāh in battle, and defeated and drove them back. The Kommuchikkāla plates clearly state that Allāḍa defeated the *yavanas*¹⁸. Aziz-Ullah Tabatabā and Ferishta do not at all refer to this defeat of the Sultan. "The

16. Sr. Nd., II. v. 144.

17. "సుకాశసుమన్స స చాచుకొంటివిగాని

వారిలో దొరయుట వలనదనవు." — VV. Vm., p. 39, v. 108.

18. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228, ll. 80-81.

"यस्यानुजातो यवनान् विजित्य

पौरस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः

अ ङ्ङभूपः॥ "

Sultān being determined to conquer Teliṅgānā" writes the former "proceeded in that direction till having got near Rājāmandrī he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital."¹⁹ Ferishta, on the other hand, merely states that, in the year 820 A. H. (1417 A. D.), Firūz Shāh "despatched ambassadors to the Rāj of Teliṅgānā, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition."²⁰

Firūz Shāh's invasion against the eastern country is confirmed by two of his inscriptions at Vādādrī, in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district. Of these two inscriptions "dated in the Śaka year 1339 (1417 A. D.), one records the construction of a tank by Sarakhu Maluka Jainadi Voḷeya, the younger brother of Masanada yōli Abību Nidāmalu Maluka who was at Vāḍapalli Wazīrābād, on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. The Nidāmalu Maluka, i. e., Nizamul-Mulk is no other than Bidār, one of the two slaves of Firūz Shāh, who gained immense influence over him in the latter part of his reign. It is thus evident that Sultān Firūz Shāh Bahmanī despatched these officers to Teliṅgānā to help Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Their attempt to reduce Rājāmahēndravaram proved a failure, even though the Muslim historians would have us believe that it was not so. The Bahmanī armies were defeated by Allāḍa as stated before. Hence, the allies were compelled to retreat without capturing that important stronghold.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma met with reverses in his encounters with Allāḍa. The defeat he sustained at Rāmēśvaram was a crushing one. The Telugu work *Śivalīlāvilāsam* "states that Allāḍa Redḍi defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle at Rāmēśvaram and seized, as booty, all his military equipment and wealth. Rāmēśvaram²¹, the place of the last decisive battle in this struggle for supremacy, cannot be identified precisely, as there are two villages of the same name in the East and West Godavari districts (one in the Rājōle taluk and the other in the Taṇuku taluk) respectively.

19. *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 40

20. Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 389

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1921.

22. Vide, Part II, Chapter, VII Appendix.

23. Since the village in the Taṇuku taluk is called Nātala Rāmēśvaram, it is likely that the other Rāmēśvaram in the Rājōle taluk (East Godavari district) is meant here,

Beginning of the end of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu:

While the combined armies of Sultān Firūz Shāh and of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma were fighting against their enemies in the Rājama-hēndravaram sector, Dēvarāya I appears to have launched a two-pronged attack to help his ally, Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and probably to benefit himself also. Making Pānugal²⁴ (Nallagoṇḍa district) the base of his military operations, he ordered his armies to march into the territories of Islām. At the same time, Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable force to the Koṇḍaviḍu country to capture the port of Mōṭupalli. This strategy accomplished its purpose well.

Defeated by prince Allāḍa and much disconcerted at the news of the Vijayanagar invasion of the territories of Islām, Firūz Shāh hastily retreated with his armies from Rājamahēndravaram. His main object was to reduce the fortress of Pānugal, the base of the Vijayanagar operations. He advanced by rapid marches and commenced the siege of that fort.

The garrison inside the fort of Pānugal bravely sallied out and a sanguinary battle was fought between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar armies. The fort of Pānugal resisted the siege of the Muslims for full two years. During this period the Muslims were put to

24. This fort was captured in Śaka 1819 (1398 A. D.) by the Vijayanagar general Irugapa dandanātha and prince Bukka II's son under orders from Harihara II at the close of the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn (1397 A. D.), when there were internal dissensions and disorder in the Bahmani kingdom. Since then it remained under the sway of the Vijayanagar monarchs.

वीरश्रीवरणोचितं हरिहरक्षोणीपतिस्तत्सुतम्

साम्राज्यप्रतिपालनापदुतरप्रज्ञाबलोदञ्चितम्

धीमानिरुग(र्ग)पमन्त्रिवर्यमकरोद्दण्डाधिनाथेश्वरम्

विद्यावीर्यविवेकधैर्यकरुणासत्यक्षमालङ्कृतम् ॥

शाकाढ्येषु निधीन्दुवह्निशशिभिः सम्मिश्रितेष्वीश्वरे

वर्षेमासि सहस्यनामनि तथा पक्षेवलक्षेदिने

शम्भोर्भास्करवारभाजि विजिता श्रीपानुगल्लुःपुरी

तेनानेकतुरुक्कवीरविजयग्रावावलीवेलिता ॥

इम्मडिवुक्कमहीपतितनयोनन्तद्दमापतिर्जयति ॥

The English date equivalent is Sunday, 30th Dec, 1398 A.D.

Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI. p. 86. f, n, 4.

innumerable difficulties. It may not be unreasonable to think that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma stood faithfully by his ally, Firūz Shāh, in his hour of peril and probably sent his brother, Peda Kōmaṭi Macā Redḍi, the governor of Koṇḍapalli, to the aid of the Bahmanī Sultān with a considerable army.

While the siege was thus going on, Dēvarāya I started negotiations with the Sultān's subordinate allies, the Rēceḷa kings of Rajukōṇḍa and Dēvarakōṇḍa. They were the rulers of Teliṅgānā, the upland Telugu country beyond the Ghats. The relations between them and their overlord, the Sultān, were not latterly as smooth as before. These Padma Velama kings disliked the alliance of Firūz Shāh with their family enemies, the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, because Firūz Shāh stationed his military officers at Vāḍapalli Wazīrābād in their south-eastern province, which made their position much more subordinate than before and affected their status.

By this action they were brought under the virtual subjection of the Muslim *amīrs* and *wazīrs* of the Bahmanī Sultān. It was to their utter dislike that they had to co-operate in the ranks of the Bahmanī Sultān with the Redḍi armies, whom they hated bitterly. They, therefore, waited for an opportunity to throw off their allegiance to Firūz Shāh, and to join a powerful Hindu monarch. The negotiations started by the Vijayanagar monarch came in timely. While the battle was going on, the Rēceḷa kings suddenly withdrew their armies from those of the Sultān and immediately joined the Vijayanagar forces. It is needless to say that this step changed the fortunes of the day. The battle ended with a disastrous defeat to the Muslims.²⁵

Dēvarāya's Mōṭupalli record²⁶ clearly proves that this premier port of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom submitted itself to the Vijayanagar

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 36 ff.

26. The date of the unpublished record of the Vijayanagar monarch Dēvarāya I at Mōṭupalli (Loc. Rec., Vol. XLII, pp. 422-23) is given as Śaka 1312, Durmukhi. On the basis of this record it is said that Dēvarāya I "annexed, before 1390 A.D., the territory along the east coast extending as far as Mōṭupalli" (V.C.E., p. 126). This statement is wrong; for, the date of this record is irregular and the Śaka year, wrong. This charter, similar to those given by Gaṇapatiḍēva of Waraṅgul and Anavōtā Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu, is stated to have been given on Friday, the first tithi of the lunar half of Magha. The cyclic year Durmukhi corresponds to Śaka 1338 and not to Śaka 1312. The latter year corresponds to Pramōda (Pramōḍita). The details do not, however, work out correctly even for Durmukhi, for, the first tithi falls on Tuesday and not on Friday. As the cyclic year is definitely stated to be Durmukhi I assign this record to Śaka 1338 on the assumption that the numerals denoting the Śaka year were read wrongly in the eye-copy. This record fits in here exactly, and falls in line with the other available data.

arms. The date of this record is Durmukhi, corresponding to the Śaka year 1338. Another record²⁷ at Ponnūr (Bāpaṭla taluk, Guṇṭūr district) dated in Śaka 1339 (1417 A.D.) of Kūnapuli Anavōtā Nāyaka has also to be taken into account in this connection. As the members of the Kūnapuli family were the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs, this Ponnūr inscription may be taken to be a Vijayanagar record, though it does not mention Anavōtā Nāyaka's overlord, Dēvarāya I. These records attest to the authority of Dēvarāya I over the south-eastern provinces of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. The loss of these provinces was only the beginning of the end of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and the Rēceṅṭa kings:

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have spent his last years of rule in fighting against the Rēceṅṭa kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. The *Velugōṭivāri Vanisavali* refers to the feud between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his brother Maca on one side, and Kumāra Vēdagiri and Liṅgama Nēḍu, sons of Kumāra Mādā Nāyaka on the other. Mācā Redḍi is said to have been killed by Kumāra Vēdagiri who then caused his enemy's effigy to be set on his spittoon.²⁸ Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma did not wait long to avenge the death of his brother. He killed Kumāra Vēdagiri in battle, and emulating Vēdagiri's example, caused Kumāra Vēdagiri's effigy to be set on his own spittoon in his turn. Then, we are told that Liṅgama Nēḍu, a boy of twelve years of age, collected a great army and, accompanied by his relatives and followers, marched against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the engagement that took place Liṅgama Nēḍu is credited to have defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and caused his image to appear on his spitting pot. He also carried away, as trophy, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's badge of lion-crest and also his famous sword, named *Nandikanta Pōtarāju-kaṭāri*.²⁹ The same work referred to above, states, in another place, that Liṅgama Nēḍu carried away Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma captive,³⁰ and subsequently, for some

27. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 118.

28. VV. Vm., p. 89 vv. 105 and 106; pr. 107; pp. 48—44, vv. 121 and 122. See also Part II, Chapter, XII.

29. Ibid, p. 89, pr. 107.

30. Ibid, p. 48.

“భువిలోన ననవేమ భూపాలుఁడ జెఱవెట్టి

యతనిని వేడ్క-తో నంపినాడు....”—v. 126.

It seems Liṅga's cousin Siṅga III also took part in these campaigns. *Vanisavali* states that Vēma, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma took to flight when Siṅga closely pursued him.

unstated reasons, released him, and that Siṅgaya Anna (that is, Anna son of Siṅga) killed Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.³¹ With a slight variation the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśucaritra*, a later work, also informs us that Liṅgama Nēḍu and Siṅgaya Anna slew Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.³² As evidence is lacking, it is difficult to ascertain the truth of these statements. It might be that, during the Bahmanī-Vijayanagar war, the Rēceṅḷa prince Kumāra Vēdagiri attacked Mācā Redḍi and killed him. The other battles between the Rēceṅḷa princes Kumāra Vēdagiri and Liṅgama Nēḍu, and the Redḍi king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, referred to in the *Vamśāvali*, must have obviously followed that event.

Death of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma :

The latest date for Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is furnished by his Rudravaram grant,³³ dated in the Śaka year 1341, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikāri. This record registers the grant of the village, Rudravaram as an *agrahāra* to the astronomer Rāmacandra, the eldest brother of Gaṅgādhara, and son of Peddi Yajva on the occasion of *Dhanu-saṅkramaṇa* in the month of Mārgaśīra. This is the latest record of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma known to us, and the last grant known to have been drafted by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's *Vidyādhikāri* Śrīnātha.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's rule may be said to have ended in Śaka 1342 (1420 A. D). Kōmaṭi Vēma was a great warrior, a profound scholar and a considerable poet. From the moment he ascended the throne he strove hard to safeguard the interests of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, and to maintain its integrity and independence. Though he was not able to extend his authority far beyond the frontiers of his kingdom which he inherited at the time of his succession, he succeeded till almost to the end of his rule in preserving it intact in spite of the repeated incursions of the Vijayanagar rulers. He also committed the same folly as his predecessor, Kumāragiri in further dividing the kingdom between himself and his brother, Mācā Redḍi, and in

“పుడమి నా కాశంబునఁ

విడుగు కరణి రావునిఁగప్పగియించు దాఁ

బొడుపాడు ముని వెనుదగ్గరిన

జడవెడ జగ నొప్పుగండ వేముడు పాఠెన్” v. 145, p. 57.

31. Ibid, 60, v. 155.

“బట్టు తలటాంక బల్లరగండఁడై

యనవేమరెడ్డిని నాజిఁ దునిమె”

32. VV. Vc., pages 57 and 67.

33. C. P., No. 7 of 1919-20.

conferring upon the latter the province lying on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. As in the reign of Kumāragiri, though this division did not affect the integrity of the kingdom during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, it weakened it further, and made it an easy prey to the three powerful neighbours, the Gajapatis of Kāṭiṅga, the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, and the Aśvapatis of Gulbarga, who had ever been casting a covetous eye on it. From his alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān Vēma came to be hated still more bitterly by the Vijayanagar ruler, who regarded this alliance as an unholy act and made it a pretext to occupy the kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was an able ruler and good scholar. He wrote many works in Sanskrit pertaining to different branches of learning, like *śravya* and *dr̥ṣya prabandhas*, treatises on *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*, and commentaries on old Sanskrit works.³⁴ He was famous for his munificence and liberality to scholars and poets. Many *Cāṭu* verses both in Sanskrit and Telugu were composed in praise of his gifts and charities. One of these verses is noteworthy. It praises the munificence of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; but remarks that, just as there is a snake near the Kalpaka tree, there was Turagā Rāma³⁵ (probably one of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's ministers) near him, and hence, one could not approach him.

34. An account of his works will be found in the chapter on literature in Part II of this work.

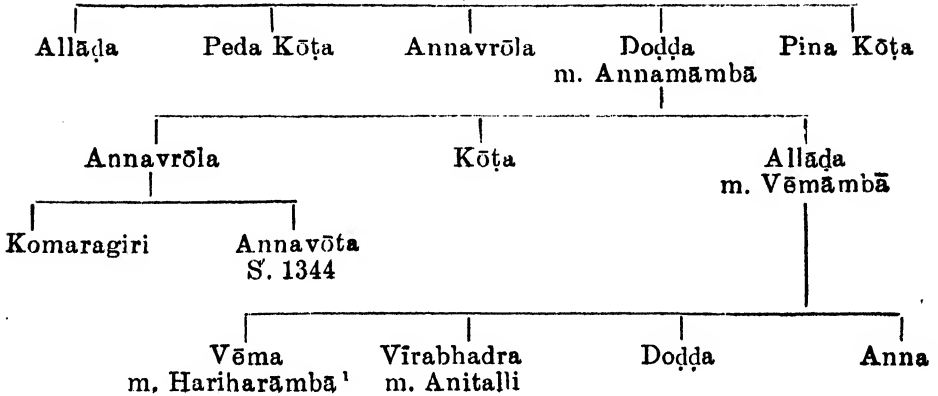
35. Ct. Mm., I, p. 84.

APPENDIX.

Genealogy of the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

Kōṭa Redḍi of the Dūvūri family.

Perumāṇḍi Redḍi m. Annamāmbā



1. Ep. Ind., Vol. xiii, p. 242, v. 22.

पौर्त्वी काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पुर्त्वी च काटप्रभोः
 दौहिर्त्वी चतुर्णर्वी हरिहरक्षोणीपतेः शासितुः
 तन्नाम्ना विदिताह्वयां हरिहरगंवां चान्ममग्राह्य
 त्पाणौ वेममहीशमल्लनृपति स्साम्राज्यलक्ष्म्या समम् ॥

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu emends the first line in the above verse as shown below :

“पुर्त्वी काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पौर्त्वी च काटप्रभोः”,

CHAPTER X.

RĀCA VĒMAREḌḌI.

(Cir. 1420 A.D. to Cir. 1424 A.D.)

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was succeeded by his son, Rāca Vēma. His mother was Sūrāmba, daughter of Gannabhūpāla, lord of Dhānyavāṭi-pura or Dhanyakāṭaka. Rāca Vēma's records have not yet come to light. The Amīnābād inscription, which informs us that Rāca Vēma caused the feeder canal, named "Jaganobbagaṇḍa - kāluva" of the Santānavāridhi tank, constructed by his mother Sūrāmba, to be dug in Śaka year 1337 corresponding to the cyclic year Manmatha, has to be assigned to the reign of his father, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The *Koṇḍa-viṣi-daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu state that he ruled for four years. From the account furnished by them he appears to have been a tyrant. He ruled his subjects cruelly and oppressively. He is said to have imposed new taxes and collected them with an iron hand. He had none of the qualities of a good ruler. He, therefore, was unable to steer the ship of state successfully during the stormy period that followed his father's death. The *kaifiyats* of villages in the Godavari, Kistna, and Guntur districts state that Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kāliṅga overran the coastal tract in Śaka 1342, brought the whole country under his rule, and got some repairs made and fresh forts constructed at Koṇḍaviḍu.¹ This is not, however, confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Neither the records of the Gajapati monarchs, nor of the Vijayanagar rulers have been discovered till now either at Koṇḍaviḍu or in its north-eastern region. If the Gajapati conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu were a fact, as it seems to be, it must have been effected sometime after Śaka 1342, for, the country in the neighbourhood of the Reḍḍi capital was subjugated by the Vijayanagar monarchs in or before that date, as is borne out by a record² of Śaka 1342 Sārvari belonging to Dēvarāya I at

1. Kf. Kd., pp. 10-11.

“తనంతరము గజపతిసింహాసనమునకుఁ దన లాంగూలగజపతి జనుయ్యకు చేసికొని కటకము మొదలుకొని పుడయగిరి పర్యంతమున్న గిరిదుర్గస్థలములు ఆక్రమించి శా. ౧౩౪౨ శకము లగాయకు శా. ౧౩౫౩ శకమునరకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు ప్రభుత్వము చేసి దుర్గము (కొండవీడు) మర్రామకు చేయించి, పెదమా లెంకొట చిరమా లెంకొట లనెడి కట్టించెను.”

2. Ep. Cell., No. 125 of 1917. The Śaka date 1844, as given in the inscription, does not correctly correspond to the cyclic year Sārvari. It tallies with Śaka 1842. Hence, I took it as Śaka 1842 Sārvari in the text above.

Pottūru (Guntur taluk, Guntur district), a village in the vicinity of Konḍaviḍu.

kāca Vēma Redḍi had little support from his subjects to resist these invasions of the Vijayanagar and the Gajapati rulers; for, by his oppressive rule he had forfeited the love and devotion of his subjects. The *Konḍaviṭi-daṇḍukavile*, which assigns to him a period of rule of four years, informs us that he was assassinated by one of his subjects.¹ This is not, however, corroborated by any available evidence.

The kingdom of Konḍaviḍu, founded by Prōlaya Vēma, after many vicissitudes and set-backs, reached its meridian of power and glory in the reigns of the illustrious Anavēma and Kumāragiri. Such days of prosperity and affluence were not for it for long. Peda Kōmati Vēma and his internecine wars gave it a downward thrust and his unworthy son Rāca Vēma saw it sink. A glorious but all too brief period of a hundred years was the life of this great Redḍi dynasty.

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3. “ఇతడు (రాచ వేమారెడ్డి) తన పూర్వుల మార్గముగాని తండ్రిమార్గముగాని యచలం బింపక తా నొకక్రొత్త మార్గ మవలంబించి క్రొత్త పన్నులను విధించి ప్రజలను బాధించుచుండెని కొండవీటి దండకవిరె నాకొనుచున్నది. రాచవేమన ప్రజలపై పురిటి పన్ను విధించి యక్రమముగా రాజబట్టుచుండెనియు, తన భృత్యుడగు సవిరము ఎల్లయను బలిజనాయకునిపై పురిటిపన్ను వేసి బలాత్కారముగా కనూలు చేసినందున నాతఁ డాగ్రహించి యొక నాఁడు ముత్యాలమ్మగుడికడ నాతనిని గతాంతోఁ బొడిచి చంపెననియుఁ బ్రదండకవిరె నుడుపుచున్నది” — An. Cr., III, pp. 242-44.

CHAPTER XI.

RĀJAMAHĒNDRA RĀJYA OR THE EASTERN KINGDOM

Rājamahēndra Rajya or the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was of later origin, coming into existence only during the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. The Redḍi kings of Addaṅki, later, of Koṇḍaviḍu, ever since the establishment of their power, realised the necessity of bringing the whole of the coastal region under one rule, and of consolidating their power to protect the Hindu *dharma* and culture from the ravaging attacks of the Muslims. However, their attempts were not crowned with success until nearly half a century after the re-establishment of Hindu independence in that region. It was Anavōta I who, after the new Redḍi principality was placed on a strong and secure basis, led an expedition to the eastern quarter to bring the fertile coastal plain to the north of the Kṛṣṇā under his authority. It is probable that many of the Redḍi families from Pākanāḍu in the Nellore district migrated to Rājamahēndravaram on the banks of the Gōḍāvarī, and settled there towards the end of Prōlaya Vōma's reign, or in the beginning of the reign of his son, Anavōta. Though the campaign of Anavōta I was a thorough success, the authority of the Redḍis was not permanently established there. The chiefs in that region appear to have thrown off their allegiance to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu and reasserted their independence. After his succession to the throne, Anavēma, brother and successor of Anavōta, once again invaded the eastern country and brought the chiefs ruling in that region under his sway. The authority of Koṇḍaviḍu was so well established over the eastern country extending as far as Rājamahēndravaram that, even the civil war that convulsed the Redḍi kingdom after the death of Anavēma, did not affect its subordinate position. The territory extending up to the confines of Kālīṅga remained an integral part of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom till the death of Anavēma.

Rājamahēndravaram and its neighbouring country had become a virtual Redḍi colony and settlements of the Redḍi nobles and their dependants had sprung up in this region even from about the beginning of the reign of Anavōta I. Chief among the Redḍi families that settled at Rājamahēndravaram and its neighbourhood were Kaṭaya Redḍi's family and the Dūvūri family. Kaṭa II, grandson of Kaṭa I and son of Mārā Redḍi, was contemporaneous with Anavōta Redḍi I and his

brother, Anavēma. He married Doḍḍāmbikā, sister of Anavōta I, and daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. He and his father Mārā Redḍi, therefore, were the chief Redḍi dignitaries in the Gōḍāvarī region during the early years of the Redḍi rule. The Dūvūri family was an extensive one. Perumāṇḍi Redḍi of this family had five sons, Allāḍa, Peda Kōṭa, Annavrōla, Doḍḍa and Pina Kōṭā Redḍi. These had marital alliances with the nobles of this region, and wielded enormous influence in the politics of the land. These nobles, who were contemporaneous with Anavōta and Anavēma, were the chief supporters of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu and were probably instrumental in establishing permanently the authority of the Redḍi kings in this region to the east of the Gōḍāvarī. Of the five nobles of the Dūvūri family mentioned above, Doḍḍa Redḍi was connected by ties of relationship with the Ēṇuva chief, Bhīmadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja. Bhīmadēva Cōḍa gave his daughter Vēmāmbā in marriage to Allāḍa Redḍi, the youngest of the three sons of Doḍḍa Redḍi. Allāḍa and his elder brothers, Anavrōla and Kōṭa, and his paternal uncles, all the members of the Dūvūri family, in fact whole-heartedly co-operated with the Redḍi kings in extending their authority over the fertile lower Gōḍāvarī valley. Because of the powerful support of the Redḍi nobles, Rājamahēndravaram, even during the civil war following the death of Anavēma, not only remained a Redḍi stronghold, but also took up the cause of Kumāragiri, and fought against his opponents under the leadership of Kāṭaya Redḍi's son Vēmā Redḍi.

After his succession to the throne, Kumāragiri realised the necessity of defending the eastern frontier of his kingdom and keeping under check the petty rulers of the eastern region who did not fail to take advantage of the civil war to assert their independence. For effecting a permanent arrangement he sent his son prince Anavōta II and his prime minister and generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma to conquer the eastern country, as stated already. The eastern campaign, in which Allāḍa Redḍi and his sons Vēma and Doḍḍa had taken an active part, was a thoroughly successful one, and the Redḍis succeeded in carrying their arms victoriously as far as Puruṣōttam, i.e. Cuttack in the Pūri district of Orissa. They planted pillars of victory at Simhāchalam and on the banks of the Chilka lake. Subsequent to this conquest, the country beyond the Gōḍāvarī extending as far as Simhāchalam was annexed to Rājamahēndravaram and constituted into a separate province called the Eastern Kingdom or Rājamahēndra Rājya about Śaka 1312 (1390 A.D.) with Rājamahēndravaram as its capital. Prince Anavōta II, son of Komaragiri was appointed viceroy of this new kingdom.

King Kāṭaya Vēma :

Subsequent to the death of Anavōta II after a short reign, Kumāragiri conferred the Rājamahēndra Rājya on Kāṭaya Vēma, in appreciation of his prowess ("*Yasmai-vikrama-tōṣitaḥ*"), and probably of his invaluable services rendered unto him. The gift, therefore, of Rājamahēndra Rājya was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr. Kāṭaya Vēma was in possession of this dominion prior to Śaka 1317 (1395 A.D.), the date of his Gōpavaram grant¹ which alludes to this fact. From this it is evident that, by that date, Anavōta II was dead, and Kāṭaya Vēma was the governor of Rājamahēndra Rājya. It is probable that Allāḍa Redḍi, his right-hand man, was his representative carrying on the administration of the kingdom during his absence from Rājamahēndravaram.

During the last years of king Kumāragiri, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma usurped the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. Kāṭaya Vēma, on behalf of Kumāragiri, appears to have fought in vain against this usurpation, and eventually fled to Rājamahēndravaram where Kumāragiri spent his last days in illness.

The death of Kumāragiri aggravated the hostilities between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Kāṭaya Vēma, as the vassal of Koṇḍaviḍu, did not pay his homage to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the successor of Kumāragiri. On the other hand, he asserted his independence, and defied Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's authority. Vēma tried to put him down and annex the Rājamahēndra Rājya to the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom. His attempts to subdue Kāṭaya Vēma and the latter's stubborn resistance involved the country again in a prolonged civil war, the course of which cannot be exactly ascertained with the data now available.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was fighting against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the Ēṅuva chief Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja, made an attempt to recover his lost kingdom. The statement int he *Velugōṭivāri Vamīḍavali* that Vēdagiri I, son of Mādā Nāyaka of the Rōceṅḷa family, gave protection to Annadēva Cōḍa, suggests that he went to Dēvarakoṇḍa

1. J.A.H.R.S.' Vol XI. pp. 211 ff.

There is an unpublished copper-plate grant of Kāṭaya Vēma, dated in Śaka 1318 Āṅgīrasa (Mack. Mss. No. 15-4-4, pp. 283-84). The grant bears the signature of Kāṭaya Vēma. The gift recorded in this grant was made on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Puṣya. The date is irregular. According to the *Indian Ephemeris* the week day is Tuesday and not Thursday. The Śaka year 1318 had expired and Śaka 1314, current. As the grant bears Vēma's signature, it raises a doubt if he was already appointed governor of the Eastern Kingdom and if Anavōta, son of Kumāragiri, was already dead.

after his banishment from his kingdom and sought refuge with Peda Vēdagiri I. While he was at Dēvarakōṇḍa he often appears to have resorted to the court of the Bahmanī Sultāns and to have co-operated with them in their campaigns, thereby gaining their favour. He helped Fīrūz Shāh,² the king of the Turuṣkas, in overcoming the Kārṇāṭa army at Sāgar in 1398 A.D. Having thus made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān and the Rēceṇḍa king of Dēvarakōṇḍa, Annadēva Cōḍa made a bid to recover his kingdom after the death of Kumārāgiri.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Kāṭaya Vēma :

Annadēva Cōḍa returned from Dēvarakōṇḍa at the head of a large army of the Rēceṇḍa kings, probably by way of Kaṭiṅga, at a time when Kāṭaya Vēma was involved in struggle with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. There is reason to believe that he was opposed by the Eastern Cālukya subordinates of the Redḍi kings. A *śloka* in the Pañcadhārāla inscription³ of the Cālukya king, Viśvēśvara of Elamañci, and a verse in the *Kāvya-lāṅkārcūḍamāṇi*, a Telugu work on rhetoric written by his court-poet Vinnakōṭa Peddana, state that king Viśvēśvara defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasiddhi (in the Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1324, that is, 1402 A.D. As the whole country as far as Simhāchalam was conquered and annexed to the Redḍi kingdom, the Cālukya king Viśvēśvara was, no doubt, a subordinate of the Redḍi kings. He opposed the Andhra army, probably of the Rēceṇḍa kings, on behalf of his overlords.

This defeat at the hands of Cālukya Viśvēśvara did not deter Annadēva Cōḍa from making one more attempt to regain his kingdom. And this time his endeavour was crowned with success. He not only recovered his kingdom but snatched away a good slice of the Rājamahēndra Rājya as well, as is borne out by his inscriptions⁴ at Dakshāram dated in Śaka 1326/1404 A.D. This record gives Annadēva Cōḍa the titles *Rājādhirājaparamēśvara* and *Pūrvasimhāsānādhiśvara*, which clearly show that he was 'the lord of the Eastern throne,' that is, the Eastern Kingdom. In spite of his success Annadēva Cōḍa was not able to retain his hold on Rājamahēndra Rāja for any length of time.

Kāṭaya Vēma's records bearing dates subsequent to Śaka 1326 have been discovered in the Rajahmundry and Cocanada taluks of the East

2. Ep., Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 29.

3. Ibid., Vol. XIX p., 170, verse. 24, Vol. XXV, pp 836-86; S.I.I., Vol. VI. No. 665.

4. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1847 and 1848.

Godavari District. His inscriptions at Madhirapūḍi⁵ in the Rajahmundry taluk, Sarpavaram⁶ in the Cocanada taluk, and Torṅṅēdu⁷ in the Rajahmundry taluk, are found dated in Śaka 1327, and his Acyutapuram⁸ inscription is dated in Śaka 1328. From these inscriptions it is evident that Kāṭaya Vēma was again in possession of the Rājamahēndra Rājya after Śaka 1326. It is, therefore, certain that Annadēva Cōḍa was defeated and driven back to his own kingdom which, according to his Rajahmundry Museum plates, lay between Gōmukhagiri or Mōtighar, popularly called Mōtē, a small island above Bhadrāchalam in the Gōdāvari in the Hyderabad State, and Paṭṭesagiri or Paṭṭesam, another small island in the same river, just below Pōlavaram, Godavari district. Annadēva Cōḍa's inscription⁹ at Pōlavaram is dated in Śaka 1330/1408 A.D.

Annadēva Cōḍa did not like Kāṭaya Vēma, a powerful enemy, to be by his side. He wanted to crush him at any cost and annex his kingdom. He, therefore, appears to have entered into an alliance with king Peda Kōmaḷi Vēma of Koṅḷaviḍu who was equally intent on crushing the power of Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma was aware of the danger arising from such an alliance. He, therefore, wanted to have a powerful ally on his side. The Rēceḷa kings and the Bahmanī Sultāns were his enemies. The only powerful ruler he could think of was Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar.

5. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-4; Loc. Rec., Vol II, p. 212. The date is Śaka 1327 (wrong for 1326) Tāraṇa, Thursday 10th tithi of the dark half of the month of Puṣya, on the occasion of Makara saṅkramaṇa. The English date equivalent is 27 December, 1404 A.D. The week day was Saturday and not Thursday.
6. Ibid, No. 15-5-36, p. 239. In Śaka 1327 Pārthiva, Kāṭaya Vēma builds a maṇḍapa, called Vasantarāya maṇḍapa, at Sarpavaram on Wednesday, the 11th tithi of the lunar half of the month of Nija Aṣāḍha for the merit of Kumārāgiri. In the month of Nija Aṣāḍha the 11th tithi fell on Wednesday both in the lunar and dark halves. The English date equivalent is either 8 July or 22 July, 1405 A.D.
7. Ibid. No. 15-4-4 pp. 278-79. This is a copper-plate grant of Kāṭaya Vēma. The lines containing the date (Śaka 1327) are given below :

“श्रीशके गिरिनेत्रवहि शशिभिर्गण्ये शरद्युत्तमे
कृष्णे पार्थिवनाम्नि चन्दिरदिने वारे गुरोः फाल्गुने.”

8. Ibid, No. 15-5-36, p., 325. This records a grant of Kāṭaya Vēma in Śaka 1328 Sarvajit, on Thursday, the 14th tithi of the dark half of Māgha for the merit of Kumārāgiri. The English date equivalent is Thursday, 12 January, 1408 A.D. The Śaka year 1329 corresponds to Sarvajit.
9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

Dēvarāya I ascended the throne¹⁰ in Śaka 1329 after coming out victorious in the fratricidal war, subsequent to the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Kaṭaya Vēma went to the Vijayanagar kingdom probably to meet Dēvarāya I. His inscription¹¹ at Ahōbalam in the Cuddapah district shows that he was there in Śaka 1332 (1410 A.D.). Whether Kaṭaya Vēma actually met Dēvarāya I, and whether the result of such a meeting, if at all it had taken place, was favourable to him, are matters of conjecture. The course of events, however, subsequent to Śaka 1332 (1410 A.D.) suggests that Kaṭaya Vēma achieved his object. Dēvarāya I advanced into the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom and occupied the region comprising the present Bapatla taluk in the Guntur district. Dēvarāya I must have done this either to prevent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from collaborating with Annadēva Cōḍa, or to relieve pressure on the eastern front, if Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma had already been fighting Kaṭaya Vēma.

Kaṭaya Vēma, in spite of the combined opposition of Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was able to maintain his hold on the Rājamahēndra Rājya including Kōnamaṇḍala. In proof of this statement his inscriptions at Tirupati¹² (Peddāpuram taluk), Komaragiripuram¹³ (Pithapuram division), Tottaramūḍi¹⁴ (Amalāpuram taluk), and Sarpavaram¹⁵ (Cocanada taluk) in the East Godavari district, dated in Śaka years 1330, 1332, 1333, 1334 and 1336 respectively, may be cited. It is thus evident that, excepting for a short interval in Śaka 1326, Kaṭaya Vēma held sway over the Eastern Kingdom for more than twenty years, after it came into his possession before Śaka 1317 (1391 A.D.). His inscriptions, however, have not yet come to light to the south of the Gōḍāvarī.

While Kaṭaya Vēma was ruling his kingdom to the east of the Gōḍāvarī, Annadēva Cōḍa occupied the region along the bank of the Gōḍāvarī in the west^{16a} probably with the help of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma

10. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIV, p. 204, No. 304 and note; Mack. Mss., No. 15-3-25. In this manuscript the date of coronation is given as Śaka 1329 Sarvajit, Thursday, 10th tithi of the dark half of Kārtika. The week day was Wednesday and not Thursday (Wednesday, 26 October, 1407).

11. Ep. Coll., No. 84 of 1915.

12. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 103.

13. *Redḍi Rāni*, Vol. II (1924, October), pp. 33 ff. This is a copper-plate grant recording the gift of the village of Komaragiripuram to an Āyurveda-valdya, named Narasiṃha on the 15th day of the lunar half of the month of Māgha. The date is unverifiable.

14. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

15. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 20 of Śaka 1334 and no. 2 of Śaka 1336. These two are the Sarpavaram records of Kaṭaya Vēma.

15-a. From almost the Pāpi hills the Gōḍāvarī flows from north to south till far beyond Rājamahēndravaram.

and of his own brother-in-law Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnumḍirāja), son of Śrī Cakravarti of the solar family.¹⁶ The identity of this Cakravarti is not known. As the donor of the Rāvulaparti plates¹⁷ is known as Uṇḍīśa or Peda Uṇḍirāja, Pinna Uṇḍirāja was probably a latter chief of the same family belonging to Sūravaram. Annadēva Cōḍa's occupation of the western Godavari region endangered Kaṭaya Vēma's position; for, easily crossing the Gōḍāvarī the former might advance into Kōṇa-maṇḍala and attack the latter in his own territory. Kaṭaya Vēma, therefore, appears to have first crossed the river and attacked Annadēva Cōḍa. All the engagements between these two chiefs subsequent to Śāka 1334/1412 A. D., were fought on the western bank of the Gōḍāvarī, as is borne out by the Rajahmundry Museum plates.

Annadēva Cōḍa's exploits :

The Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa refer to some of these battles. They state that Annadēva captured the enemy towns of Jaggavāgu and others.¹⁸ Jaggavāgu has not yet been identified. Besides this, Annadēva Cōḍa is said to have defeated, on the borders of Attili (Tanuku taluk, West Godavari district), all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and to have offered protection to ten thousand of the enemy's forces who had taken refuge within the walls of that city. The southern kings¹⁹ referred to here are no doubt the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. It is evident from this that Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable army in aid of Kaṭaya Vēma. An engagement took place between the contending parties on the borders of Attili, in which Annadēva Cōḍa came out victorious. In this engagement he took ten thousand of the enemy's forces captive and offered them protection.

Among all the engagements that took place between Annadēva Cōḍa and Kaṭaya Vēma, the battle of Kāmkaṇaparti, the modern Kākaṇaparti, on the banks of the Gautamī (in the Tanuku taluk) was the most important one. It was a decisive battle in which Annadēva Cōḍa inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kannaḍa and other enemies who suffered heavy losses. The Rajahmundry Museum plates describe the battle thus : " For the purpose of protecting his friend he (Annadēva Cōḍa) performed a heroic sacrifice with Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnumḍirāja) as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of Kāmkaṇaparti on the banks of the Gautamī, making the Kannaḍa and other enemies the sacrificial

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 44, ll. 28-29.

17. C.P. No. 16 of 1917-18.

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 81 - 84.

19. Ibid. p. 34, f.n. 1.

victims".²⁰ The name of the friend whom Anandēva protected is not given in the plates. Yet, it is possible to guess who he was. He was not the Bahmanī Sultan, Firūz Shāh, as has been conjectured by some scholars; for according to Ferishta, it was only in the year A. H. 820 Firūz Shāh led an expedition into the Telingāna country. According to 'Azīz Ullāh Tabā Tabā this invasion took place between A. H. 815 and A. H. 820. Khāfi Khān, another Muslim historian, places it some time after A. H. 818". The year A. H. 818 closes with Śaka 1337 Manmatha (February 1416 A.D.) and A. H. 819 begins with the Caitra of Śaka 1338 (March 1416 A.D.). It appears, therefore, reasonable to place Firūz Shāh's invasion sometime after February 1416 A.D. (in or after the month of Caitra of Śaka 1338). The provenance of the inscriptions²² of Firūz Shāh in the Kistna district attests to the fact that the coastal region of Telingānā was overrun by him about 1417 A.D., (Śaka 1339) which corresponds to A.H. 820. It will not be, therefore, far from the truth if the date of the invasion is placed in the beginning of Śaka 1339, that is, at the end of A. H. 819. Annadēva Cōḍa was dead even by the middle of Śaka 1338, i. e., 1416 A. D. as will be shown later on. Under these circumstances the friend that was protected by Annadēva Cōḍa at Kāṅkaṇaparti could not have been Firūz Shāh. Nor could he have been the Vijayanagar ruler who was Annadēva's formidable enemy. He could not have been even the Rēceḡla king; for, evidence is lacking to show that the Dēvarakōṇḍa chiefs continued to take as much interest in him as they used to, in the time of Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu. Hence, it cannot be said that the friend referred to in the plates was a Rēceḡla chief. So, the only king that could be thought of is Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma himself. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma probably collaborated with Annadēva Cōḍa in crushing Kāṭaya Vēma's power, as has been surmised before. While, during one of these engagements, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was hard pressed by both Kāṭaya Vēma's forces and Dēvarāya's army, Annadēva Cōḍa, along with Pina Undirāja, hurried to his relief, and after winning a signal victory over the enemies he protected his ally. This victory gave him complete control of the western Godavari region. It was in the course of these wars that Annadēva Cōḍa went to Kṣīrārāma in Śaka 1335 (expired) in the cyclic year Jaya and made a gift of lands²³ to god Kṣīrā Rāmēśvara Śrīmanmahādēva of that place for the merit of his father Bhaktirāja and his mother Annadēvamma (23 July, 1414 A. D.).

20. Ibid, p. 16.

21. Ibid, pp. 85-86.

22. Ep. Coll., Nos. 806 and 807 of 1924.

23. S.I.I., Vol. V., No. 145. The Śaka year 1336 current corresponds to Jaya.

Kāṭaya Vēma's death:

It is likely that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in one of these battles, as suggested in the previous chapter. The death of Kāṭaya Vēma in his wars with the Koppunūḷla Nāyakas, the subordinates of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi who had the title *Kāṭaya Vemuni-talagoṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), affords clear proof to show that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi was an ally of Annadēva Cōḍa and helped him in his wars with his bitter foe, Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma's character and achievements:

A long and glorious career thus came to an end. Kāṭaya Vēma was a profound scholar in Sanskrit. His commentary on the three dramas of the great poet Kālidāsa, known as *Kumāragiriirājīyam*, greatly testifies to his scholarship. A *Caṭu*²⁴ verse in Telugu informs us that a certain Rāyani Bāca (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanimantri) who wrote with a golden style (*paṣiṇḍi gaṇṭamu*) was a famous rāyasam of that period. Kāṭaya Vēma was an able statesman and a veteran soldier. More than any one else of the Koṇḍaviṭi family he raised the prestige of the Redḍi power in the East by his extensive conquests. During the reign of Kumāragiri Redḍi, he carried the Redḍi arms victoriously as far north as the Chilka lake and Cuttack. He, however, hastened the downfall of the Redḍi power by his rivalry with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and by his indiscreet alliance with the Vijayanagar rulers who were ever ready to annex Koṇḍaviḍu to their empire.

Kāṭaya Vēma had great regard and devotion to his brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Redḍi and served him loyally and faithfully as generalissimo and prime minister. He carried out his behests with implicit obedience. His extreme regard and affection for his master and brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Redḍi may be inferred from his love of naming everything after him. He granted a good number of villages to brāhmanas and temples for the merit of his king, Kumāragiri, after re-naming them after him. His Ahōbala inscription furnishes a list of such villages. He named his commentary on Kālidāsa's dramas

24. కలయఁ బసిండిగంటమునఁ గాటయ శేషసమక్షమందు న

కృష్ణముగ రాయన ప్రభునివాచఁడు వ్రాసిన వ్రాలప్రాతరక్ష

గలుగలుగల్గులగునఁ గంటకమంక్రమ గుండెలన్నియున్

జలుజలు జల్లుజల్లురనె సర్వవివర్యలు మేలుమేలనన్.

Kumāragirirājīyam after his scholar-master. He named his son also after his brother-in-law. These acts attest to his personal character as a friend.

Kāṭaya Vēma left behind him a son, named Komaragiri and two daughters, Anitali and Hariharāmbā. As stated before, Anitali, his daughter by Doḍḍāmbikā, sister of Kumāragiri Redḍi, was given in marriage to Allāḍa Redḍi's son, Virabhadra Redḍi, and Hariharāmbā, to Virabhadra Redḍi's eldest brother, Vēmā Redḍi. At the time of his father's death Komaragiri Redḍi was a young boy of about ten years of age, having been born in 1405 A.D., if what the Toḡḡeḍu grant²⁵ of Kāṭaya Vēmā says is true. This inscription registers the grant of Toḡḡeḍu to the brahman scholar, named Mādhava of the Civukula family, by Kāṭaya Vēmā in Saka 1327, on the occasion of the birth of his son, Komaragiri. It is interesting to note that this boy was married very early, probably for political reasons. Two inscriptions²⁶ from Dakṣharaṇi dated in Śaka 1336 (1414 A.D.), and Śaka 1338 (1416 A.D.) record gifts for the merit of Komaragiri Redḍi, and his wife.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Allāḍa Redḍi :

After Kāṭaya Vēmā's death Annadēva Cōḍa took all members of his family captive; but "being disirous of fame" he is said to have protected them on their bowing to his feet." In spite of Kāṭaya Vēmā's death Annadēva Cōḍa seems to have fared no better than before. He was not successful in occupying Rājamahēndravaram; yet he did not give up his endeavour. Now, he was confronted with another formidable foe, Allāḍa Redḍi, the right-hand man of Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi. Allāḍa Redḍi challenged the authority of Annadēva Cōḍa and his ally, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā, and gave them no peace or rest.

Allāḍa Redḍi was the son-in-law of Annadēva Cōḍa's brother, Bhīmadēva Cōḍa. He was a near relative of Kāṭaya Vēmā and a sworn

25. "वामाङ्कस्थरमः प्रतीतविभवः पद्मासनस्थो जग

न्नाथ श्रीकुमराद्विरेड्डिजननाभीष्टो जयत्यच्युतः"

—Mack. Mss. No. 15-4-4.

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. B, pp. 329; and C, pp. 330.

27. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 45.

पादाम्बुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंशः

कोत्यैकवसलतया समरक्षियेन

सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षा

दीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकुलान्नदेवः ॥

enemy of Annadēva Cōḍa. The part he played in the wars which Kāṭaya Vēma waged against his enemies is, however, not known. His independent activities strictly belong to the period subsequent to the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. After Vēma's death Allāḍa placed his son, young Komaragiri, on the throne of Rājamahēndravaram and ruled the kingdom himself as his regent.

The regency of Allāḍa :

Komaragiri II did not live long after the death of his father. He died prematurely. When and how he died are matters of conjecture, as evidence is lacking to determine them. Komaragiri's death worsened the political situation still further. The Kaluvacēḡu grant²⁸ states that after the death of Komaragiri (II) the earth was submerged under a host of wicked kings and chiefs who turned traitor to their master (*Svāmi trōhaporāyaṇas*), and that Allāya Narēndra uplifted it like Viṣṇu and handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma. From this it is evident that Annadēva Cōḍa with his allies occupied the Rājamahēndra Rājya after the death of Komaragiri II, son of Kāṭaya Vēma. This fact is further corroborated by another piece of indirect evidence also. From the *Bhimeśvara Purāṇam*²⁹ we come to know that there was Anna Cōḍavara-*agrahāra* (*Annacōḍavara-mahāgrahāra*) in the Bōḍasakurti-Sthala in Kōṇa-rāṣṭra. Judging by its name this *agrahāra* must have been granted to brāhmans by Annadēva Cōḍa after re-naming it after himself, as is usually the case with the donors who re-name the village they grant, either after themselves or after their fathers. The existence of this *agrahāra* in Kōṇa-rāṣṭra clearly testifies to Annadēva Cōḍa's occupation of a considerable portion of the Eastern Kingdom. Some of the nobles who were devoted to Kāṭaya Vēma and his family

28. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, pt 1, p. 556, vv. 45 and 46.

स्वामिद्रोहपरायण

कुनृपतिजलराशिजलनिमग्नधरां

दोडुययलनरेन्द्रो

हरिखिव सौकर्य्यतस्समुद्धृतवान् ॥ v. 45.

दुरितरहितचित्तो दोडुयाल्लाडभूपो

भुवमरिजनवश्यां भूयसा हन्यदोष्णा

बिमलगुणयुतायां वेमभूपात्मजाया

मवनिसुरसुधाया मन्त्रितल्यां न्यधत्त ॥ v. 46.

29. *Bh. Pr.*, I. v. 64.

proved traitors and joined Annadēva Cōḍa. This is suggested by the reference in the Kaluvacēṅṅu grant to chiefs who turned traitor to their master. Allāḍa, inflicting a stunning defeat on his enemies, drove them away from his kingdom and re-occupied it. He then handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, the rightful heir, and ruled it himself in her name. Allāḍa Redḍi was greatly helped in this struggle by his sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna, his minister Ariyēti Liṅṅana, his commander Narahari or Nāra Bhūpa, son of Pinnama Nēḍu and others.

Annadēva Cōḍa's death:

Annadēva lost his life probably in one of his encounters with Allāḍa Redḍi. His latest record is his Pālakol inscription³⁰ dated in Śaka 1335 (expired) Jaya (1414 A.D.) cited before. This inscription definitely shows that Annadēva Cōḍa was alive almost till the end of July 1414 A.D. Allāḍa is said, in a record at Palivela³¹ dated in Śaka 1338 Durmukhi (in the month of Pauṣa), to have destroyed the whole of the *drōḷakula* and established the descendants of Kāṭaya Vēma in the kingdom. His commander Narahari Nēḍu is given the title of the establisher of the kingdom of Allāḍa Redḍi (*Śrīmad-Doḍḍaya-Yalla. bhū'alapateḥ rājyapraṭiṣṭhāpakō*) in an inscription³² at Pālakol, dated in Śaka 1338 Durmukhi, in the month of Śrāvaṇa (August 1416 A.D.). So Annadēva must have died between July 1414 and August 1416 A.D., most probably in Śaka 1337 (1415 A.D.). Annadēva's son Vīrabhadra also did not survive his father long, though he might have fought in vain against Allāḍa, while he was alive.

Allāḍa Redḍi and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Allāḍa had yet to contend with his bitter opponent, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Probably just about this time Allāḍa Redḍi had to face new

30. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 145. The date of the record is Monday, the 6th tithi of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in Śaka 1335 (expired) Jaya. The English date equivalent is Monday, 23 July, 1414 A.D.

31. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 118.

“ गते दिवं काटयवेमभूपे निर्मूल्य तद्द्रोहीकुलं समस्तम् ”

32. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 138.

शाकाब्दे वसुमूर्तिरामरजनीनाथैश्च गणये गते
स्याते दुर्मुखि वत्सरेच विलसन्मास्युत्तमे श्रावणे
श्रीमद्दोडडययल्लभूतलपतेः राज्यप्रतिष्ठापको
मंचेलाख्यपुरीश्वरो नरहरिः पित्रक्षितीशात्मजः॥

enemies from other quarters also. From the Vēmavaram plates of his son Vēma, we learn that the Gajapati king, and the lord of Karnāṭa, that is, the ruler of Vijayanagar, advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram. The passage in these plates that Allāḍa made friendship with both of them (*mutrikṛtya samāgatam Gajapatim Karnāṭa-Bhūpam catam*) implies that they came there as enemies. Probably, each wanted to extend his sway along the coast while Allāḍa was in trouble. Allāḍa was a shrewd statesman. He rose to the occasion. He defeated the Gajapati monarch and made peace with the ruler of Vijayanagar. There is a reference, in the Kommuchikkāla plates³³ of Anavōtā Redḍi, to Allāḍa's victory over the Eastern kings (*paurastya-bhūpān*) who might have been the Gajapati and his feudatories. As the contemporary Telugu literature assures us that Allāḍa Redḍi maintained friendly relations with the Gajapati king, it is likely that they became friends only after this event.

The relations thereafter between Allāḍa and the Gajapati and Karnāṭa kings were cordial. This gave him additional strength to crush the power of his rival Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma completely.

The references to the exploits of Allāḍa Redḍi in inscriptions and literature attest to the fact that king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma continued his hostilities with the princes of Rājamahēndravaram. With the death of Annadōva Cōḍa, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was deprived of a powerful ally. He was not unaware of the prowess of Allāḍa and his sons. He therefore appealed to the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh for help. It is likely that he sent his minister, Māmiḍi Sīngana³⁴ to Gulbarga to negotiate with the Sultān. The endeavours bore fruit. Sultān Firūz Shāh sent his slave-wazir, Nizām-ul-Mulk with a considerable army to Telingānā. Firūz Shāh's inscriptions³⁵ at Vāḍapalli (in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district) clearly prove that the Muslim invasion was undertaken in Śaka 1339 (in the beginning of 1417 A.D.).

From a careful study of the account of this invasion given by 'Azīz-Ullā Tabā Tabā we understand that the Sultān retreated to his capital without capturing the important fort of Rājamahēndravaram. There seem to have been two important reasons for this retreat, namely, the invasion of the Dēvarakōṇḍa kingdom of the Rēceḡla kings

33. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, p. 228.

“पौरस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः”

34. Māmiḍi Sīnga seems to have been a great orator in the Persian tongue.

“యననాధీశ సహనిరంశశరణోహ్య పారపారంకతా !” — Sr. Nd., II, v, 144.

35. Ep. Coll., Nos. 806 and 807 of 1924.

by Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar. As an ally of Allāḍa Redḍi Dēvarāya I started a big offensive against both the Rēceḷa and the Koṇḍaviḍu kings. It was a plan cleverly laid to wean some of the enemy's forces from the eastern theatre and help Allāḍa. Dēvarāya's plan proved, to a great extent, successful and profitable too to himself. His records in the Bapatla taluk (Guntur district) reappear just about this period; and this proves that he succeeded in marching through the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu as far as the coast. The Vijayanagar armies ravaged the country of the Rēceḷa kings far and wide from their military base at Pānugal (Nalgonda district), which had been already in their possession for the past some years. This Vijayanagar inroad into the territory of the Bahmanī subordinates necessitated the retreat of the Bahmanī army from Rājamahēndravaram. There was yet another and more compelling cause for the retreat of the Muslim armies. It is the defeat they suffered at Rājamahēndravaram. The Kommuchikkāla plates³⁶ of Anavōta, referred to before, state that Allāḍa Redḍi inflicted a defeat on the *yavanas* (*Yavanān vijitya*). These plates do not assign any date to this event. Since it was only in A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) that the Bahmanī armies advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram, the above event must have taken place on that occasion in the latter half of that year.

The defeat of his ally Fīrūz Shāh was a blow to king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Deprived of any help from outside he was easily overthrown by Allāḍa Redḍi at Rāmōśvaram. The use of the term *bhūyas* (which means once again) in the Vēmavaram plates suggests that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was defeated by Allāḍa more than once.

There is one more exploit of Allāḍa Redḍi to be taken into account and that is his victory over Ālpa Khān. While the *Śivalīlāvilāsam* and the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* refer to his victory over the Sultān of Dhārānagara, the Vēmavaram plates allude to that over Ālpa Khān. Really these two exploits are identical. Ālpa Khān was the son of Dilāwar Khān. Assuming the title of Sultān Hūshang, he ascended the throne of Mālwa in A.H. 808 (1405 A.D.) after the death of his father. His capital was Dhār or Dhārānagara. Ālpa Khān who was defeated by Allāḍa was Hūshang Shāh, the Sultān of Dhār or Dhārānagara. This exploit must have taken place before Saka 1341, the date of the latest record³⁷ at Pālakol to refer to Allāḍa Redḍi.

36. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228.

“यस्यानुजातो यवनान्विजित्य...”

37. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 135. The English date of this record is Sunday, 4 February, 1420 A. D. “*Tad-bhṛtya*” in line 3 of this record should be corrected to to *tat-putrō*, for, in pp. 13-14 Nāra Bhūpa is styled as Pinnaya Naranah, i.e., Nārana, son of Pinnaya.

Allāḍa's death:

The Palakol inscription mentioned above states that Nāra Bhūpāla or Nārana (Narahari) performed in that year, in the month of Māgha (February, 1420 A.D.), the consecration ceremony of Allāḍa = Śśvara *liṅga*, made in stone. It was a general custom in the mediaeval period to set up *liṅgas* after the name of the deceased persons. Many instances may be cited in support of this statement from inscriptions themselves. It must, however, be stated that there had been also the practice of establishing *liṅgas* after their own names and erecting shrines by living persons. In such instances, this act of piety would be done by themselves and not by others. The paucity of Allāḍa's records after Śaka 1341, and the setting up of a *liṅga* after his name by one of his servants in that year, these two facts taken together, strongly suggest that he was dead by the time of the Palakol record (that is, by February 1420 A.D.). Allāḍa Redḍi's victory over Ālpa Khān or the Sultan of Dhārānagara has, therefore, to be assigned to 1420 A.D., or a little earlier. It is not known how Allāḍa came into conflict with Sultān Hūshang Shāh and when and where he inflicted defeat on him."

88. There is however room for conjecture. Liṅgana, the minister of Allāḍa, is said to have made his master rule the Rājamahēndra Rājya, having maintained friendly relations with the Yavanas, Karpāṣas, and the Gajapatis (Bh. Pr. I, v. 62). The Yavanas do not seem to have been the Bahmani Sultāns, who were Allāḍa's inveterate foes. The clue to know the identity of these Yavanas appears to lie in the *Bhīmesvara Purāṇam*. Bēṇḍapūḍi Anna, younger brother of Liṅgana, is praised in that work for his beautiful Persian calligraphy on paper, which were despatched to the court of Ahmad Shah to secure the continual prosperity of the kingdom of Vēma Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi.

“అన్నయమంత్రికేళిరుఁ డహమ్మదు కాసనదానధూమిభ్య

త్సన్నిధికి న్నది న్నమచిరంబున వేమమహీసురేంద్రరా

జ్యోత్స్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగఁ బారసిభాష వ్రాసినఁ

గన్నులపండువై యమరుఁ గాకితమందలి వర్ణపద్ధతుల్”.—Ibid; v. 78.

I copied this verse as it is given in the printed work. This verse is, however, faulty and has an alternate reading, which does not make out any sense.

“అన్నయమంత్రికేళిరుఁ డహమ్మదు కాసనదానధూమిభ్య

త్సన్నిధికి న్నది న్నవరంబున (?) వేమమహీసురేంద్రరా

జ్యో (జ్యో?) న్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగఁ బారసిభాష వ్రాసినఁ

గన్నులపండువై యమరుఁ గాకితమందలి వర్ణపద్ధతుల్ (?)”.

The first line is emended by some scholars as

“అన్నయ మంత్రికేళిరుఁ డహమ్మదు సేను వదాన్యధూమిభ్యత్...” etc.

The correct emendation seems to me to be this:

“అన్నయ మంత్రికేళిరుఁ డహమ్మదుఁ డ సుజరాతధూమిభ్యత్...” etc.

Allāḍa died in the beginning of 1420 A.D. (that is, in the last months of Śaka 1341) as stated before. By his prowess and statesmanship he did not allow his enemies to gain the upperhand, and the flag of independence of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram to be lowered. He fought with his foes valiantly to the end, and succeeded in bequeathing the kingdom intact to the descendants of his master and relative, Kāṣṭhaya Vēma. After his death Allāḍa acted as regent to his son Komaragiri, and was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. After the death of Komaragiri, he practically ruled the kingdom himself. He wanted to have political power in his hands. His only ambition was to retain the kingdom in his family, as Anitalli, the wife of his son Virabhadra Redḍi, was the legal heir to the throne after the death of her brother, Komaragiri, being the sole surviving member of Kāṣṭhaya Vēma's family. Allāḍa succeeded in fulfilling his desire.

Komaragiri III and Anavōta III :

It is generally believed that Vēma Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi took possession of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram immediately after the death of his father, Allāḍa Redḍi. But a careful study of the inscriptions of these Redḍi chiefs subsequent to the death of Allāḍa does not lead us to that conclusion.

As stated before, the date of the latest inscription to refer to Allāḍa Redḍi is Śaka 1341 (1420 A.D.), and the date of the earliest inscription³⁹ of Anitalli and her husband Virabhadra Redḍi is Śaka 1345 (1423 A.D.). It may be argued that this short period of four years is not sufficient to prove that there was an interregnum between Allāḍa and his sons. Even then, the absence of inscriptions of the latter earlier than Śaka 1345, has to be accounted for. There are other facts also to be taken into consideration. Within this period of four years are found two records, one a copper-plate grant,⁴⁰ and the other a stone inscription⁴¹ of Anavōta Redḍi, both dated in Śaka 1344 (1422 A.D.). This Anavōta was

There were no doubt two Sultāns having the name of Ahmad Shāh who were contemporaneous with Allāḍa Vēma; One was the Bahmani Sultān, the brother and successor of Firūz Shāh, who ruled from 1423 A.D., to 1435 A.D., and the other was the Sultān of Gujarāt who ascended the throne in 1411 A.D. (A.H. 814) and ruled till 1448 A.D. (A.H. 846) Allāḍa who was a foe of the Bahmani Sultān must have been a friend of Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt, who was often at war with Sultān Hūshang or Alpa Khān, the Sultān of Malwa. It, therefore, appears likely that Allāḍa defeated Alpa Khān in one of these wars. A close and combined study of the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions seems to suggest this conclusion.

39. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 100.

40. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 328. ff.

41. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 149.

the son of Anavrōla Reddi (Anaprōla), the eldest brother of Allāḍa Reddi. These two inscriptions indicate that, immediately after the death of Allāḍa, the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was occupied and ruled by his nephews Komaragiri III and Anavōta III, sons of Anavrōla. Of these two brothers Komaragiri died very early, before Śaka 1344; for, the village⁴², which Anavōta granted for the merit of his brother in that year, was re-named Anaprōla-Komaragiripuram after him. After his brother's death Anavōta III came to the throne.

It may, however, be argued that Anavrōla's sons held sway only over the region to the west of the Gōḍāvarī, corresponding to the present Narasāpuram and Bhīmavaram taluks of the West Godavari district, as their records are discovered there. There is, however, strong reason to believe that they ruled the Rājamahēndra Rājya also. There is a reference in the Vēmavaram plates to the *grāma-grāsa* village (*grāma-grāsap=ūru*) of Anaprōla Reddi-Komaragiripuram⁴³, an old *punta* or track of which is mentioned among the boundaries of Vēmavaram (which was founded by the fusion of the two villages Vedurupāka and Pina Mahēndraḍa). This Anaprōla Reddi - Komaragiripuram was, no doubt, another village granted to the brāhmins probably by Anavōta III himself for the merit of his brother, though the plates registering this grant have not yet been recovered. The grant of Anaprōla Reddi - Komaragiripuram in the Rāmachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari district to brāhmins unequivocally testifies to the rule of Anavōta,⁴⁴ son of Anavrōla, over the Rājamahēndra Rājya in the eastern Gōḍāvarī region also, probably after the death of the powerful prince Allāḍa Reddi. It is thus certain that the Rājamahēndra Rājya passed into the hands of Allāḍa's nephews after his death. The Kommuchikkāla plates clearly state that Rājamahēndravaram was Anavōta's residence⁴⁵. (*āsīd Rājamahēndra-nāma-nagaram yasya prabhōr = vāsabhū*). Probably, Komaragiri III and his brother, Anavōta unjustly usurped the throne of Rājamahēndravaram, after the death of Allāḍa, and consequently became the enemies of Allāḍa's sons. This might be the reason why Komaragiri and Anavōta, cousins of Allāḍa's sons, are not even alluded to in the Telugu works of *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and *Śivalilānīāsam* in the portion describing Perumāṇḍi Reddi's family.

Now the question arises as to how Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne, when there were Allāḍa's powerful sons

42. The Kommuchikkāla plates register the grant of this village.

43. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 250, ll. 211-212.

44. Robert Sewell mentions a stone record of Anavōta Reddi of 1421 A. D. at Sarpavaram (Ant., I, 24; II, 59).

45. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V, p. 229, l. 42.

Vēma and others. In this connection we have to take note of the fact that almost all the *kaiḥyats* of villages in the coastal districts preserve the tradition that, after the fall of Koṇḍaviḍu, the date of which according to them is either Saka 1341 or 1342, a certain Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaṭiṅga defeated the Redḍis, and ruled over the coastal tract until its conquest by the Vijayanagar monarchs. The *kaiḥyats* invariably assign the Saka date 1342 for the Gajapati occupation of Rājamahēndravaram; but the dates they assign to the Vijayanagar conquest vary greatly. The latest date they furnish to the latter event⁴⁶ is Saka 1364. According to some of the *kaiḥyats*, this Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaṭiṅga is Narasiṃhadēva⁴⁷. This identification is wrong; for, the reign of Narasiṃha IV came to an end ten or twelve years before that date, that is, in Saka 1331⁴⁸. His son and successor Bhānudēva IV, also called Nissanka Bhānudēva, was the Kaṭiṅga monarch contemporaneous with Allāḍa and his sons. We do not know if there was a son of Bhānudēva IV, called Narasiṃha or Lāṅgūla Narasiṃha. In this connection it may be noted that, according to the quasi-historical work, *Gaṅgavamsīnucaritam*, Kajiḷa Bhānu of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaṭiṅga led an expedition to the west, and that, while he was there in the western country, a revolution took place in Kaṭiṅga, as a result of which Kapilēśvara came to the throne of Cuttack. The unequivocal statement of the *kaiḥyats* leads us to believe that there was a Gajapati invasion, probably of this Kajiḷa Bhānu, wrongly written for Nissanka Bhānu, about Saka 1341 or Saka 1342, immediately after the death of Allāḍa Redḍi. There seems to be some indirect connection between the Gajapati invasion and the accession of the nephews of Allāḍa Redḍi. It may not be improbable that Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne with the help of the Gajapati monarch, and became his vassals.

Later on, Allāḍa's son Vēma, in setting up friendly relations with the Gajapati monarch, probably by ceding the Southern Kaṭiṅga out of expediency, defeated his cousins, re-occupied Rājamahēndravaram about Saka 1345, and asserted his power. It is likely that he continued to be the vassal of the Gajapati at least in name.

46. Loc. Rec., Vol. LX, p. 216.

47. Ibid, p. 75.

48. The earliest record of Vira Bhānudēva, the successor of Vira Narasiṃha IV, is his Śrīkūrmam inscription (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1205) of the 3rd *aṅka*, dated in the *Kaliyuga* era (wrongly written as Śākābdē) represented by Ravi (12), Bapa (5), and Sāgara (4)—4512—, that is, saka 1333. This record proves that he came to the throne in Saka 1331. His next record at Siṃhachalam (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1115) is dated in Saka 1336.

Reign of Virabhadra Reddi :

After wresting the kingdom, Vēma got his younger brother Virabhadra, the husband of Anitalli, crowned king of Rājamahēndra Rājya. The Telugu works, *Śivalitāvilāsam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, clearly state that Vēma got his brother Virabhadra anointed to the Rājamahēndra Rājya. Allaya Vēma also was the son-in-law of Kāṭaya Vēma. Yet, he was not the rightful heir to the throne. By anointing his brother to the kingdom, Vēma placed his brother's claim to it beyond dispute; for, Anitalli, being the daughter of Doḍḍāmbikā, was the grand-daughter of Anavōta Rēḍḍi I, and the sister of Kumāragiri I of Koṇḍaviḍu. She was thus a direct descendant on her mother's side from Anavōta of the Koṇḍovīṭi family. Moreover, she was the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma and the only surviving heir to the kingdom. Her claims to the kingdom were thus strengthened by her ties of relationship both on her father's and mother's side, and could not be disputed by any one. Her husband Virabhadra became through her the legal claimant to the throne; hence, he was crowned to the kingdom. Though Virabhadra was the king, Vēma Reddi appears to have been the *de facto* ruler of the Rājya. Inscriptions of king Virabhadra and Vēma range from Śaka 1345 (1423 A.D.) till Śaka 1356 (1434 A.D.).

The loss of Southern Kāṭīṅga, a portion of the Eastern kingdom was rankling in the mind of the valiant Vēma Reddi. He was looking for an opportunity to recover, somehow or other, his lost territory. In the mean time an unexpected event took place. The *kaifiyat*⁴⁹ of Koṇḍaviḍu states that the Vijayanagar rulers conquered the Gajapatis, and the date it assigns to this event is Śaka 1353. The date however seems to be wrong; for, the date of the record⁵⁰ of Teluṅgurāya, a Vijayanagar feudatory at Simhāchalam, is Śaka 1350. This may be accepted as the date of the re-conquest of the coastal tract by the Vijayanagar rulers. Dēvarāya II's conquest of the Gajapati monarch is corroborated by his Mudabidure record dated in Śaka 1351 Saumya. He is described in this record as "the lion in destroying the crores of elephants belonging to the lord of elephants, and the

49. "తదనంతరము సజపతిసింహాసనముఁ దైన లాంగూలగజపతి జమియ్య
కు చేసికొని కడికము మొదలుకొని వుదయగిరిపర్వతమున్న
గిరిమగ్గస్థలమాలు అకమి చి శా. ౧౩౪౨ శకము ల గ యతు శా.
౧౩౫౩ శకమువరకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు క్రభుత్వము చేసి..."

—Kf. Kd., pp. 10-11.

50. S. I. T., Vol. VI, No. 905. The cyclic year was Kilaka and not Plavaṅga as given in the record.

Kalasōdbhava (Agastya) to the ocean of the army of the Andhra king) (*Mātāṅgarāja - sindhuravarakīrti-mardana-mrgēśvaran = Andhranarendra - saṁnya-sāgara - Kalasōdbhavam Vijayarāja-tanūbhava - Devabhūvaram*).⁵¹ It seems certain that Teluṅgurāja was at Simhachalam after the completion of his successful eastern campaign. There is reason to believe that the Velama chiefs also lent their help to the Vijayanagar monarchs in subjugating this Eastern kingdom of the Reddis, which was virtually under the domination of the Gajapatis. Liṅgama Nēdu, son of Kumāra Mada Nēdu of Dēvarakōṇḍa, is credited, in the *Velugōṭṭari Vamśāvāli*⁵², to have defeated Allaya Vēma and Virabhadra in battle, ravaged the Rājamahēndra Rājya and captured Simhachalam. The invasions of Teluṅgurāja and Liṅgama Nēdu do not seem to have been two different campaigns. The Rēceḷa kings maintained friendly relations with the Vijayanagar rulers from Śaka 1339 (1417 A. D.), the date of the siege of Pānugal. Hence, it may not be wrong to suppose that Liṅgama Nēdu, as an ally of Vijayanagar, took an active part in this eastern campaign, and his exploits in the coastal tract have to be assigned to this period. Allaya Vēma's contemporary, Praudha Dēvarāja or Dēvarāja II, who succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar in Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.), completed the subjugation of the Reddi kingdoms, and annexed Koṇḍaviḍu to Vijayanagar. Koṇḍaviḍu was thus erased from the political map of the Andhra country. With the conquest of the Eastern kingdom, Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district became the eastern frontier of the Vijayanagar empire. As a consequence of this Vijayanagar conquest, Vēma and Virabhadra became the subordinates of Dēvarāja II.

Vēma was an able and wise administrator. His minister was Annamantri of the Beṇḍapūḍi family to whom Śrīnatha dedicated his *Bihmēśvara Purāṇam*. Vēma found the policy inaugurated by his father Allāḍa to be the only expedient one in the conditions then prevailing, and therefore maintained friendly relations with neighbouring kings. He was practically independent though formally he owed allegiance to the Vijayanagar monarch. He achieved

51. S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 202 (Ep. coll., No. 38 of 1901).

52. VV. Vm., vv. 110, 112-118, and 126.

“చటుక్కొగతి రామకరభమై మనలంఁ

దంక సింహాది పాధించినాడు

గంగాపాక్షికి మీటిఁ దిసి రాజమహేంద్ర

వరము చూడంగొని వచ్చినాడు

వీరభద్రుని దొడ్డవిభు కేమనృపతుల

రట్టండ్ల కాలంఁడఁ బెట్టినాడు,”

his object of recovering his lost territory in Kalinga sometime after Śaka 1352. Vēma and Virabhadra re-conquered the Southern Kalinga, as is borne out by their records⁵³ at Simhachalam. Since the latest date of the record⁵⁴ of the Gajapati monarch, Bhānu-dēva IV at that place is Śaka 1352, the Reddi conquest of that region must have been effected between that date and Śaka 1356, the period in which Kapilēśvara of Orissa overthrew the Gāṅga dynasty of Kalinga. A record of Vēma at Simhachalam dated in Śaka 1356 registers his remission of taxes on the lands of the *dēvas* and brāhmins in the *sthālas* of Kaluvalapalli, Oḍḍādi, Poṭṇūru and so on, which were acquired by the strength of his own arms. Virabhadra's inscription is undated. It praises him as one who caused to disappear the enemy's heroic army.

Last years of Virabhadra:

Unfortunately the later history of Rajamahendra Rājya is all obscure. The circumstances that led to the downfall of that kingdom are not known. It is not even possible to ascertain the date of its final disappearance from the political field with the material available to us. Records of the house of Allāḍa Redḍi subsequent to Śaka 1356 (Pauṣa), that is, December 1334 A.D., have not yet come to light. Two private inscriptions⁵⁵, dated in Śaka 1359 Piṅgala in the month of Phālguna, allude to the benefactions of Vēma and Virabhadra. These records indicate that Virabhadra was still ruling the kingdom. It must have taken at least a few years more, after the date of the two records referred to above, for the complete collapse of the Eastern Redḍi kingdom. There is reason to believe that it continued a lingering existence till at least Śaka 1366. Raktākṣi, the date of the Dākshāram record of Dēvarāya II⁵⁶.

The political situation of the coastal Andhra country changed with the accession of Kapilēśvara Gajapati to the throne of Cuttack in Śaka 1356-57 (1434-35 A.D.). Kapilēśvara was a very powerful and ambitious king. To extend his kingdom far and wide was his only aim and ambition. He could not tolerate Southern Kalinga to be under the sway of the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs whom he regarded as his rivals. He made attempts not only to regain Southern Kalinga but to annex also the kingdom of the Rajamahendra Rājya. The Vijayanagar monarch, Dēvarāya II, came to the rescue of the Redḍi kings, as is suggested by the provenance of his record at Dākshāram

53. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 1168 and 1169.

54. Ibid. No. 784.

55. Ibid, Vol. IV, Nos. 1352 and 1355.

56. Ibid, No. 1875.

dated in Śaka 1366. He sent his minister Mallappa Odeyar to Rājamahēndravaram to help the Redḍi kings to ward off probably the threatened attack by the Gajapati Kapilēśvara. In the published copy of this Dakṣharam record of Dēvarāya II, a few lines in the end are missing⁵⁷. They are found in the copy preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of this copy and the extra lines at the end of the record. These lines enable us to know that the gift recorded in the inscription was made in accordance with the command of Allaya Vēma Redḍi.⁵⁸ It is thus evident from this record that Vēma and Virabhadra, the allies and vassals of Vijayanagar, were still alive till that date.

Amidst the major conflict between the mighty and ambitious powers, the Gajapatis of Orissa, and the Narapatīs of Vijayanagar, the power of the Redḍis was crushed and their Rājamahēndra Rājya gradually sank into oblivion. Finally, the Gajapati monarch came out victorious, and Rājamahēndra Rājya formed part of the Gajapati dominion, and lost its identity. We find inscriptions of Kapilēśvara in the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram only four years after Dēvarāya's Dakṣharam record. An inscription⁵⁹ at Penugonda in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district, dated in Śaka 1370, Vibhava (1448 A.D.), alludes to the rule of Gajapati-kṣōṇīśa, that is, Kapilēśvara. This record marks the end of the Redḍi rule.

Thus ended the history of the Rājamahēndra Rājya, a glimpse of the glory of which, we come to know from the works of Śrīnātha and Kommana, the court poets of the Eastern kingdom.

57. Only 40 lines of the inscription engraved on three faces of the pillar, are published in the S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1375. "The other face of the pillar, which must have contained the rest of the inscription, has been built in".

58. Loc. Rec. Vol. II, p. 157. The inscription ends thus:

"... .. సర్వమాన్యం గామ అల్లడెడ్డి వేమరెడ్డిగారి ఆజ్ఞను సమర్పణ చేసితిమి."

59. Mack. Mas., No. 15-4-4; Loc. Rec., Vol. II, p. 200.

"शाकाब्दे गगनाद्रिरामधरणीसंख्यासमाप्रति

विभवाब्देच तपस्यमासिशिनो वारे द्वितीयं तिथौ

पेन्नोण्डाख्यपुरोत्तमं गजपतिक्षोणीशसन्दीपितम्. "

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KANDUKŪRU.

Kandukūru in the Nellore district was a place of considerable importance in the early history of the Andhra country. It lay between the coastal region and the *Bōyavihāradēśa*, or the country of the Bōya chieftains, comprising among, others, the present taluks of Ātmakūru, Udayagiri, and Kanigiri in the Nellore district. *Bōyavihāradēśa* was a mountainous country studded with forests, and contained, in those days, many forts or towns (*Bōya-vīḍulu*) of the Bōya chieftains, who were supreme in their own territory. These Bōya chieftains not only resisted the invasion from the coastal country but returned it with compliment by occasional predatory raids.

It was Paṇḍaraṅga, the minister and commander of the Eastern Caḷukya king, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, of the ninth century A.D., that reduced the Bōya chieftains for the first time, and established the sway of the Eastern Caḷukyas over their region. He made Kandukūru the southern military outpost of the Eastern Caḷukya kings of Vēṅgi. From that time it attained much political importance which it continued to maintain all through the later centuries.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, the region about Kandukūru passed into the hands of the Telugu Cōḍas of Vikramasimhapura or Nellore, who were, in course of time, subjugated by the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

During the period of political turmoil subsequent to the fall of Waraṅgal, when Prōlaya Vēma was busy establishing his authority to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, his youngest brother, Mallā Redḍi, co-operated with him and took an active part in building up the Redḍi power. The Mallavaram record¹ of Prōlaya Vēma styles him as Malla-sēnāpati, and the Telugu work *Harivamśam* as Malla-rathinīnātha. The conquest of Mōḍupalli in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district was one of the chief achievements of Mallā Redḍi.² When Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh led his armies against the Telugu country and marched as far as the coastal region, Mallā Redḍi attacked the foe and inflicted on him a severe defeat³ and saved the kingdom which was

1. N. I. D., III, O. 73, p. 1022 ff.

2. Hr, Vm., I, i.

3. Mack, Mss., 15-4-42; The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṣi Redḍi.

then in the making. There is reason to believe that the youngest and the eldest brothers of Prōlaya Vēma were put in charge of the southern and northern provinces of the Redḍi kingdom respectively, the youngest in Kandukūru and the eldest in Dhanadapura or Tsandavōlu.

The few extant records of the Redḍis of the Kandukūru branch furnish little historical information. They generally record the construction of tanks and temples, and gifts made to temples and brāhmanas. The kings of the Kandukūru branch do not mention in their records their contemporary kings, the rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu, a fact which suggests that they were ruling independently.

Out of the two inscriptions⁴ of Mallā Redḍi that have come to light, one⁵ contains the date Śaka 1246. Excepting these two, the earliest records of the members of the Kandukūru branch are dated in Śaka 1320 and 1322, and belong to king Śrīgiri Redḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi Redḍi, and grandson of Mallā Redḍi⁶.

Judged from their records the Redḍi kings of Kandukūru appear to have become powerful only from the end of the fourteenth century A. D. It was during the period of anarchy in the last years of Komaragiri's rule that Śrīgiri and his brothers, sons of Pina Kōmaṭi, asserted their independence.

The limits of the Kandukūru Rājya cannot be determined with exactitude; but its extent may be roughly ascertained from the provenance of the few lithic records of Mallā Redḍi's descendants. Almost all these records are found in the Nellore district, particularly at Kandukūru and Old Chuṇḍi in the Kandukūru taluk. There is however a single copper-plate record, the Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi Redḍi II, son of Macā Redḍi and grandson of Mallā Redḍi. The original plates of this grant are lost; only its copy is preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. It registers the grant of the village of Pedapūḍi to the brāhman scholars, Yellōpeddi Lakṣmaṇa Dikṣita of the Sāṇḍilya-gōtra and Śaḍḍarśanāla Vallabha Yajva of the Kauṣika-gōtra as an *agrahāra* in the Śaka year 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year Tāraṇa, on Thursday, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha.⁷

4. N. D. I., Vol. II, Kr. 34, p. 546; Kr. 15, p. 489.

5. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15.

6. N. D. I., II, Kr. 35, p. 549; and Kr. 43, p. 568. Kr. 43 is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama; but the Śaka year is wrongly given as 1222. The year Vikrama corresponds to the Śaka year 1322, and not to 1222 - Vide, note on p. 568, II.

7. According to the *Indian Ephemeris* there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha in the year Śaka 1325, Subhānu, and not in Śaka 1326, Tāraṇa. The date intended seems to be 27 January, 1404 A. D., that is, Śaka 1325, Subhānu, Magha, S'u. di. 15,

The date, however, is irregular according to the *Indian Ephemeris*. The village of Pedapūḍi and its boundary villages Amṛtalūru, Tāḍiparti, Ālapāḍu, Mūlupūru and Muṇḍūru are all in the Tenali taluk of the Guntur district. This is the only record of the kings of Kandukūru found in the Guntur district. In the absence of any records other than this grant, either after or before Saka 1326, it may be presumed that Kōmaṭi II occupied the coastal strip as far north as Tenāli, defying the authority of Koṇḍaviḍu during the period of the Vijayanagar aggression.

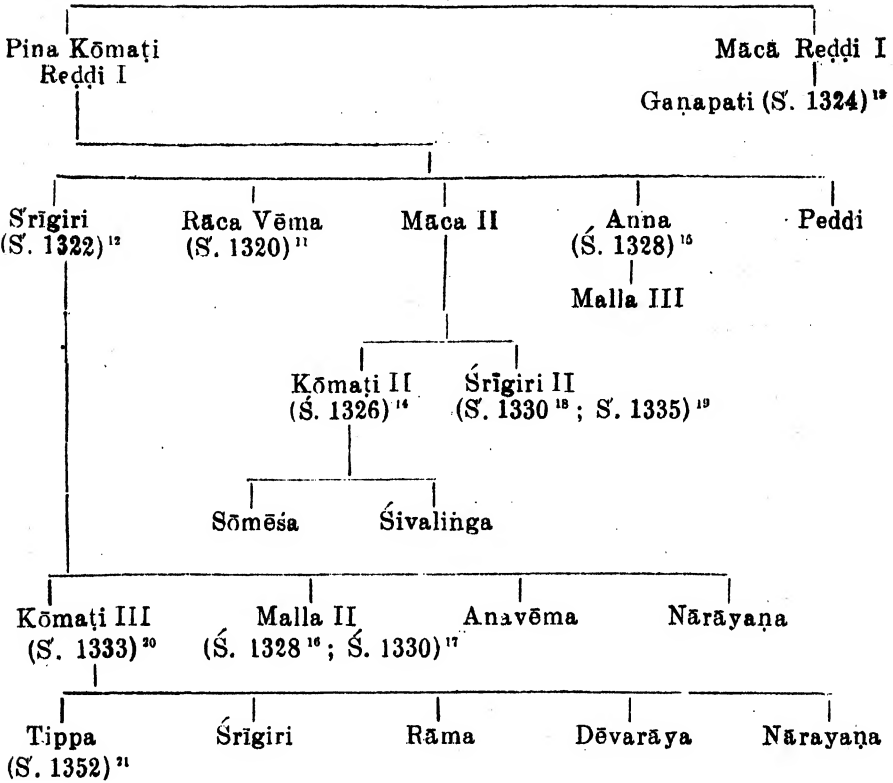
The coastal strip, however, was not long under the occupation of the Reddis of Kandukūru. The Ālapāḍu and the Kasuvukūṟṟu grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma bear testimony to this. The villages of Ālapāḍu, one of the boundary villages of Pedapūḍi in the Tenali taluk, and Kasuvukūṟṟu, near Ponnūru in the Bapatla taluk, were granted to brāhman scholars by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Saka 1334 and Saka 1326 respectively.⁸ These grants establish the fact that he recovered his lost possessions in the Guntur district soon after his accession to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu.

Genealogy of the Reddis of Kandukūru :

The two main sources that furnish a long genealogy of the princes of the Kandukūru branch are the Pedapūḍi grant adverted to above, and the commentary on the *Giriśāirtisūktimālā*, written by Śivaliṅga-bhūpati, one of the descendants of Mallā Reddi. In addition to the verses contained in the Pedapūḍi grant, the commentary contains a few more, praising its author, Śivaliṅgabhūpati and his brother, Sōmēśvara.⁹ The information regarding the descent furnished by the extant records and by the commentary alluded to above, when combined together, makes up the following complete genealogy of the Reddi chiefs of this branch. (Vide, next page for genealogy).

8. Cp. No. 6 of 1908 - 09 - Ālapāḍu grant; Loc. Rec., Vol. 48, pp. 48, ff. Kasuvukūṟṟu grant.

9. E. Hultzsch - Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India. Vol. II p. 91, No. 1028 D, C. S. M. (Madras), Nos. 5078; R. 2200, R. 5377; R. 8415.

Malla I (Saka 1246)¹⁰

It must be noted here that in framing the above genealogy four records, which were discovered outside the Nellore district, were also taken into account. Three of them are found in the Cuddapah district, two

10. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15, p. 489, Kr. 34, p. 546.

11. Ibid, II, Kr. 35, p. 549.

12. Ibid, II, Kr. 43, p. 568.

13. Es. coll., No. 115 of 1933; Ep. Rep. 1923, para 95.

14. Mack. Mss, 15—4—42. His paternal uncle Rāca Vēma and Annadēva are mentioned as Vema and Annavēma in the Pedapūḍi grant.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 433 of 1911; Ep. Rep. 1912, para. 69.

16. N. D. I., C. P. No. 5, p. 23.

17. Ibid, II, Kr. 13, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.

18. Ep. Coll., No. 422 - 1011.

19. Ibid. No. 42 of 1911.

20. N. D. I., II, Kr. 63, p. 608.

21. Ibid, Kr. 10, p. 495.

at Lēpāka and one at Taṅgaṭūru, both in the Rajampeta taluk, and the fourth is found at Damal in the Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district. The Taṅgaṭūru inscription dated in Śaka 1328 belongs to Annā Redḍi, son (mistake for grandson) of Mallā Redḍi²², and those at Lēpāka dated in the Śaka years 1329,²³ and 1335 belong to Mallā Redḍi,²⁴ son of Annā Redḍi. The latter was evidently the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. The donor of the Damal inscription²⁵

22. Ep. Coll., No. 433 of 1911, Ep. Rep. 1912, para 69, page 81. A copy of an inscription of these princes at the same village is preserved in the *Local Records* (Vol. 22, p. 166). According to this copy the donors were three brothers, Cannā Redḍi, Anna Redḍi and Mallā Redḍi, sons of Perumālḷa Redḍi, brother of Vēma Redḍi of Addaṅki.

(అద్దంకి సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన వేమారెడ్డింగారిశిష్యుడు పెరుమాళ్ల రెడ్డింగారిపుత్రులు చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగారు etc.)

It is evident that this passage is wrong. Vēma's brother was Mallā Redḍi and not Perumālḷa Redḍi; the latter name is evidently a mistake for Malla. We do not know if this inscription is different from the one copied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. The Epigraphist's copy is damaged. The date in both the copies is, however, the same—Śaka 1328, Vyaya. As such, both the copies, most probably, refer to one and the same inscription. It must, however, be stated that there is much difference between the Epigraphist's copy and that preserved in the Loc. Rec. According to the former the donor is Annā Redḍi, son of Malla. The extant Redḍi records do not mention any Anna, son of Malla. There was one Annadēva Redḍi, grandson of Malla and son of Pina Kōmaṭi Vēma. In all probability he might be the donor of the Epigraphist's copy of the Taṅgaṭūru record.

23. Copies of these records are also preserved in the *Local Records*. The above date is taken from them. According to the Epigraphist's copy of this record which is much damaged, the date is Śaka 18[80.]
24. Ep. Coll. Nos. 422 and 424 of 1911. See also Mack. Mas., No. 15-3-8, pages 85-87. The names of the donors of these records copied by the Epigraphy department differ from those in the copies preserved in the *Local Records*, for instance, the passage containing the name of the donor in the *Bukkapaṭṇam Kaiṣiyat* runs thus; అద్దంకి నగర సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగారు, that is, Mallā Redḍi, son of Annā Redḍi, son of Cannā Redḍi of Addaṅki. It seems certain that these inscriptions belong to the same chief Mallā Redḍi who, according to the Lēpāka records, was the son of Annā Redḍi, the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. According to the accounts preserved in the *Local Records*, Annā Redḍi was the son of Cannā Redḍi and grandaon (not son) of Mallā Redḍi, younger brother of Vēma. The extant Redḍi inscriptions do not mention any Canna, son of Malla. The name Canna might stand for Śrīgiri, or might have been wrongly written for Cinnā Redḍi, Redḍi the younger, a popular name, probably of Pina Kōmaṭi, son of Malla (C. f. Cikka Oḍeyalu of the early Vijayanagar records). The copies of inscriptions at Taṅgaṭūru preserved in both the *Local Records* and *Mackenzie Manuscripts* are faulty. According to them the donor Malla, son of Anna was the grandson of Vēma of Addaṅki which is a mistake. He was the great-grandson and not grandson.
25. Ep. Coll., No. 115 of 1928; Ep. Rep., 1928, para 95.

is Gaṇapati Redḍi, son of Māca, and grandson of Malla. Besides the usual Redḍi titles he had a new one, *Valudilampatṭusthāpanācārya*, the establisher of Valudilampatṭu.

History of the Redḍis of Kandukūru:

Very little is known of the history of the Redḍis of the Kandukūru branch. These chiefs refer in their records only to Addaṅki and not to Koṇḍaviḍu. As stated already, Śrīgiri Redḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi and grandson of Malla, was the first member of this branch to assert his independence. He is represented by two records, one from Kandukūru,²⁶ dated in Śaka 1320, and the other from Koṇḍamuḍusupālem,²⁷ dated in Śaka 1322. The Kandukūru record states that he was the eldest son of Pina Kōmaṭi and that his mother was Gaurāmbikā. He was a good critic of art and literature. He knew the beauties of *Saṅgita* (music), and *Sāhitya* (literature). He is termed as "*kalāvān*" (artist) in an inscription²⁸ at Old Chuṇḍi. He constructed "many huge tanks for providing plenty of water to crops" (*Sasyabharapraśasyān = anēkasahasrā-bdhisamānagāmbhīryamahātātākān*). He performed all the gifts described by Hēmadri. His guru was Śrīgiri of the Ghōḍeyarāya family.²⁹

King Śrīgiri's reign appears to have been an eventful one. The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi II states that his father Māca II, having expelled the Turuṣkas who were great archers from his own kingdom (ātmarāṣṭra), made it free from enemies by the power of his arms.³⁰ This statement clearly shows that there was a Muslim invasion of the Kandukūru Rājya, the date of which is not given any where. It seems however possible to determine it. This event took place sometime before Śaka 1326 or 1404 A. D. The only Muslim power in the Deccan country at this time was the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga, and Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who ascended the throne on 23 safar, A. H. 800

26. N. D. I., Kr. 35.

27. Ibid, Kr. 43.

28. N. D. I., Kr. 19, p. 505.

29. Ibid, Kr. 35. The reading given is "*Śrīmad-Voḍiyarāya-Śrīgiri-gurōḥ-padaḍja-sāvāparaḥ*" (p. 555, verso 8). This is wrong. The correct reading should be "*Śrīmad-Ghōḍeyarāya-Śrīgirigurōḥ etc.*."

30. Mack. Mss., 15—4—42. I give below the s'loka as I find it in the original.

धानुष्कधरेयतमः तुरुष्क

प्रापय्य निष्कासनमात्मराष्ट्रात्

निष्कण्टकं सर्वभुवं व्यधत्

स माचभूपो भुजवैभवेन ॥

(15, Nov. 1397 A.D.)³¹, was the contemporary of Śrīgiri's brother Māca, father of Kōmaṭi II. The Muslim historians state that Firūz Shāh led an invasion against the kingdom of Vijayanagar in A. H., 801-02 (1398-99 A.D.). According to Tabā Tabā he "contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. So in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts". 'Devadar' (Dēvarāya), the chief of the infidels, according to the same work, came to terms with the Sultān, and agreed to pay "thirty three lakhs of *ṭankas*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts."³² Thereafter Firūz shāh returned to his capital. Tabā Tabā's account differs from that given by Ferishta. According to the latter the causes that led to the out-break of hostilities between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagar was Dēvarāya's invasion of the Doab country "with thirty thousand horse and vast army of foot" in A. H. 801³³, that is, in Śaka 1320 or 1398 A.D. The result of the war, according to both the historians, is the same. The war ended with the defeat of Dēvarāya. Ferishta states that "after much negotiation Meer Fuzl Oolla (on behalf of Firūz Shāh) agreed to accept ten lakhs of *hoons* for the royal treasury as ransom for the prisoners, and one lakh for himself as negotiator."³⁴ In spite of this statement there is reason to believe that Firūz Shāh sustained defeat and retreated to his capital.

Whatever might be the truth regarding the result of the war, it cannot be gainsaid that there was an invasion of Firūz Shāh against the Vijayanagar territory. This was probably the occasion when the Muslim armies overran the kingdom of Kandukūru also. The date of Māca's defeat of the Muslim armies referred to in the Pedapūḍi grant, if sustained during this invasion as it seems likely, is Śaka 1320 (1398 A. D.), or about that time. Rāca Vēma, brother of Śrīgiri, is stated, in the Kandukūru record³⁵, to have conquered "in war his enemies who had sworn never to flee (*Samśaptakān-sapatnān*,) with the help of *haribāla*, that is, cavalry." The enemies referred to here must have also been the Muslims.

Even the danger of the common foe, Firūz Shāh, could not make the Reddis and Rāyas forget their old animosities and stand united. The Reddis regarded the kings of Vijayanagar as their bitter enemies. Neither of them was slow to take advantage of the internal troubles in

31. J. B. O. R. S., XXVII (1941).

32. J. S. King's *History of the Bahmanī dynasty*, p. 97.

33. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

34. Ibid p. 375.

each other's kingdom and the weakness of its rulers, to extend their power each at the expense of the other. Such were the relations between the Redḍi kings and the Vijayanagar monarchs at the time of the death of Harihara II⁸⁵ in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). After the death of Harihara II, his sons, Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar I, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I, contested the throne.⁸⁶ While there was civil war in the Vijayanagar kingdom, the Redḍi chiefs of Kandukūru led an expedition into the Udayagiri Rājya to the west of Kandukūru. They were successful in occupying Pottapināḍu, and Pulugulanāḍu, subdivisions of the Siddhavaṭam and Candragiri sīmas respectively. The *Local Records* state that they advanced as far as the fort of Rācavēḍu (Rāyachōti, the headquarters of the Rayachoti taluk, Chittoor district), and laid siege to it. After a sanguinary battle the fort fell into their hands.⁸⁷ The leaders of this expedition were Annā Redḍi, brother of Śrīgiri Redḍi and his son, Malla III.

Inscriptions⁸⁸ of Annā Redḍi and Mallā Redḍi at Taṅgaṭūru and Lēpaka in the Cuddapah district bear evidence to their incursion into the Udayagiri Rājya. The *Local Records* mention a number of villages that were ruined or destroyed as a result of this Redḍi invasion undertaken about Śaka 1328, the date of the inscription of Annā Redḍi.

While the Redḍi campaign was in progress, king Śrīgiri's rule appears to have come to an end. His successor on the throne of Kandukūru was his nephew Kōmaṭi II, son of his brother, Māca II. He was the donor of the Pedapūḍi grant referred to before. While his paternal uncle Anna was busy in occupying Pottapi and other countries, Kōmaṭi II extended his authority along the seaboard, as stated already. However, he was soon compelled to relinquish the newly acquired territory. The districts of the Udayagiri Rājya remained, for a period of seven years or even more, under the sway of the Redḍis of Kandukūru, as is borne out by their inscriptions at Lēpaka. The latest date furnished by Malla's records at that place is Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D.)

Kōmaṭi II had two sons, Sōmēsa and Sivaliṅga whose records have not yet come to light. Of these two, Śivaliṅga was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary on *Girīśaśrutisūktimālā* of Harādattācārya. During the rule of Kōmaṭi II, his cousins Malla II,

85. N.D.I., II, Kr. 35, v. 15.

86. Ep. Rep. 1921, page 46.

87. Ibid, and 1932, page 84.

88. Loc. Rec. Vol. XXII, *Kaṣṭyat* of Chittivēli, pages 166 - 172; Ibid, Vol. XVII, pages, 178 - 179; *Kaṣṭyat* of Bukkapatnam.

89. Ep. Coll., Nos. 438, 422 and 424 of 1911.

and his brothers who were the sons of Śrīgiri Reddi appear to have made Chuṇḍi their head quarters. The few inscriptions of Malla II known to us are found at that place. They are dated in Śaka 1328⁴⁰ and Śaka 1330⁴¹ and record the construction by himself of a temple to god Janārdana with a *maṇḍapa*, *prākāra* (compound wall) and a *gūpura* and his grants of lands to that temple. Malla II appears to have been the eldest son of Śrīgiri by Gaṅgambā, if the priority in dates⁴² of his own records to those of his brothers is taken into consideration as a test.

In the reign of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, Dēvarāya I, sometime after his accession to the throne, launched an attack on the Reddi kings to recover his lost territory, and to wipe out the kingdom of Kandukūru. He succeeded in both the attempts. The *Local Records* state that he despatched a considerable force from Udayagiri to Chandragiri and Siddhavaṭam *sīmas* and reduced Malla III to submission. The Vijayanagar supremacy in that region⁴³ was thus re-established. The paucity of records of the chiefs of Kandukūru for a period of seventeen years from Śaka 1335 (1413 A. D.) clearly proves that Dēvarāya I succeeded in achieving his primary object. The latest record⁴⁴ of the Reddis of Kandukūru at Chuṇḍi is dated in Śaka 1352, Śādharaṇa. It registers the grants of land made by Tippa, Śrīgiri, Rāma, Dēvarāya, and Nārāyaṇadēva, sons of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, in the presence of god Virūpākṣa on the banks of the river Tūṅgabhadrā, that is, in Vijayanagar itself. This conclusively proves that the Vijayanagar conquest of the Kandukūru Rājya was complete by that date. We hear no more of the Reddis of Kandukūru as independent rulers. They became vassals of the sovereign lords of the country.⁴⁵

40. N. D. I., I, C.P., No. 5, p. 23.

41. Ibid, II, Kr. 18, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.

42. Ibid, II, Kr. 68, p. 608.

43. *Loc Rec.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 178-179.

44. N. D. I., Kr. 16, p. 495.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT.

There are few details of the government, both central and provincial, their mutual relations, the working of the administrative machinery, the duties and privileges of the respective officers of the State and so on. Records of the period, either copper-plate or stone, do not enlighten us on this subject. The information, if there is any, furnished by them, is very meagre and undefined; for instance, one of the verses in the Vānapalli plates of king Anavēma Reddi, purporting to give the daily routine of his work, says, "while king Anavēma, the treasury of all virtues, whose great fortune is praised (as he employs it) for the protection of the world, is seated in the durbar on the jewelled-throne; some people receive the sovereignty over the country (*dēśa*), others the distinction of a palanquin, a chauri, and a parasol, others their (confiscated) kingdom, (and) others *agrahāras* full of wealth." Verses like these do not help in giving us any clear idea about the State, or the duties of the officers of the State.

The *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, a Telugu anthology of verse on the principles of government, culled from works on polity, extant at that period, written by different authors, enables us to know only the theory and principles on polity. The construction, equipment, defence and importance of the fort, the qualifications of persons to be appointed as ministers, commanders, doctors, secretaries, accountants, and other servants of the State and their duties, the principles to be observed regarding income, expenditure and taxation, qualities which are unworthy of a king, principles regarding accountancy, embassy, war and peace, espionage and the like, are the topics that are dealt with in this work. This work does not add much to our political knowledge of the period, either in theory or in practice, for, all works on *Nīti*, written in Sanskrit, or in any vernacular language, are almost alike, enunciating only the principles and furnishing, very little information regarding the practice of the day. In fact, all vernacular works are but translations of ancient works written in Sanskrit. This statement applies to the *Sakalanītisammataṁ* also. The verses collected in it are translations of *ślōkas* taken from very early and ancient Sanskrit works, like the *Mudrāṁśū*, *Pañcatantra*, *Kūmandaka*, *Śālihōtra*, *Nītibhāṣaṇa*, *Nītitāravalī*¹, *Puruṣārthasūtra*, *Dharmyaniti*,

Dhrtaraṣṭraniti, *Mahābhārata*, *Padma Purāṇa* and so on. There are also verses taken from Telugu works like *Baddenaniti* and *Cārucarya*, produced in the early mediæval period, besides some, which were composed by the author himself. Since the principles of the Hindu polity were more or less the same and did not undergo any change from the early centuries up to the mediæval period, the Telugu work under reference is not of any exclusively special value to us.

Such principles of government are also enunciated casually in a number of verses in another Telugu *kāvya*, named *Rukmāṅgadacaritram* by Praudhakavi Mallana. This work was produced in the period under review, and deals with the story of king Rukmāṅgada which is illustrative of the *māhātmya* of *Ēkadāśivratam*. The verses on polity in this work do not appear to have been translated from any Sanskrit work. An occasion arises for king Rukmāṅgada to go on a hunt to kill wild animals, which grew rampant in the neighbouring forests in his kingdom and caused distress to the tribal men living there. At the time of his departure from the capital, the king entrusts the kingdom to the charge of his son². The poet takes this opportunity to air his views on polity by making Rukmāṅgada instruct his son on the art of government. Though many of the verses are of the same type and the principles are almost identical with those enunciated in the ancient texts on *Niti*, yet a knowledge of the history of the period suggests to us that the enunciation of some of the principles might have been impelled by circumstances prevailing in the period in which the work was written. The works, *Sakalanīṭisammatam* and *Rukmāṅgadacaritram*, give us in that way a general, though superficial, idea of the art of government in theory.

Council of Ministers:

The form of government in vogue during the Reddi period was monarchy. According to the Hindu works on polity, the State comprised seven elements, namely, king, minister, dominion, fort, treasury, army and ally. The king was the supreme head of the State. Strictly speaking, he was only the supreme executive officer. His authority was limited in the sense that he had to carry on the administration of the country in accordance with the rules laid down

2. *Nīṭitaravaḷi*, now not extant, appears to have been a small Telugu work containing twenty seven verses, as its name indicates, which was dedicated to Kandāmātya, son of Aubhāḷamantri. From the few verses reproduced in the *Sakalanīṭisammatam*, each of them appears to have been addressed to Kandamantri by his protegee, Maḍiki Sīṅgana himself. Sīṅgana reproduces some more of his stray verses, which were not taken from any of his works, and they are labelled as "*maḍiyamu*" (mine).

3. R. Cr., III, vv. 15-66, pp. 92-101.

in the *Dharma Śāstras* or *Smṛtis*, without swerving from them even a little. He had to hold consultations with a council of ministers, twelve in number, according to Manu, sixteen according to Brhaspati, and twenty according to Sukra, or at least as many as he chooses within the prescribed number, on all important matters relating to the State.⁴ The necessity and importance for a king to consult with his ministers is much stressed by the authors of works on Hindu polity. One of them says, "As a king gets every thing done with the aid of councillors, he should surround himself with them. He should not consider that he could secure the councillors, financiers and commanders when he wanted their services; for, that would be like an attempt to dig a well to extinguish the fire burning a house."⁵ Another author says, "When a king attempts with much pride to discharge his duties, either without consulting his ministers or going against their advice, he falls an easy prey to his enemies who deprive him of his wealth and dominion."⁶ Praudhakavi Mallana warns the king not to rely entirely on his minister, for, he says, "If he (king) entrusts the kingdom to his minister's care, and does not look after the affairs of the State, the minister himself becomes the master in course of time."⁷ From these texts it may be inferred that the king had a council of ministers to consult on all matters affecting the State. The chief minister was called a *pradhāni* and the remaining members of the council were called *mantrins*. Immaḍimantri, the donee of the Vanapalli plates of king Anavēma Reddi is described as "the lord of ministers in politics (*Nitau mantriśvarah*), the chief of learned men in scientific discussions (*Vidyāgōṣṭhiṣu vibudhāgranih*), and a friend in salutary counsels to kings"⁸ (*mitram hitōpadēśēṣu bhūbhujām*). From the description given of his talents, Immaḍimantri appears to have been one of the ministers of king Anavēma. If this surmise is correct it may be said

4. "...మనుమతద్వాదశ మంత్రిమండలమైన

సురమంత్రి మతమంత్రిపోడశంబు

కవిమతవింశతికంటైన మఱియథా

సంభవంబైనను సచితసమితి

తనదు చుట్టుఁ గొఱురఁ దవలి యథాశాస్త్ర

మార్గవృత్తిఁ గాన్యమంతరింత

యమరఁ జేయవలయు నాపితచిత్తుఁడై

బుద్ధి వృద్ధికి కుబుద్ధియగుచు".—Sk. Sm; III, v. 696.

5. Sk. Sm. III, p. 33, pr. 735.

6. Sk. Sm. III p. 79, v. 699.

7. Ek. Cr. III, v. 28.

8. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 65 v. 22 (translation).

that the king in the Reddi period had his council of ministers, whose number might or might not have been in conformity with that given by the texts on polity. The texts on *Nīti* strongly advise the king to appoint brāhmanas as his ministers. The kings of the Reddi dynasty generally adhered to this principle of appointing brāhmanas as their ministers, as is evident from their records. Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Reddi kingdom, had for his ministers Rāma Peggada and Mallinātha. Anavōta's minister was Sōmaya, and Mallinātha. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's minister was one Māmiḍi Sīngaya. It was only during the reign of Kumāragiri an exception was made to the general rule. Kumāragiri appointed his own brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma as his prime minister and generalissimo. He, however, in his turn had his *purōhitas* and *amātyas* to advise him on political affairs, of whom Appaya's son Jatanamu Peddi,⁹ a brāhman, was the first and the greatest.

The council of ministers appears to have consisted of the *purōhita*, *pradhani*, *senāpati* and others. They tendered their advice to king on all important matters relating to the State. The king was not, however, bound by their decision. The king's decision was final on all matters. The subjects fared ill or well in accordance with the nature and enlightenment of the king. In practice, the king, in spite of the check exercised by the ministers, was generally an autocrat, and oftentimes a despot also. His word was law. Tradition records that the rule of Kumāragiri and Rāca Vēma was oppressive and tyrannical. Both lost their thrones on account of their oppressive rule. King Rāca Vēma was the most unpopular and tyrannical of all the kings of the Reddi dynasty. He levied even *purīṭi-pannu*, a tax on every case of delivery, and collected it, if tradition is to be relied upon, with an iron hand. The people became so much exasperated by his oppressive measures that he was one day brutally murdered by one Saviram Yellappa, a member of the Baliija¹⁰ caste.

9. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 226. This record at Amarāvati extols Peddi, minister of Kāṭaya Vēma in the *śloka* given below.

तस्याभूत्प्रथमः पुरोहितगणेषु चोक्तर्षवान्
 श्रीमानप्यय विप्रवर्यतनयः श्रीपेद्दिनामाद्विजः
 येनात्मस्थितमन्त्रशक्तिचिम्बै रूसाहजातोदयै
 दातुर्वेमनृपस्य नित्यमखिलास्सम्पादिता सिद्धयः।

10. *Koṇḍaviṭṭaṇḍāhaviṭṭe*. See also *Koṇḍaviṭṭaśāstrajyānu* (Telugu) by Maddulapall Gurubrahma Sarma, p. 88. It is necessary to point out here that the form Balafijya, and not Baliija, was in vogue in the period under review. See, the chapter on Trade, Pt. II.

It has to be noted, however, that the power and influence of the ministers and nobles, in the period under review, were greater than in the previous periods. In the interests of the kingdom they could even stop the succession of a prince to the throne, if he was a minor. This is best illustrated in the succession of Kumāragiri after the death of his father, king Anavōta. He appears to have been a young boy. From a consideration of the political plight to which the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu was reduced by the time of Anavōta's death, the ministers and nobles of the country did not view with favour the succession to the throne of Kumāragiri Redḍi. They elected Anavōta's brother, Anavēma, in his stead and crowned him king. This seems to be the import of the passage "*Rājya-Śrī-ramaṇi-svayamavarapatih*" found in some of the records of Anavēma Redḍi.

Yuvarāja:

Next to the king *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent was as important as the prime minister. Texts on polity state that minister and *yuvarāja* are the two arms of the king." Anavōta Redḍi, son of Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi, was the *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, and associated himself with his father in the government of the kingdom. Ekka Pregaḍa, the court-poet of Prōlaya Vēma, says that prince Anavōta was the commander-in-chief, *camūpāgresara* "of the Redḍi army. Anavōta appears to have been sufficiently an aged prince to be appointed commander-in-chief of the army. In the early years of the re-establishment of Hindu independence in the coastal region, during which the foundations for a new kingdom of the Redḍis were laid, each of the brothers of Prōlaya Vēma was a commander, and the whole army was under the direct supervision and control of the king.

King Kumāragiri Redḍi anointed his son, Anavōta II, *yuvarāja* to the kingdom, sometime after his accession to the throne. Anavōta II was a young prince by the time he was anointed *yuvarāja*. So, Kumāragiri placed him under the tutelage of his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Anavōta II accompanied Vēma in his expedition to the East, and got practical training in all branches of war and peace. After the creation of the Eastern kingdom Kumāragiri anointed him to it and made him his viceroy. Unfortunately Anavōta II died very early.

11. "Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, v. 31, p. 274.

12. "యూకరాజ సమాఖ్యండును

సవనీపాలున కుదంచితాయత భూమిల్" —Sk. Sm., II, v. 605.

13. Hr. Vm., I. Pt i.

Rāca Vēma also must have been a *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, though no reference to this is found anywhere.

The examples given above prove that *yuvarāja*, in the Reddi period, was the heir-apparent who was next in importance to the king.

Officials of the Central Government:

The chief officials of the State in the Central Government were mainly accountants of different denominations with different portfolios and duties. They comprised what is now commonly called the Secretariat. Ancient works on *Niti* describe an accountant as the jewel-lamp to the royal palace, and the wisdom personified, specially with regard to records involving the various problems concerning income and expenditure¹⁴.

Kavile-Sampratis: The duties of an accountant are well described by the poet Maḍiki Singana in a number of verses detailing the work he had to do. Unfortunately, some of the technical terms used therein regarding accountancy are now obsolete and are unintelligible. The full import of the verses is not, therefore, quite clear to us. We understand from these verses that there were some head accountants, called *kavile-sampratis* (record-keepers) who kept registers, entering therein the several orders of the king regarding the collection of revenue and expenditure. Accountants, to whatever denomination they belonged, generally comprised the department of Finance, which was the only one department worth mentioning in the ancient Hindu administration. It was both essential and extensive. Accountants estimated the king's revenue and the corresponding expenditure, from the different *durgas* or provinces in the kingdom, and posted ledgers on different items of revenue and expenditure. After consulting the *kavile-sampratis* as to the orders previously passed by the king, probably regarding remission and surcharge, they determined the net income and expenditure after deducting the wastage and so on, and prepared the balance sheet of royal income in kind and specie, and their total annual net increase.¹⁵

14. Sk. Sm. II, vv. 293-294.

15. ఆయవ్యయంబుల నాడ బాసించి యా

యాయి వరువు లనుక నిలిపి

పురుషవరువు లోలి పరికించి నెఱుగులు

తప్పిపోవకయుండ నొప్పుదీర్చి

Rāyasams: There was another set of accountants called *rāyasams*. The term *rāyasam*, a corruption of the word *vrāyasaṁ*, means *lekhaṇa* or writing. But in the period under review, *rāyasam* was the name of the office of a special accountant, attached to the Central and Provincial governments. One appointed to this office was called *rāyasam* after the post he held. Hence every writer was not a *rāyasam*; but every *rāyasam* was a writer. *Rāyasam* was a technical name, applied only to those officers who attended upon the king, or a

యవనీశువ్రాలామతవిణలఁగితచొప్ప
కవితెసంపతులను గలగ నెఱిగి
వరుస నామవ్యయవాచనంబున వ్రాసి
వడినెత్తుటాకర్షపులనుఁ బాటి (?)
గాఁగ నిర్ణయించి కలతరుగువుపొత్ర
తెలిసి ధాన్యకొక్కములను సేలు
పేరుబడియుఁ జెలుపఁ బెద్దయు చేర్చుట
కరణికంబు ధాత్రి కందమ త్రి”.

సగులుగ్రుచ్చినయట్లు శరసులు చక్కఁగా
విశదమయినలెక్క వెఱగ నిడుచు
నెలమి నేకస్థానములు దశస్థానముల
చెదిరిపోవకయుండఁ జరువపుచ్చి
తలఁపులో మఱవక తరవాయి దప్పక
కుటుచలు ద్రొక్కక కుటుపడక
యెదిరివారు వినగ నెన్నక బలపంబు
మోపక పెనుకేలు దాపుఁగొనక
తెలివిపడఁ గూడి తలఁపులోపలను శరసు
నిశ్చయము చేసి వ్రాయఁగ నేర్పునతెలి
గణితకాస్త్రజ్ఞు లిల మేటికరణ మంద్రు
మంతి మందార యబ్జయమంద్ర కంద !”

“పసియంకనంబును బహుజ చేతప్ప
దెలిహంసపదమునోఁ గిలుముక త్రి
కుడుపు తద్విగుణంబు నెడల నిద్దఱివాలు
నిరుఘంట లిఖితంబు విరసపత్రి
పత్రికుడుపులోపలిసంజ్ఞ భుజలెక్క
తక్క వెక్కువగాక చక్కనిడుట

provincial governor or a high official in the State, and took down in writing in their presence, whatever orders they passed, or whatever communiques they issued. A *rāyasam* of old corresponds more or less to the modern secretary or stenographer. Maḍiki Siṅgana recounts the qualifications necessary for one to hold this office. He must be serious-minded, quick in hand, an adept in many scripts, and proficient in all necessary languages. He must always attend upon the king, and take down in writing orders of his master orally dictated, and read them out to him to get his approval.¹⁶ An inscription¹⁷ at Yāzali in the Guntur district mentions one Prusōttamayya, the *rāyasam* of Veligōṭi Rāyapa-Nāyaka, a subordinate official of Kumāragiri Redḍi. Rāyani Baca was the *rāyasam* of Kāṭaya Vēma.

లలితరూపాదలౌఁ గలిగి వెరగులలౌఁ
దగులకుండుటయందు మిగులమఁటఁ
గలుగులెక్క-లు మాఱుగ వెలయుజాడ
వర్ణపులు గూర్చి నెడలను వ్యయము డించి
నిలువనేసినసందులు నెరయనెఱుంగు
కరణ మెంతయు నేర్పరి కందమంత్రి !¹⁸

“దొరలు ప్రజలు బంట్లు తొల్లిటిరీతి
కడమజీతవహియు మడుగువడిన
మనవి జెప్పఁగఁ జేరఁ జనుచెంచునన్నడు
పనునఁదనములేక విరసపడక
మన్న న దప్పక మధురోక్తు లుడుగక
కవిలెలోపలివ్రాఁత కందు జెఱిఁగి
తరము చెలిసి వానిఁ దగిలెడుపనిదీర్చి
వీఁకతోఁ దానట్లు గాకయుండఁ
బొరిసి గానెయు మాడుపును బొరయఁబోక
యాయవంచన మొదలు గాఁ జేయ కుడిసి
యేరి నాతఁడుందుల హితవు గలిగి
మనెను నాతఁడు కరణులు మంత్రికంద” — Sk. sm., II vv. 295, 297-99.

I reproduce these verses here in extenso in order that those, who are able to make out the meaning of the technical terms used therein, may give their full import, and interpret them correctly and exactly. What I said above is merely the gist, as I understand it.

16. Sk. Sm. II, V. 303.

17. Ep coll, No. 542 of 1928-29. This inscription reveals the fact that, not only the kings but, high officials in the State also had their own *rāyasams*.

Departments of the Central Government :

Properly speaking there was, as stated already, only one important department, the department of revenue and finance, dealing with income and expenditure. Other departments of some note, if they may be properly so called, were those relating to public works and to war and peace (military).

i. *Public works*: Construction of tanks, the chief among the public works of daily utility, was classified as one of the seven acts of merit that perpetuated the name of a man on earth. Hence, many of the local tanks of small size in the Redḍi kingdom came, we may well believe, into existence as a result of charity of private individuals. However, public works of great magnitude, involving a great amount of labour and expenditure, like the construction of *jālāṭayas* or *Sāgaras* (huge tanks), and dams and the digging of canals for irrigational purposes, were generally undertaken by the government. For instance, the construction of the *Santānasāgura* at Koṇḍaviḍu, and the digging of the feeder canal leading to it, were undertaken by the Redḍi kings. The kings of the Redḍi dynasty were fully aware of the necessity of such public works, on which agriculture mainly depended. But, with the completion of the work, the interest of the authorities ceased, and they did not maintain any special department to attend to the repairs and other works connected with it. This draw-back, however, was set right by offering a definite portion of the land below the tank, irrigated by its waters, on *daṭabandham* tenure,¹⁸ to private individuals who, in return for the land granted, were bound to look after the repairs and other things connected with the work. After the completion of the construction of such huge tanks, the land below them was brought under wet cultivation, and gradually assessed. Accounts were maintained regarding the expenditure involved in completing the work, and the revenue accruing from the assessed lands below it. Some of the accountants in the Central Government probably looked after this business.

ii. *Military department*: What we know about the military organisation and the working of the military department is very little. What little is known to us is described in the chapter on the military organisation and war. It may, however, be presumed that some of the accountants, as was the case with other departments, kept military accounts, and dealt with wages, salaries, equipment, and other items relating to the army.

18. See the chapter on Agriculture, in Pt. II,

iii. *Revenue department*: It is but natural for this department to claim a great majority of accountants and their superior officers in the Secretariat. These accountants kept registers regarding income and expenditure. Baddena,¹⁹ the royal author of a work on polity of the early mediaeval period, and Praudhakavi Mallana²⁰ of the period under review, mention a number of items of income, or the sources from which a king derived his revenue. They are as follows:

<i>Baddena</i>		<i>Mallana</i>
1. Kṛṣiprapañcam = ari	(Produce of the land paid by the farmers to the king)	Ārambamun = ari
2. Ganulu	(mines)	Ganulu
3. Gōkulamu	(cattle)	Gōrakṣa
4. Suṅkamu	(tolls)	Suṅkamu
5. Vaṇikkriya	(trade)	Vāṇijyamu
6. Nāndanavanamu	(Pleasure gardens)	Sṛṅgāravānamu
7. Kappam	(tax)	Appanamulu
8. Durgarakṣaṇamu	(protection of the fort)	

Revenue:

Baddena's *kṛṣiprapañcamu* and Mallana's *ārambamun* mean the same thing. Both these terms denote cultivation in Telugu. While Baddena gives eight sources of revenue, Mallana mentions only seven. Both the lists agree with each other as far as they go. The term *durgarakṣaṇam* suggests that it was a tax for *kavali* or protection of the fort. The terms *karamu*, *kappam*, *ari*, and *appanamulu* - all denote taxes in general in Telugu. The special significance of each term, and the particular tax it signifies, is not known to us. The term *vari* in Tamil means both tax and paddy. In fact, it denotes generally some kind of tax in Tamil. The Telugu term *ari* seems to be a contraction of the Tamil *vari*. Andhras appear to have applied the term *vari* to paddy and *ari* to tax. Since the

19. గనులు కృషిప్రపంచ వారి కప్పము సుంకము గోకులంబు నం
దనవనముం జలస్థల పథస్థవర్జిత్రీయ దుర్గ రక్షణం
బనఁగల యన్ని మార్గముల నర్థముఁ గూర్చి కేవలంబ కాఁ
పున పోలియించురాజు నీరి పొందునె రాజమనోరథాభిలా! —Sk. Sm., I, v, 99,

20. గోక్షయ్యు వాణిజ్యము
వారంబము నరియు సుంక మప్పనములు. శృం
గారవంబులు గనులును
గారణములు భవము గూర్చిగా ననుఁ బలికె... —RK. Or., III, v, 86

term *ari*, a contraction of *vari*, is used in Telugu in the sense of **tax**, it is likely it signified the tax in kind, or the king's share in produce, paid by cultivators. *Ari* then means a tax in kind, that is, paddy. The term *ariḡāpulu*, which finds mention in some of the inscriptions of the early mediaeval period, means therefore ryots who paid *ari* severally. Both the terms *ari* and *appanamu* mean tax, yet the difference between them appears to be this; *ari* referred to the tax in kind, and *appanamu*, probably, to the tax in specie or *suvarṇa*. *Dhāṇyādāya* and *suvarṇādāya* were the two kinds of income in tax, received by the king from each village.

The sources of revenue, according to the two authors mentioned above, may be specified as follows :

1. Agriculture
2. Industries
3. Trade
4. Tolls and excise duties
5. Pasture lands and forests (*Gōrakṣa*)
6. Social amenities (*Nandanavanamu*)
7. Customary and other fees paid in coin.

Agriculture : The most important source of revenue was agriculture. Land was surveyed with a pole of fixed length, determined by one of the high officials of the State, in accordance with the ancient custom. It was then classified into wet, dry and garden lands, and assessed in accordance with the estimated yield of the crop. The land measure of the wet lands differed considerably from that of the dry lands. Similarly, the rates of assessment for the wet and dry lands also were different, though they are not known to us. Only the tax on wet lands, in which paddy was sown, appears to have been collected in kind, and all other taxes, to whatever category they might belong, were probably collected in specie (*suvarṇa*). From the Vilasa grant²¹ of Prōlaya Nāyaka we come to know that one sixth of the produce from the land was taken as tax or king's share by the Musunūri chiefs. It is likely that kings of the Redḍi dynasty also followed their leaders, the Musunūri Nāyakas, and collected one sixth of the yield as their share of tax. The method adopted in collecting and disposing of the king's share of paddy is not known to us.

It is likely that the king's officers were present at the harvest season (the spring and the autumn harvests), and collected their revenue.

The tax on garden lands was collected in specie. The term *suvarṇādāya* finds mention in the Chīmakurṭi grant" of Prōlaya Vōma. Besides the tax on garden lands, tax on houses (*illari-illu + ari*) may be presumed to have been collected in *suvarṇa* from villages, that is, either in *māḍas* or *ṭaṅkas*. The collection of rent in *ṭaṅkas* on farm-lands is known to us from a *cāṭu* verse of Srinātha. In this verse, he deplores his inability to pay the stipulated amount of rent of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*" to the State on the land farmed out to him, in the village of Boḍḍupalli on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, having been deprived of the fruits of his labour on account of the inundation of the river, which swept away a great portion of the crop in the farm, and other pests. This verse of Srinātha reveals to us the fact that huge tracts of arable land, also waste, were farmed or leased out periodically to private individuals for a fixed rent to the State.

Industries: A considerable income to the king's treasury was derived from mines. As both the authors, Baddena and Mallana, mention mines or mining industry as an important source of revenue, it may be taken to have formed one of the important items of revenue. Much information is not available regarding this activity of the people of those times; yet, references to diamond mines in the accounts of foreign travellers enable us to know that it was an important industry in the period under review. Iron smelting also was an important industry. Besides taxes on mines there were other industrial taxes, *Vṛttikaṭṇālu*, as they were called, on looms, oil-mills and the like. Except *illari* and *pullari* (tax on houses and on pasture lands) no other taxes find mention in the records of the Redḍi kings. In fact, these records are very barren in this respect. Yet, as many of these taxes were mentioned in the records of the Kākatiya monarchs and of the Vijayanagar rulers, the predecessors and contemporaries of the Redḍi kings, we may be certain that they were in vogue in the Redḍi kingdom also; for, any ancient institution or custom, once established, was never allowed to lapse. Many of them were in vogue in the country from centuries before.

Sunka is a term of wide import. It is now generally taken to mean 'customs duties,' collected in all trading centres along the main lines

22. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI p. 150.

23. "కృష్ణ వేణువు గొనిపోయె నింతఫలము
విలవిలాత్తులు తినిపోయెఁ దిలలు పెనులు
బొడుపలైన గొడ్డేటి మానపోతి.
కలు చెలింకు నుకలు కడునూలు".

of communication. But a perusal of the Kākatiya records makes it clear that it connotes more than that. An inscription²⁴ of Kākati Pratāparudra at Pāṇem (Nandyāl taluk, Kurnool district, dated in Saka 1241,) mentions *nēla-suṅkya-adhikāris* besides *suṅkya - adhikāris*. These officers, as implied by the terms themselves, collected *suṅkam* of two kinds, one ordinary, and the other *nēla-suṅkam*. What *nēla-suṅkam* was is not known. Probably, it was a kind of rent of land. This inscription shows that the term applied not only to tolls on commodities or articles of merchandise, but to other forms of taxes also. Tolls were collected in all important towns, and villages where weekly fairs were held, and at all ferries. The toll collected at a ferry was called *puṭiṭṭ kūli* or *puḍiḡa mālanisālu*²⁵ (basket-boat-hire). Some of the taxes on articles of trade also went by the name of *suṅkams*. Duties, collected at ports, on sea-borne imports and exports were also called *suṅkams*. A record²⁶ of king Anavōtā Redḍi at Mōṭupalli in the Guntur district, dated in Saka 1280, refers to *maḡi Suṅkamulu*, that is, customs duties levied and collected on *ekkumaḡi* (exports) and *ḡigumaḡi* (imports) at that port. Tolls which were collected on commodities in transit at particular place were called *mārga-suṅkam* or *ubhaya-suṅkam*, or *aḡaḡaḡa suṅkam* [(toll collected at entrance (*aḡa*) and at exit (*kaḡa*)].

Officers who collected tolls were called *suṅka-adhikāru* or *Suṅkarulu* in Telugu. The right of collecting *suṅkam* was periodically sold by auction to the highest bidder to a single or a group of individuals. These farmers of *suṅkam* were called *suṅka - guttakāṇḡru* (plural of *suṅka-guttakāḡu*, a monopolist or farmer of *suṅkam*). These officers are mentioned in a record at Taṅḡaḡa (Guntur district) of the time of Kumāragiri Redḍi, dated in Saka 1313. Salt also was a king's monopoly. The duty on this article also was not directly collected by king's officers. It also formed one of the many kinds of *suṅkams*, and was collected in the same way as other *suṅkams* on a monopoly basis.

Gōkulam and *gōrakṣaṇam*, cited as one of the sources of revenue to a king by Baddena and Mallana, relate to cattle and their breeding and rearing. In ancient times, the wealth of a country was estimated in terms of the aggregate number of cows it possessed. Cattle was valued as wealth. For feeding such innumerable number of cattle, extensive pasture lands were necessary. Waste lands and the forest lands provided pasturage for cattle. These were under the direct control

24. Ep. coll, No. 168 of 1913.

25. Ep. Coll., No. 880 of 1926.

26. Ibid. No. 601 of 1909.

and management of the government. These pasture lands were let out for rent to the cultivators to graze their cattle on them. The tax collected on the pasturage was called *pullari* (*pullari-pullu* means grass; *ari* tax), grazing tax. In this way the government realised great income from pasture lands. The material at our disposal is very scanty to ascertain the method of collecting this tax. Since the general method followed appears to have been farming out or renting, the pasture lands also were probably rented periodically to private individuals on the same basis as others.

Another source of income to the royal treasury was *kappam*. This was the tribute paid by the subordinate feudal chiefs to the king. These chiefs ruled large tracts of land, like *sīmas* consisting of many villages owing allegiance to the king. After deducting the expenses for their army, they remitted the remainder of the revenue, collected from their *sima* or district, to the king's treasury. It is probable that some villages also were farmed out to influential individuals for a fixed rent. Each individual was put in charge of one or more villages according to his status and influence. These were held responsible for the revenue to be paid to the king from the village or villages under their charge. This revenue, paid by the renter, seems to have also been termed as *kappam*. This seems to be the import conveyed by the term *kappam* in a passage in one of the records of the Eastern Cālukya king, Ammarāja II Vijayāditya. The passage runs thus: "*Asya grāmasya kappābhidhānam karam varjitam*,"²⁷ the tax named *kappam* to be paid from this village, is remitted. This passage makes it clear that *kappam* was not only a tribute paid by a feudal chief to his suzerain, but also the rent paid by a renter-village-lord to the king.

Besides these there was another important source of income, namely, *Rāca-āḷḷu* (king's villages). This term *Rāca-āḷḷu* finds mention in an inscription^{27a} at Kottūru, Kistna district. One of the three classes of villages referred to in this record, is *Rāca-āḷḷu* the other two classes being *agrahāras*, villages granted to brāhmins free of taxes, and *nāyāṅkara-paṭṭu*, administrative groups of villages, called *nāyāṅkaras*, which were placed under the charge of *nāyakas*. It is likely that *Rāca-āḷḷu* were exclusively managed by king's staff of officers. They seem to have been analogous to *bhaṇḍāra-grāmas* of the middle Vijayanagar period, and on a par with the *haveli* lands and villages of the later Mogul period.

27. Ep. Ind., VII. p. 188.

27a, Ep. coll., No. 395 of 1926.

Expenditure :

How, and in what way this income was spent is not known. It may be presumed that a great amount of money was added to the reserve in the royal treasury. In fact, Baddena advises a king to spend only either one fourth or one third of his whole income, and lay by the remainder.²⁸ Most of the remaining money was probably spent on military organisation, the only department that claimed a lion's share of the income. Whatever remained was spent on religious and other benefactions, and on public works. Many of the important officers and servants of the State were generally remunerated for their services with grants of land free of tax, that is, as *sarvamānyam*. They enjoyed the land and performed their duties to the State.

Administrative divisions :

For properly carrying on the administration of the country, the kingdom was divided into a number of administrative divisions called *bhūmis*, *sīmas*, *nāḍus*, *sthālas* and *grāmas*. Of these *nāḍu* and *sthāla* were not new divisions. The territorial division of *nāḍu* was in existence even before the rule of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī. The rulers of the country made use of this *nāḍu*, originally a socio-geographical unit, as a political division. During the rule of the Kākatīyas, one or more *nāḍus* were included in a *nāyāṅkaram*, the territory or district which was placed under the charge of a *nāyaka* or a military feudal officer of the State, and each *nāḍu* was subdivided into a number of *sthālas*. Each *sthāla* in its turn comprised a number of villages. Each village formed an administrative unit. From the *Local Records* we come to know that a village included one or more hamlets in it. During the rule of the Redḍi kings, the *nāyāṅkara* system was unaffected, and the administrative divisions, namely, *sthāla* and *nāḍu*, were continued as before. As stated above, an inscription of this period at Kottūru refers to *nāyāṅkara* groups of villages. An inscription²⁹ at Dhēnuvakonḍa in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district, dated in Śaka 1260, refers to the *nāyāṅkara* of Podillapalli Singama Nāyaka. The Redḍi kings introduced however a new political division, called *sīma*. The formation of the *sīma* appears to have been an innovation of the Redḍis. There is no mention of *sīma* in

28. “తనకు నాయమైన ధనములో నాలవ

భాగ మొండె మూడు పాళ్ళపాల

నొండె నర్థమైన నుచితంబుఁ గాన మి

క్రిలి వ్యయంబు నేయవలవ దధిపి”.—Sk. Sm., I, v. 121.

29. N.D.I. Vol. II, O 85, p. 962.

the Kākatiya records. The political condition of the country probably necessitated the formation of this division of *sīma*. It gradually became very popular with the progress of time, as is attested to by the later records. The kings of the Redḍi dynasty divided the kingdom into a number of *sīmas*. Each *sīma* was formed by grouping a number of *nāyāṅkarams* together. If, during the rule of the Kākatiya monarchs, *nāyāṅkara* formed the chief administrative division, *sīma* during the Redḍi rule became the major political division. One or more *sīmas* were grouped together to form a *bhūmi*. Inscriptions³⁰ of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu refer to Kōṭa *bhūmi*, and Sṛisaila *bhūmi*. This *bhūmi* does not appear to have been as important as the *sīma*. It is seldom referred to in the records of the Redḍi kings. One or more *bhūmis* consisting of many *sīmas* appear to have been attached to a *durga* or a fort. The *Koṇḍaviṭidaṇḍakavile* refers only to four forts or *durgas*, fourteen *sīmas*, and two thousand forty eight *grāmas*. The names of the *durgas* and the *sīmas* it mentions, are given below.³¹

<i>Durgas</i>	<i>Sīmas</i>	
1. Koṇḍaviḍu	1. Koṇḍaviḍu	8. Māreḷḷa
2. Vinukoṇḍa	2. Vinukoṇḍa	9. Kandukūru
3. Bellamkoṇḍa	3. Bellamkoṇḍa	10. Podili or Darśi
4. Nāgārajuna- koṇḍa	4. Addamki	11. Ammanabrōlu
	5. Udayagiri	12. Cuṇḍi
	6. Kōṭa	13. Duṇḍu
	7. Nellore	14. Nāgārajuna- koṇḍa

The *Daṇḍakavile* states that these *sīmas* were formed during the time of the Cōlas, a fact which cannot be supported by the available evidence. We do not know if the above list is genuine. It is interesting to note the inclusion of Udayagiri and Nellore also in it, and the absence of any of the *sīmas* or *durgas* to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. If this list is a genuine one, this arrangement may be taken to refer to the beginning of Prōlaya Vēma's reign, when Udayagiri and Nellore were yet under his rule. The loss of Udayagiri and Nellore in the south was later on compensated by the acquisition of territory to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. The above list depicts the

30. Ep. Ind, XXI, p. Ep. coll, 331 of 1933.

31. Vide. Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma's *Koṇḍaviṭisamrajyam*, pp. 15. 16. The *Daṇḍakavile* recounts also the names of the several *nāyakas* who were governing the *sīmas* and forts, but does not however mention the king to whom they owed their allegiance. None of the names given therein is found in the available records of the Redḍis.

administrative arrangement of the Reddi kingdom at about the time of its inception. Even this list seems to be incomplete, for Tangeda sīma, mentioned in the Reddi records, is not included in it.

From the material available to us, it seems possible to classify roughly the officers of the State who controlled the provincial and local administration into three distinct groups, namely, (1) feudal chiefs, (2) tributaries, and (3) other officers. Feudal chiefs were governors appointed over a territory of limited extent on a military tenure. The nature of the tenure and other particulars will be described in connection with the military organisation; (2) Tributaries or sāmantas were those who rented or administered one or more villages on condition of paying a stipulated annual tribute or *kappam* to the king. (3) The others were officers of the State who did not come under the first two categories. The material at our disposal does not furnish any information regarding these officials.

Village :

The village officials formed a separate class of their own. The link between them and the Central Government was not strong. Generally, a village was a tract of land comprising a number of homesteads and some hundreds of *khāris* of arable and wastelands. It was like a joint family, managed by elders. Every village consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated for their services to the village commune by *mānyams*, grants of tax-free lands, *meras* and *mirāsīs* (fees). They were commonly called *ayagārs* or *grāma bhāṭas*, and their land-grants, *bhāṭavṛtti-mānyams*. Generally, their number was twelve, though the exigencies of work, rural economy and the size of the village determined the number. In some of the villages the duties and functions of more than one servant were united in the same person.

Raddi or *Reddi*, the head-man of the agricultural community, was generally the head of the village and superintended its affairs. He was also called *grāmakūṭa*,³² a term later on changed into *gauḍa* (modern *gaud*). In early times he was appointed by the ruler of the country. In the mediaeval period, when a group of agricultural families cleared the forest and founded a village to settle in, the procedure was different. One who had sufficient influence among the elders of the families, approached the king with presents, and obtained the sanction and assent of the king for the *raḍḍikam* of the village. Inscriptions of the mediaeval period and the *Local Records* furnish many instances of this kind. The sanction of the ruler of the land was necessary for the *Raddi*

or the head-man for obtaining the *kāṇāci* rights of service. He was the king's representative in the village, and made himself responsible for the revenue tax, payable by the village community as a whole to the king, either in kind or in specie. He collected the revenue in kind, mostly paddy, and *kāmukalu* and *kaṭṇālu* in *suvarṇa*. He preserved and protected the former in the royal granary (*rāca-gāde*) in the village which was under his charge, probably to defray the local expenses of the government, both civil and military, and to sell the remaining paddy for a proper price when it sold dear. There were royal granaries for each and every village which was an administrative unit. The fact of the existence of royal granaries is known from a record³³ of Kumāragiri Reddi at Tāṅgeḍa in the Guṇṭūr District. We come to know from this inscription that the governor of the *śima* had the right to make a gift of some paddy from the royal granary, whenever necessary, for worship and festivals in the local temple. Probably, he had to obtain previous sanction of the king for doing so. The headman was the man on the spot. He was able to discharge his duties well because of his personal influence and his acquaintance with the circumstances and concerns of the people in the village. In him were combined the civil as well as the magisterial duties. He settled disputes in the village.

Karaṇam was the accountant of the village. He maintained accounts relating to the extent of the arable and waste lands, cultivated and fallow land, the wet and dry cultivation, taxable and rent-free land, an estimate of the crops grown, the assessment on the dry and wet crops under the previous and the present governments, the total extent of the *brahmadēya* and *devadāya* lands, the village services and every item concerning the administration of the village including public works. He measured the fields, estimated the crop, determined the king's share of produce each *urikāpu* had to pay, and maintained registers regarding their transactions. Every deed or document was properly drawn up and signed by witnesses, that is, it bore the Śaka year, cyclic year, month, fortnight, *tithi*, the week-day, the country,

33. Ep. Coll. No. 380 of 1926. The inscription was dated in Śaka 1813, corresponding to the cyclic year Prajāpati, and the gift registered therein was made on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīra. The *tithi* and the week day were wrongly given as *daśami* and *Somavāra* in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. I made the above correction of the date after consulting the estampage of this inscription in the Ramayya Pantulu collection, now preserved in the library of the Andhra University. The correct English date equivalent is 21st Dec. 1391 A. D. It is also possible that royal granaries were set up only in towns of some administrative importance and not in each and every village. Tāṅgeḍa was the capital of the *śima*; so it is no wonder if there was a royal granary there.

its king, the place where the business was transacted, name of the village and every other matter of importance, with the signature of the writer of the deed, were entered in it. It was then duly attested with the signatures of the witnesses.³⁴ The *karaṇam* and the *reddi* were the chief officers of the village. They both worked hand in hand in assigning the lands to the ryots and collecting the king's share. Any business transacted on behalf of the whole village without their approval was not valid and legal.

The brāhman *purōhit* was as important to the village community as the other servants of the village. Each and every member of the Hindu society was accustomed, from time immemorial, to do a thing at an auspicious moment after consulting the *pañcāṅgam*, the *tithi* *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *varjam* (the inauspicious period in the day during which no work is done), the position of the planets in the Zodiac, and so on. For tilling the soil afresh in the new year, for sowing the seeds, for going on a journey, for performing any kind of business, whether public or private, whether auspicious or inauspicious the *purōhit* was consulted. He informed the villagers of the *vratas* of the day, good and bad omens, the auspicious moments to do or begin a work or business, and predicted the *śakuna-phalas*, and at times the future of individuals according to their horoscopes. He went in the early morning, after performing his daily oblations and worship, to the houses of nobles (*doralu*), offer them *tulasi* leaves, and tell them the calendar of the day.³⁵ He was an important person in the village community.

In very early times the police duty was vested in the hands of the head-man of the village; but with the growth of the village and its population, its administration grew unwieldy, and the *talari* was appointed for the police watch. His activities were supervised by the village head-man under whom he had to work. *Talari*, or *areka* as he was also called, was the policeman of the village. Like other servants of the village he was granted a *maṇyam*, tax-free

34. “శక కాలంబును వర్షరంబు నెల పక్షంబుకై దిగ్వివారము
న్నొక దేశంబును దాని నేలు విభు నయ్యార్యుం నిజసానముకై
నకలార్చును నామనిశ్చయముగా సాక్షిసమేతంబు వ్రా
యక కాదంబరివాల వ్రాయుకరణం బజ్జాని గాకుండునె.”—Sk. Sm., II, v. 302.

35. “.....బ్రహ్మత కాలమున
దొరల యిండ్లకు నేగి తులసియుఁ బెట్టి
వరుస నిచ్చులు విన వారంబుఁ జెప్పి” — Nv. Cr., p. 153.

land, for the services he rendered. Besides this, he was remunerated by fees also on auspicious, and important festive occasions by those living in the village. The fee was called *talāri-kaṭnam*. His office was hereditary. It was his duty to go on rounds both day and night to preserve law and order and bring the offenders and bad characters to book.

The *bārikāpu* was another police servant of the village. Every village in ancient times had a boundary wall (*prahari*) around it, with gates and watch-towers. The country in ancient times was full of wood and jungle, the resort of wild beasts. To protect the village from wild beasts as well as the enemy from outside, a boundary wall with gates and watch-towers was constructed in times of yore around the village. The *bārikāpu* was assigned the duty of going on rounds along the "*bahya-vīthi*, or the street outside the boundary wall or the outer blocks of the village, as well as other ways, during day and night..." and of guarding the village from wild beasts and the enemy. He was generally stationed in the watch-tower, and in the event of the approach of hostile raiders, he proclaimed it to the villagers by beat of drum. Surrounding the boundary wall of the village, there were the arable and waste lands and pastures. It was the duty of the *bārikāpu* to guard the fields also from wild beasts and thieves. *Prahari tiruguṭa* was the technical name given to this act of going on rounds along the boundary of the village proper, to keep watch over it or to guard³⁷ it.

The term *prahari tirugu* became corrupted in common parlance to *pāri tiruguṭa* (*prahari tirugu* - *pāri tirugu*). We have therefore the terms *pārikāvali* (boundary-watch) and *pārikāvu* (boundary-watchman). *Bārikāpu* is a variant of *pārikāpu*. *Talāri* and *bārikāpu* were both police servants belonging to the village. The former's duty was however restricted to the internal watch, and that of the latter to the external watch.

The other village servants were the goldsmith, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the washerman and the barber. According to the requirements of each village, there were, in some villages, other servants also, like a superintendent of the tanks and water-courses who distributed water for purposes of cultivation, an astrologer and so on. Exigencies of the village determined, as stated already, the number of *grāma-bhaṭas*.

37. "ప్రహారి చరింతె రెప్పడును ధైర్యు లర్చనీకాగమంబులన్" — Bh. Pr. I

"అడ్డపెట్టెదఁగాక ప్రివాంశురధనుఁ

ప్రహారిఁ దినుకయుండఁ ధర్మగిరికి....." — Ks. Kh. I

In this way the village was an economically independent unit. It supplied its residents all the necessities of life without making them dependent for them on other villages. The village community was a compact one. The villagers themselves managed the affairs of the village.³⁷

Under this simple form of municipal government the residents of the village lived in peace and plenty. The attachment of the villagers to their place of residence was so great that even if the village was desolated by famine or war, they seldom left it uninhabited. If by chance they were compelled to remove themselves from the village, owing to any epidemic or other cause, they returned again to it after the trouble was over³⁸, and re-built their houses very near the original village site. They went on as usual, without caring to what power the country or kingdom was transferred, or to what sovereign it was subjected, so long as they were uninterrupted in the exercise of their rights and privileges. It made little difference to them if the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu was in the hands of the descendants of Prōlaya Vēma or of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, or if it passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar or the Mussalman kings, so long as their *brahmadeyas* and *devadāyas* were protected as in days of old, and their customary rights and privileges and other ancient customs were not interfered with. This is the reason why the stereotyped form of this village organisation defied many a political storm which raged furiously in the country, and the village stood compact, and firm.

The rulers of the land did not interfere with the affairs of the village so long as their *kappam* or tribute, and the king's share due to them from the village, was paid regularly. The exercise of authority by the king's officials over the affairs of the village was only nominal, and every village was practically independent. Probably after every change of sovereignty, the head-man of the village, as he was the king's representative, was required to visit the capital with presents, and to get himself re-confirmed in his office. It is likely that the king's officers occasionally visited the village to supervise the

37. Sir John Macpherson in his Minute of the 4th July 1786 says about the Indian village, rather flatteringly, thus: "It is much to discover with certainty, that we have yet a great deal to learn in the revenue line, and we are fortunate if we can collect and take up the links of ancient forms. One thing is certain, nothing was more complete, more simple, correct and systematic than the ancient revenue system of this country. It was formed so as to protect the people who paid it from oppression, and secure to the sovereign his full and legal rights."

38. Ep. Rep. 1908 paras 76 & 77.

village accounts, to settle the boundary disputes between villages, to estimate the crop before it was cut, and so on.

This system of village government turned the villages more or less into small republics. It however became rigid in course of time, and prevented the growth of the several elements that composed the village community, by investing the age-long social custom with a halo of sanctity, and imparting too much power to tradition and usage, with no deviation whatsoever from the past. Occupations and professions crystallised into castes and communities which became either exagamous or endogamous. Occupations became hereditary with the progress of time. Any public work undertaken in the interests of the village was done on the basis of mutual co-operation and by free or forced labour.

The economic plenty of the village made its isolation more marked, and the residents of the village generally never felt the need to break out of this isolation by laying out good roads from village to village and otherwise improving the means of communication and travel. Patriotism narrowed down and no one was generally able to see beyond the limits of one's own village. For want of proper communications, travel was difficult, and contact with distant places and peoples was seldom made. The social advance of the community as a whole was held up. The village in ancient times was the bulwark of religion, tradition, and custom.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

We are not able to get much information regarding the administration of justice in the period under review, except a few references in contemporary literature, which are, however, of invaluable help to us in suggesting the procedure that might have been adopted in deciding some cases. These references, when studied in the light of the *Śmṛti* literature, afford us an idea of some of the methods of legal administration then in vogue. No doubt, the chief source of the law of the Hindus then, must have been the same as it is today, the *Smṛtis* or the codes of law by Yājñavalkya, Nārada and others. Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara* on Yājñavalkya seems to have been the primary legal authority. Another legal treatise written in this period was the *Parāśara Mādhaviya*. Its author is the celebrated sage Vidyāranya, the spiritual teacher of the Vijayanagar kings, Harihara I and Bukka I. This work is believed to have been written by the sage to serve as a manual for the officers of the Vijayanagar kingdom.¹ It is not, however, known how far it was accepted as an authority during the period of the Reḍḍi rule in the coastal region of the Andhra country. Neither inscriptions nor literature of the period furnish any information regarding either the qualifications of the judges or the procedure adopted in appointing them.

Dharmāsana and Civil cases :

To administer justice and to punish the criminals were the duties of the king. He was the fountain-head of justice. He administered justice with the help of his councillors. The *purōhit* of the king, who was expected to be an authority on *dharma*, was probably the most important of the councillors. The court of justice was called *dharma sabhā* or *dharmāsana*. Members who tried cases were called *dharma sabhājanas*² or *Sabhyas*. The *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar is alluded to in the *Vaiśyavainśasudhārava*³. In fact, this work is in the nature of a judgement, drafted by Mallinātha, the famous commentator on the dramas of Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit classics, in a civil dispute regarding a communal question. The *dharmāsana* at Rājamahēndravaram is referred to in one of

1. Wilk's History of Mysore, p. 169.

2. Sm.. Dv., I, iii, v. 102.

3. A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to Sir E. Denison Ross--The *Vaiśyavainśasudhārava* of Kōlacala Mallinātha by Dr. V. Raghavan, p p. 234 ff.

his *cāṭu* verses 'by poet Srinātha. Another reference to *dharmāsana* is found in the Telugu drama, *Kriṣṇābhīrāmam*.⁵ The court referred to in this work was temporarily set up to settle a dispute between a *vēṣyā* and her daughter's lover. We are told that the policemen in the city brought and presented the *vēṣyā* before the members of the *dharmāsana*. This reference in the *Kriṣṇābhīrāmam* enables us to know that an arbitration court temporarily set up to decide a civil dispute was called *dharmāsana*. This court of justice decided all the cases as coming under the eighteen heads of *vyavahāra* mentioned in the treatises on law, such as disputes regarding lands, houses, debts, sales, purchases, assault, inheritance, violation of agreements and others. The judges examined witnesses and decided the case. There are references in the Telugu literature to *kūṭa sākṣulu*,⁶ witnesses who gave false evidence.

Trial by ordeal:

There is a fine verse in the Telugu work *Simhāsanaadvātrīṃsika*, which suggests another method of trying some of the law-suits. While describing the moon-rise, the author compares the moon to a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel of the East to prove her innocence to the Sun. The idea contained in this verse is this: the moon shines as if she were a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel, namely the Eastern quarter, to swear that the Sun, not knowing that she was true to him, had divorced her, though she wished in her mind only his rise. The phrase *maḍḍu paṭṭu* used in this verse is very interesting and significant. The term *maḍḍu* in Telugu means a red-hot iron ball. Another Telugu work *Bhōjarājīyam* furnishes two more references to this term *maḍḍu* in two different passages. Of these two, one passage reads thus: *maḍḍunaku bōyunaṭṭi=oka-treḍḍeḍ=uduku pāyasambu decci yatani cēn=idḍa*,⁷ that is, having brought a ladle-full of boiling rice-milk with sugur and put it in his hand as if pouring to a *maḍḍu*. Here, the term *maḍḍu* means an ordeal or a person undergoing an ordeal. The other passage runs thus: *agnistambhanambu paṭṭukoni*

4. "...విద్యాంసుల్ రాజమహేంద్ర పట్టణమునకా ధర్మాసనముండి..."

5. Kr. Rm., vv. 264, and 265.

6. Rk. Cr., I. v. 164.

7. "తనయుడయ్యె మదిఁ గోరెడు

నను విడిచె నినుండు కల్లనాయుడ లేకుం

ట నెఱుంగఁ దని పూర్వాశం

న న జగమున మడువట్టుగతి శశిమోహనెక్." — Sm. Dv., I, iv, v. 106.

8. Bh. Rj., III, 59.

*maḍḍu divicinaṭlu.*⁹ This passage means "like taking away a red hot iron ball acquiring the power to restrain fire by magical means." The verse and these passages in the literary works referred to above surely indicate the trial by ordeal which had been an ancient one. Some serious cases concerning offences and crimes committed secretly, or lacking in direct evidence to prove guilt, were decided by ordeals and on oaths. Ordeals were called *divyas*¹⁰ in Sanskrit. It was generally believed that, in trials by ordeal, the divine agency would intervene to expose the guilt or vindicate innocence. Ordeals were generally performed in public before the judges in a court or before an idol in a temple. The fire ordeal was called *maḍḍu paṭṭa* in Telugu, that is, to carry a red-hot iron ball in hand to a certain distance. If the hand of the person who carried the ball was not scalded he was considered not guilty. The *Smṛtis* mention a number of other forms of ordeals also. We do not know if other forms also were in practice during the Redḍi period. From one of the passages cited before, it seems that pouring some boiling liquid into the mouth was also another method of fire ordeal in practice.

That trials by ordeal were common in those days is known to us from the accounts of the Muslim historians and of foreign travellers as well. We are told by Amīr Khusrū that, at the end of the victorious expedition of Khusrū Khān against Warāṅgal in the reign of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Delhi, the Kākatiya monarch, Pratāparudra, in order to conclude peace with him "sent jewels, clothes, sandal, gold, horses, elephants and other valuables to the Khān (Khusrū Khān) by way of *Jizya*." But the Khān was not satisfied with them and demanded that every thing in his possession to be sent to him. Thereupon Pratāparudra affirmed that he had nothing left of his former wealth. "To this the Khān replied that, if the raja were speaking truth, he could have no objection to submit to an ordeal. He should thrust his hand into hot oil, and if he sustains no injury from the heat, no suspicion will exist against him." This passage shows that even the Muslims who invaded the Deccan country were well acquainted with the Hindu method of trials by ordeal. "In criminal charges," observes Nicolo Conti, "oaths are allowed where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered, stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken

9. Ibid, VI, 181.

10. About the *divyas* (ordeals), vide, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar's article in J.A.H.R.S. VII, pp. 195 ff; Julius Jolly's *Hindu Law and Custom* (Greater India Society Publication No. 2), pp. 310 - 317.

11. E. D., II, Appendix, *Nuh Sipihir* of Amīr Khusrū, p. 560.

the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red-hot; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red-hot iron plate for several paces before the idol; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty; if he escapes unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He, who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him, plunges two fingers into the butter which are immediately wrapped up in linen, and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished; if no injury present itself he is released." "

Criminal cases :

There is reason to believe that criminal cases were tried by the king himself or his officers. An Eastern Calukyan record¹² of either the eighth or the ninth century refers to *daṭṭaparādhas*, ten kinds of crimes; but it does not state what they are. The *Smṛtis*, however enumerate these crimes and state that the king himself should investigate and deliver judgement over them.

Investigation of crime and police organisation :

Investigation of crime was left in the hands of the police. Police organisation was one of the very important departments of the administrative machinery. Like other departments the policing also was organised on the basis of the village. It was the central column around which the whole edifice relating to defence and investigation of crime was reared up. The *Śukranīṭisāra*, a work on polity calls the police-man a *yāmika*, and details his duties clearly. According to this work a *yāmika* had his station either at the beginning or at the end of the residential quarters, and kept strict watch over all persons who arrived at and departed from the village, particularly strangers. It was his duty to study the character of each person, allow only those of good character and well-noted persons entering into the village, and others

12. Major, Conti, pp 31-32.

13. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 187, *Bharati*, Vol. V. p. 99.

14. " దిననాపరంకు గ్రంథం దమము దిక్కుల నిండెన్ "

జనులు పనులు చేసి రావెను

లనువర్తతే తిరుగజేచ్చి రావగరము లోనన్ " — Sm. Dv., II, X, V. 117.

only after they provided surety or security. Once in every *urdha-yāma* he had to patrol the streets during nights. The policemen in Telugu are called *ārekulu* or *talārulu*. Even during the period under review the policemen continued to do this duty of patrolling streets day and night.¹⁴ In the period of dark fortnights they used to patrol the streets with torches in their hands.¹⁵ Policemen were remunerated for their services by periodical fees and other emoluments by villagers. If the village was a big one, there were more than one *yāmika* to discharge the police duties. The head of the policemen was called *pedda talavari* (head-policeman). The chief executive police officer in the village was designated *paṭṭalaka* or *paṭṭēla*, a patel. We come to know from inscriptions that the office of *paṭṭēla* existed in the Telugu country during the Eastern Calukyan period.¹⁶

The duties of the policeman were twofold, to prevent crime and theft, and bring the offenders to justice. Theft was considered to be the greatest of all offences. If a theft was committed in any village it was the duty of the policeman to detect the thief. The responsibility of the policeman belonging to any particular village under his jurisdiction ceases only when he succeeds in tracking the thief to the limits of another village. In discharging his duties the chief of the policemen was assisted by the servants of the village, and if necessary, by all the villagers. If, when a theft was committed, a police officer failed to trace the thief and recover the lost property, he was bound to make good the loss and pay it to the sufferer. This was an age-long custom which had been in vogue in Ancient India from the *Śmṛti* and even the *Sūtra* period. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the king had to restore the goods stolen to their owners after having recovered them from thieves, and in case he was unable to recover them, he should pay out of his own treasury.¹⁷ Similarly, the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, a more ancient work than the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the stolen property recovered from thieves should be returned to the owner, and if not recovered, should be paid out of his treasury (*cōra-hṛta-mapajētya yathāśikhānam gamayet; kōṣṭhā vā dadyāt*).¹⁸ The *talāri* or *āreka* had thus become one of the twelve

15. "...అరము లోన భువను గాఢంబయ్యె

నారకులను దివియ అందికొనుచు

గల్గవుటై ననుచు నెల్లదిక్కులఁ జూడె

అరముఁ జొచ్చి రతి విహస్తులగుచు" — Ibid, v. 124.

16. A stone record at Budamanarayalapāḍu (now deserted) in the Nellore district mentions a certain *paṭṭēla*.

17. S.B.E., VII, *The institutes of Viṣṇu*, III, 66-67.

18. *Gautamadharmasūtra*, X. 46-47.

essential servants of a village in the mediaeval period. He was held responsible for preserving law and order in his jurisdiction, to maintain internal peace besides preventing and detecting, as stated before, crime and theft. Police-watch, *kāvali* as it was called, was instituted not only over the village proper but over the crops pertaining to it. The fee that the *talāris* received for this service was called *kāvali-kaṇṇam*.

Accu kāvali and Veli kāvali :

The *Local Records* inform us that the police system described before was in practice during the period of the rule of the Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu. The *kaiḥiyat* of Kōṭa informs us that, in the reign of Anavēma Reddi, the Cōḍas, probably members of the Telugu Cōḍa dynasties, who were powerful in the Ēḡuva country and in the region around Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), carried on predatory raids into some of the villages in the Reddi kingdom, and robbed the produce of the fields escaping skilfully detection of the *talāris*. Thereupon, the cultivators (*saṁsāris*) approached the king and represented to him their grievance. We are then told that king Anavēma appointed for the *accu kāvali* a member of the Mutrāca¹⁹ community, named Cippēṭi Bōḍilīṅama Nāyaka, a capable servant in his court, made him the bailiff to keep watch over the Kōṭa and other *sīmas* and, to hold himself responsible for thefts and loss of property. *Accu kāvali* is an interesting term. It denotes the police system by which a watch-man or a *kāvaligar* was bound to make good the loss of property sustained by the owner, were he unable to catch hold of the thieves and recover the lost property. The same *kaiḥiyat* further states that the service of *veli kāvali*, that is, external watch was conferred on a certain Aḍapā Singama Nāyaka.²⁰ The information which the above *kaiḥiyat* furnishes is very valuable to us, since it

19. This is a Telugu-caste most numerous in the Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah and North Arcot districts. The Mutrācas are hunters, palanquin-bearers and hereditary watch-men in villages.

సిద్ధిరాజు గారి రాజ్యపరిపాలన అయిన పిచ్చుట అనవేమారెడ్డిగారి ప్రభుత్వం. యితని ప్రభుత్వంలో గ్రామాదుల పంటపరిరక్షణ భాగ్యాదులు మొదలయిన మహాస్సాలు తలార్లు కావలి కాస్తూవున్నంతలో చోడుల వుప్రద్రవంచాత నిర్వాహకం లేక సంసార్లు ప్రభుత్వతో చెప్పుకున్నంతలో అప్పుడు చిప్పేటి బోడిలింగమనాయకు అనే ముతరాచ కొల్వడు కాడయి వుండగా అతని సామర్థ్యం (?) అ[చ్చు] కావలి నిర్వాకం చాయగలడని ప్రభుత్వతోచి యీకోట మొదలయిన సీమలు కొన్నింటికి అచ్చు కావలి నిర్ణయం చేసినారు. అడపా సింగమనాయనికి వెలికావలి....”

20. Mack. Mss. No. 15-6-1; *Kaiḥiyat* of Kōṭa.

acquaints us with two forms of police service, namely, *accu kāvali* and *veli kāvali*. The *kaifiyat* referred to before does not, however, mention the terms on which the appointment was made, the kind of remuneration the policeman received, whether kind, coin or land grant. However, it appears to be certain that, from the custom prevailing in the country, he received *mēra*, fixed measure of grain annually, and *vartanas*, fees in the form of *talāri-kaṭnam* from people of different communities in the village periodically and on all important and auspicious occasions in their homes. The bound bailiff, that is, the *accu kāvaligar*, who had under his jurisdiction many *sīmas* or political divisions, had in all probability a special staff of policemen of his own choice for every *sīma* separately, who were aided by the *talāris* appointed in turn by themselves over every village in the *sīma*. It is thus patent that the *accu kāvali* system of police administration constituted itself into a big department unconnected with the regular government, though, probably supervised occasionally by the king's officers. The chief bailiff or the police commissioner in charge of several *sīmas* held himself answerable to the king for thefts and stolen property in the region under his jurisdiction. The *accu kāvali* system further shows that the police administration was not a whit different from what was prevailing in the *Sūtra* or the *Smṛti* period.

Veli kāvali appears to have been simple ward and watch as opposed to *accu kāvali*. The term *veli kāvali* means external watch. We have probably to understand by this the watch instituted at the main entrance or exit of the village. It was probably the duty of this *kāvaligar* entrusted with this watch, to note carefully the arrivals and departures of strangers and bad characters at and from the village respectively. It is also probable that he had to keep watch over the crops belonging to a village, without their being devastated by wild beasts. As the Koṭa *kaifiyat* informs us that king Anavēma appointed one, Aḍapā Singama Nāyaka, to this service of *veli kāvali* over some *sīmas*, as in the case of *accu kāvali*, it appears certain that the right of appointment of bailiffs whether bound or otherwise for a number of *sīmas* vested in the hands of the king himself, though the working out of details regarding police administration was entirely left in the hands of the chief bailiffs. It seems also probable that the number of *sīmas* entrusted to each bailiff was, by the very nature of the work, not uniform. In the *veli kāvali* system of policing *būrikāpu* seems to have been the policeman on the lowest rung, connected with a village.

The mountain passes, where there was every possibility for thieves and highway robbers to hide themselves and attack the merchants and passers-by, were specially guarded by policemen.

Punishments:

Criminal cases were tried and punishments were awarded in accordance with the laws of the penal code. High treason was punished with death. The traitor who was awarded this punishment was made to put on red clothes²¹ and was taken by policemen to the *vadhya-sila* (the stone of execution) to be beheaded there. It was customary to show to the brāhman some amount of lenience as regards punishment. Punishments in criminal cases were no doubt very severe. They varied according to the nature of the offence committed, or of the crime perpetrated. The fundamental principle in awarding such severe and cruel punishments appears to be to make them exemplary to strike terror in the minds of the people, in order to discourage and dissuade them from committing such crimes any more. If the tortures referred to in the Telugu works of this age are taken to be real and not exaggerated, then it may be said that there were various kinds of inhuman and horrible punishments awarded to the criminal, like the amputation of his hands and feet, placing him in stone mills and crushing him to death by working them, flaying him alive and so on.²²

21. "అనుచు వధ్యచిహ్న మైన రక్తాంశుక
మడిగి మ్రొక్కినంత " — Sm. Dv., I, V. 211.
"యత్త వారిచ్చిన యరుణాంశుకంబులు
వధ్యచిహ్న మనకు వలను గాఁగఁ
బులకించి చని వధ్యశిలయొక్క " — Ibid, V, 216.

22. "అనుచు నారాయణాయని వీని బట్టి త్రి
ప్రొలిపింపఁదగునని పలుకువారుఁ
గార్లుచేతులు గనియలుగాఁబట్టి
చిదిమింప దగునని పదరువారుఁ
గాయంబు నుగ్గు గాఁ గలుగానగలఁ బెట్టి
త్రిప్పట తగునని తెలుపువారు
మేన పెంట్లు చుట్టి పై నగ్గి తగిలించి
బుడికింపఁదగునని నొడుపు వారు." — Ibid, III, v. 60.

"అప్పుడు గొంఠ తీయవ్యాయ శీలనిఁ
బట్టి కొఁటెక్కింపఁ బాడియంద్రు
కొంఠ తీతని సందు సందులు చక్కగా
బాడిద వలకింపఁ బాడి యంద్రు
కొంఠ తీతని కండ లందందఁ దిగఁ జెక్కి
భక్షింపుమని పెట్టఁ బాడి యంద్రు
కొంఠ తీతనిఁ దలక్రిందుగాఁ గట్టించి
పైవర్క మొలిపింపఁ బాడియంద్రు
కొంఠతీతనిఁ బచ్చిగుఱియల మోదించఁ
బాడియంద్రు"

— Bh. Rj., V, v. 816.

However, no positive evidence can be adduced to prove that all these varieties were in use, though they were not unknown to this age. Almost all these punishments were awarded to criminals in the territories under Muslim rule. Instances may be quoted from the Muslim chronicles themselves. Sultan Firūz Shāh of Delhi writes thus in his *Futūhat-i-Firūz Shāhi*: "In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Mussalmans has been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing man asunder, these and many similar tortures were practised ... All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall on the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained." Viewed in the light of this passage it seems probable that some of the above mentioned punishments were practised by the Hindu kings of this age in the Reddi kingdom also. The Reddi kings were not above the spirit of the age in which they lived.

Punishments awarded in civil cases seem to have been not so cruel and inhuman, though severe, as in the criminal cases. Default to liquidate a debt was punished very severely. A verse in the *Rukmāṅgadacaritram* enumerates the various punishments inflicted on a

23. E.D., III, p. 375.

The Telugu works of this period do not refer to the punishment of executing criminals by elephants. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited the court of Vijayanagar during this period however refers to them. He writes: "Sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks (E.D., IV, p. 111). Ibn Batūta gives a detailed description of how the elephants execute the criminals. "The elephants which execute men," he writes, "have their tusks covered with sharp irons, resembling the coulter of the plough which turns up the ground, and with edges like those of knives. The driver mounts the elephant, and, when a person is thrown in front, the animal winds his trunk round him, hurls him into the air, and, catching him on one of his tusks, dashes him to the ground, when he places one of his feet on the breast of the victim. After this he does as he is directed by his rider under the orders of the Sultān. If the Sultān desires the culprit to be cut in pieces, the elephant executes the command by means of the irons above described; if the Sultān desires the victim to be left alone, the elephant leaves him on the ground, and (the body) is then stripped of its skin" - E.D., III, Appenpix, p. 618.

24. "కట్టిరి కొట్టి రీడ్చి రధకంబుగ లాగిరి గుండు తొమ్మునన్

బెట్టిరి చెంగలదొంచిరి తకింపగఁ నెండల నిల్చి రంబుఁగఁ

బట్టిరి పచ్చడంబు వడిఁ జూడఁగ దొంచిరి పట్టుకారులక

బట్టిరి నిట్టుపాసమలఁ బాల్కుఁ జేసిరి వీర నిందఱున్"

— Rk. Cr., IV, v. 112.

person who was unable to pay the tax or to repay his debts, Even Srinātha, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Redḍi was subjected to much humiliation and severe punishments in his last days for his inability to pay to the royal treasury the stipulated tax of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*. A *cāṭu* verse²⁵ full of pathos, which is said to have been composed by the poet himself, refers to the punishments he had undergone. These do not differ much from those that are enumerated in the verse in the *Rukmāṅgadacaritram*, referred to above. Srinātha says that he was made to stand in hot sun with the *pogaḍadaṇḍa* around his neck, that his feet were fettered, that bamboo fetters were applied to his fore-arms, and that a heavy ball of black granite stone, usually kept at the entrance of the gate of the royal palace was placed on his arms. Though the brāhman was exempt from capital punishment in those days, he was not allowed to go scot free for not paying taxes to the State, for not repaying debts and, for committing other civil offences.

25. “ కవిరాజు కంఠంబు కొనిలించెనుగదా

పురవీధి నెదురెండ పొగడదండ

అంధ్రనైషధకర్త యంఘ్రిముగ్ధంబునఁ

దగిలియుండెనుగదా నిగళయుగము

వీరభద్రచారణ్ణి విద్వాంసు ముంజేత

వియ్యమండెనుగదా నెదురుగొడియ

సార్వభౌముని భుజస్తంభ మెక్కినగదా

నగరివాకిటనుండు నల్లగుండు

కృష్ణవేణు గొనిపోయె నింతఫలము

చిల చిలాక్షులు తినిపోయెఁ చిలలు పెసలు

బొడుపలైన గొడ్డేటి మోసపోతి

నెట్లు చెల్లెంతుఁ దరికరిలు లేదు మూర్ఖు .

CHAPTER XV.

MILITARY ORGANISATION AND WAR.

It was customary to describe the army as consisting of the traditional fourfold division of chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. In fact, chariots formed, in very ancient times, the chief division of the army. We find representations of chariots which were in use in the Andhra country in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the battle scenes sculptured on the Amrāvati marbles, now housed in the Government Museum, Madras. With the lapse of centuries, chariots as a division of the fighting force, went into disuse. During the period under review the king's army consisted of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

Elephants :

Elephants played a very important role in the warfare of the mediæval period. Though they were not the chief division of the army, they formed the most important section. Victory in battle in the middle ages greatly depended on them. Till the time of the Western Cālukya king Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, that is, till the twelfth century A.D., the Kāṭiṅga forests are said to have been noted for fine elephants. King Sōmēśvara says in his *Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi* that the elephants obtained in the Kāṭiṅga country were the best.¹ We are told by Ferishta that prince Ulugh Khān, after the conquest of Warāṅgal, proceeded in person towards Jājnagar, and that, on that occasion, he took forty elephants from the Rāja and sent them to his father.² But during the period under review Andhras imported elephants greatly from Ceylon.

A wooden seat, called *Cauḍōlu* in Telugu, with a canopy above, was provided on the back of the elephant for holding warriors with bows and arrows and other weapons. How this seat was decorated and the elephants accoutered for war, is known from the fine descriptions given in the *Palnāṭi-viracaritra*.³ The description given in this work

1. Abh. Ct., Vol. I, v. 1194, p. 136.

2. Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. I, pp. 405-06.

3. మానంతు లప్పడు మదనమున నిలిచి

పగ వారలకు నెల్ల భిక్షములు నేయు

బహుతశోన్ని తి మైన భద్రజంబు

పైనిబల్బు న్నెలు పరగుచునున్న

refers to the king's elephant. From this we may suppose that the elephants of other military chieftains also were similarly decorated, though not so elaborately. It is interesting to note from the description given in the work referred to above, that sharp weapons were fastened to the tusks of the elephant. This statement is corroborated by the foreign travellers, like Nikitin and Varthema, who visited South India at the end of the fifteenth century. Of these, Nikitin says "The elephants are clad in ornamental plates of steel. Large scythes (weighing three pounds) are attached to the trunks and tusks of the elephants, and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel, and in the citadel, twelve men in armour with guns and arrows."

తగలు పటంబులు దంట గాజేసి

కూర్చిన గంతలు కుదురు గా వెన్ను

పై గప్ప ముఖమాలు పరపులు జేసి

పదు నాఱు వన్నియ బంగారుతోడ

రచించి దానికి రత్న మల్ తాపి

తీర్చిన చోడోలు తెచ్చియుం గట్టి

మణిగణ తిపనీయమయ మైన యట్టి

చుప్పరం బొక్కటి సమకూర్చి మోచ

పద్మరాగ ప్రభాపటలిచే మించు

బంగారు శిఖరంబు బాగుగనిలిపి

గంటలు మువ్వలు గట్టిగాఁ గట్టి

చుట్టు ముత్యపుఁజేర్చు శోభిల్లుజేసి

మణిమయ మంజరి మధ్య వ్రేలాడఁ

జలుతిగంటలచేర్చు చెలువైన కరికిఁ

గరమ నందునఁ జేర్చి ఘంట సందించి

పంచవర్ణంబులు ఫాలమం దుంచి

ముత్యాలజల్లులు మొనసిన పటమ

కుంభస్థలంబునఁ గొమరొప్పుఁ జేసి

శుభ్రదంతంబుల శోభిల్లువట్టి

తిపనీయ వలయమల్ దట్టించి మొనల

ఘనకాతి శస్త్రమల్ ఘటన గావించి

బంగారు గొలుసులు పదములఁ గట్టి

గంటలు ప్రక్కల గణగణమోయఁ

తొండంబు గొలుసులతోడ రంజల్ల

కృంగార మారీతి శీఘ్రమే చేసి."—Pv. Cr., pp. 29-30.

Varthema also gives a good description of an elephant ready for battle, and of an elephant fight. He, however, observes that the number of men carried on the back of an elephant was seven (including the elephant driver), and not twelve as stated by Nikitin. "When an elephant goes into battle", says Varthema, "he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight But if at any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight."⁵

Abdur Razzāk informs us that the Vijayanagar king, Dévarāya II had more than one thousand elephants." Every time the Musunūri chief Kāpaya Nayaka, the king of Waraṅgal, concluded a treaty with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, we are told by the Muslim historians that he gave them elephants also in accordance with the peace terms. The kings of Koṇḍaviḍu also had an elephant force even though their actual number is not known to us. In fact, king Anavēma Reḍḍi's title *paricīṭānēka-gaṭiviṣeṣa-vāraṇa-mār.ṇ=ṭpāya*, mentioned in his Srisaīlam record,⁷ suggests that the success he attained in his victorious eastern campaign was due to his mastery in the science of elephantology. Nicolo de Conti says, "This animal (elephant) is so intelligent that when he is in battle he frequently receives the javelin of the enemy on the sole of his foot, in order that those whom he carries on his back, may not be injured."⁸ These extracts from the accounts of foreign travellers are given in order to enable the readers to understand the full importance of the elephant force in those times.

5. Varthema's travels, pp. 126-127.

6. E.D., Vol IV., p. 105.

7. Ep. coll., No. 20 of 1915.

8. Major., Conti, p. 12.

Horses :

Cavalry⁹ was the next important division of the army. Horses also were beautifully decorated and ornamented in diverse ways like elephants. Though many of the horses employed in warfare were mostly imported from Arabia, Persia and other countries in their neighbourhood, there were some of the indigenous breed also, especially reared in Sindh and Āraṭṭa countries on the west coast of India. Horse-breakers are called *revantulu* and cavaliers *rāhuttulu* in Telugu. Prince Doḍḍa Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, son of Allāda Reḍḍi, was a cavalier of great repute. He is said to have performed a great feat by making his horse on gallop jump, at a stretch on one occasion, a distance of twenty four cubits in length,¹⁰ in the neighbourhood of a certain town. Cavalry was the all important and preponderating division of the army of both the Emperors of Delhi and the Sultāns of the Bahmanī kingdom. They were reputed to have possessed more cavalry than their Hindu contemporaries. The Vilasa grant¹¹ of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family states that the Sultān of Delhi possessed nine lakh horse (*navalakṣ-āśvasūdhanam*). Consequently, the Muslim rulers were known as *Āśvapatis*, lords of the horse, and the Hindu kings of South India as *Narapatis*, lords of men (foot-soldiers).

Infantry :

Infantry consisted of four divisions of warriors, namely (1) *Selagōla bilamu*, (2) *Vilukāṇḍru*, (3) *Kaijītagāṇḍru* and (4) *Ekkaṭlu*.

9. Duarte Barbosa gives a description of the cavaliers he had seen in Goa, "They ride on high pommelled saddles", writes Barbosa, "and make much use of zojares and light tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square, and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton... and many of them kilts of mail. Their horses are well caparisoned with steel head-pieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two" (Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 180). Since the manners and customs of the people and the culture of South India was essentially the same, it may not be wrong to say that the above description might be as well true of the cavaliers of the Andhra country also. The differences, if there were any, might have been very little.

10. "హరి దాఁటించె బురోపకరమున నాచ్యుత్తరదేశంబునం
దరుడే యల్లయరెడ్డి నందనఁడు దొడ్డయ్యకు మాధ్యమం
దిరువై నాలుగుమూళ్ళు మేర ననఁగా లెక్కింపఁగా నేల య
ద్దరక్షీ నాఁగునీ కీర్తిదాఁటె గడుసుద్దండించి బ్రహ్మయముఁ." — Ka. Kh., I, V. 53.

11. *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix I,

Each of these regiments got its name either from the weapons it used in fighting, or from the way the services of the warriors were remunerated, or from its distinguishing feature and work in the army.

Selagōla in Telugu means a javelin or spear. *Selagōlabalamu* was the force of spearmen or javelineers. A short spear or a javelin was called *nējā*, *ite*, or *bullemu* in Telugu. Though the main form is the same there are sharp differences between them.

The section of *vilukāru* (or *vilukāṇḍru*) was the army of archers or bowmen. The bow was one of the most important weapons of warfare in Ancient India. Arrows were carried in a quiver, called *tūṇira* in Sanskrit and *dona* and *ammula-podi* in Telugu. The Redḍi kings were expert archers. Prōlaya Redḍi, his son Vēmā Redḍi and his son Anavēmā Redḍi were specially praised for their skill in archery. The use of bows and arrows did not become obsolete even by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Duarte Barbosa states, "They (the foot-soldiers) carry strong round shields covered with silk. Everyman carries two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows ; others carry steel maces. Many of them wear coats of mail and others jackets quilted with cotton."..... "Their bows are long like those of England."¹² The Russian traveller Nikitin observes, "The Hindus carry a shield in one hand, and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows."¹⁴ Bows and arrows were used in war-fare both by the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Expert archers had their names painted or incised on the shafts of the arrows they used in warfare in order to strike terror among their enemies. This is suggested by a verse¹⁵ in the Telugu work, *Haravilāsam* written by Śrīnātha. This custom of shooting signed arrows was not a new innovation of the mediaeval period. It was in vogue from the earliest times till the time

12. Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 119.

13. Ibid, p. 181.

14. Major., Nikitin, p. 12.

15. "చివురుగ జితోడ నమావిపుళకములు

చేసి మధుమాసకాలంబు శిర్రజానకు

నలికలంబులపేర నామాక్షరములు

పరుసనిల్పెనుఁ గుణుతింపఁ వానియందు."—Hr. VI., III, v. 57.

of the Mahārāṣṭra kings¹⁶ of Tanjore, that is, till so late as the seventeenth century.

The third section in the infantry was made up of *kaijitaḡāṇḡru* (plural of *kaijitaḡāṇḡ*). Generally the term *kaijitaḡam* means fee for manual labour. Warriors of this category drew their wages daily or weekly and were called *kaijitaḡāṇḡru*. A late work the *Āṇḡrabhāṣāṇḡavam*, a dictionary of pure Telugu words, written by Kōṭi Venkanārya, a court poet of the rājas of Pudukkōṭa, gives the meaning of *kaijitaḡam* as a *śapathāyudhaniṣṡvi*,¹⁷ one who takes a vow not to retreat from the field of battle. These *kaijitaḡam* corps probably consisted of temporary recruits for the period of war such as the members of the Vīra Balaṇḡjya samaya, the praśasti of whose Telugu and Canarese records bears testimony to their military activity also. There is reason to believe that a large section of the members of the mercantile unions joined the army in times of need and fought with great bravery and skill. The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu I of about the twelfth century refers to Vēlaikkāra forces, which "consisted of the three divisions of the *Mahātantra*, the *Valaṇḡjiyār*, and the *Nagarattār*."¹⁸ The *Valaṇḡjiyār* and the *Nagarattār* seem to have been identical with the Vīra Balaṇḡjyas and the *Nagaras* mentioned in the epigraphical records found in the Telugu country. The Tamil records of the Cōla kings inform us that their armies consisted of a large section of the *Valaṇḡgai* troops.¹⁹ In the light of these foregoing facts it may be probably said that the *kaijitaḡam* force of the army of the Andhra kings was mainly drawn from large sections of the Vīra Balaṇḡjya, and *Nagara* communities, and from the *Valaṇḡgai* community. As the *kaijitaḡam* forces were not regular troops, it is but proper that their wages were paid daily, or once in a week, either in kind or in cash.

16. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., (formerly Archaeological assistant, Government Museum Egmore, Madras) contributed a valuable article on 'Signed arrows' to Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar *Commemoration Volume* (pp. 155 ff). Therein he writes, "This custom of marking the arrows is a very ancient one and there are innumerable references to such arrows in Sanskrit literature." In the concluding para of his article he says, "Actual examples to corroborate literary evidence will be most welcome and are bound to be of great interest. There are two such arrows in the arms collection of the Madras Museum. They bear the name of one of the Tanjore rājas Sarabhoji and are thus very late."

17. "శపథాయుధ నిషేచి చనున కైజితము
చనున" — II, p. 59, v. 185 (*Kṣatriyavargaṇḡ*).

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 392.

19. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol. II, part I, p. 225.

Another important division of the infantry was *ekkaṭlu*, the plural form of the term *ekkaṭi*, a contracted form of *Ekkaṭidu*.²⁰ *Ekkaṭi*, otherwise called *Onṭari*, was, as his name indicates, brought into the field of battle almost at the end of the fight, when it was a losing game, and was ordered to take part in hand to hand fight. *Ekkaṭi kayyamu*, the combat of singles, began only after every prospect of victory was lost. The *ekkaṭi* forces served probably as the reserve army, and each fighter in this division was probably a great wrestler and wielded also heavy weapons like maces and the like. There were *ekkaṭis* in every important town and village in the kingdom. The *ekkaṭis* of Velaṇṭūru (Vellaṭūru), Taṅgeḍa and Pōlēpalli are mentioned in the records²¹ of the Redḍi period. From the way in which these *ekkaṭis* made gifts to local gods, we come to know that they were remunerated for their services by grants of land. All these sections of infantry are mentioned in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*²², produced in this period. In this work *ekkaṭlu* are referred to as *Onṭarlu* (*Selaḡōla prajalanu heccu vaṇṭarla*; *Vaṇṭari* is the corrupt form of *Onṭari*). *Ekkaṭi* and its synonym *Onṭari* seem to have been the vernacular equivalents of the Sanskrit word *Ēkāṅgavīra*, the hero who fights the combat singly. These *ekkaṭis* of the Redḍi period gradually formed into a separate military caste or community, and are now popularly called *Vaṇṭarlu*. These now form one of the three sections of the Telaga community of the fourth caste, the other two being the Telaga²³ (proper), and the Kāpu.

Weapons:

The traditional list of weapons of the Hindus consists of thirty two weapons. These include swords, sabres, daggers, maces, javelins, spears, battle-axes, discs and so on. Besides these there were artillery engines to discharge stones (*pūṣāṇa yantras* or catapults). Friar Jordanus observes thus: "Two things there be which cannot be withstood by arms; one is the bolt of heaven; the second is a stone from an artillery engine." We come to know from Ferishta that the

20. "ఒంటరి యెక్కటిఁ జొంటరిఁ జొంటిఁపు

నా నేకధటునకు నామనునను..."—An. Bn., II, p. 59, v. 185.

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 327 and 328 of 1937 and 367 380 of 1926.

22. Pv. Cr., p. 20, p. 28.

23. H. A. Stuart writes "Telagas are a Telugu caste of cultivators who were formerly soldiers in the armies of the Hindu sovereigns of Teliṅgānā."..... "A *Vaṇṭari* was, in olden days, a sepoy, and as such owned *inam* (rent free) lands. Even now he has a prejudice against ploughing *jirayiti* (ordinarily assessed) lands." (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 13-14).

24. *Foreign notices*, p. 206.

Hindus of this period used guns also in warfare. He informs us that, in the battle of Ādōni, Sultān Muhammad Shāh's booty, according to Tohfut-ooṣ-Salāteen, consisted of three hundred gun carriages and battering rams besides other things.²⁵ If the Hindus of Vijayanagar used guns, there is no reason to disbelieve that their contemporaries, the Hindus of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, also used that weapon in their warfare. Every warrior was armed to the teeth and put on armour to protect his head and body. Each warrior was equipped with bow and arrows, sword and shield and other necessary weapons of offence and defence. The shield, called *arige*²⁶, *keḍemu* or *qālunāḡu* in Telugu, was commonly made of hide, in different sizes and shapes. The comparison of the *arige-billa*²⁷, used in Telugu to denote a shield, with a tortoise indicates that it was circular in shape. Representations of rectangular shields also may be seen in some of the scenes sculptured on the Amarāvati slabs.

Recruitment:

From the brāhman to the śūdra members of all the four castes were recruited to the ranks of the army. Several regiments consisting of large sections of people of trading communities were also formed in times of necessity.

There were special officers to enlist recruits to the army. These were called *kālarnlu*²⁸ in Telugu. These officers were busy collecting the army when the king made up his mind to invade a country. The tests, the recruits into the army had to satisfy, are not known to us. However, in the matter of recruitment the procedure and the tests adopted in the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom might have been more or less akin

25. Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 312.

26. " . . . అశ్వంబులకు

వరభటులను వరభటులకు

సరిగెలవారలను బన్ని గిగెసరులై" — VK. Cr., IV, v. 85.

27. " అరిగి బిళ్ళలు కమతాకృతి మెలుకుంగ

సడినంబులును మిల ఎనకరంప... " — Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 156.

28. " ఖండేందు ధరునిమీదను

దండెత్తగవలయు ననుచుఁ గన బలములఁ ది

లుగొంపని కాలరి తుమ్మెద

తండములై మరుఁడు పంపఁ దద్దయునేడ్రు " — Vb. Vj., II, vv. 87-88.

"దండయాత్రాసముత్సుక సనాథుండై సాహసాంక మహీసాథుండు

భగిన కాలరులం బరిచుటయు " — Vb. Cr., IV, Pr. 40.

to those adopted in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Barbosa describes how the recruits were collected there (South India). He writes thus, "The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given to him to go to his country, and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured, he is very evilly treated"²⁹.

The March:

After assembling the forces, war drums were sounded. After consulting the *jyōtiskas* and *śākunikas* and after worshipping his tutelary deity and the local gods, the king marched out of the city with his troops on an auspicious day and at an auspicious moment. Generally, the period in the year most suitable for leading an expedition was the *Śaradṛtu* or the autumn season. Different kinds of musical instruments, like *kāhaḷu* (clarion), *bāra* (trumpet), *ḍamāyi* (kettle drum), *kanaka-tappetalu* (another variety of drum), *śaṅkha* (conch), gongs and so on, were at play during the march of the army and the battle. *Vegarulu*³⁰ or spies were sent before-hand to trace the movements of the enemy and *dādikaṇḍru*³¹ or scouts were sent in advance of the army to clear the way and lay out the roads and look to other arrangements.

The equipage followed the army in march. Tents and tent materials, different kinds of cots woven with broad tape, thick and broad seats made of board, spittoons, different kinds of chests laden with treasure, umbrellas, boxes containing musk, sandal, camphor and other things, were carried on bullock carts, camels and other beasts of burden. Pairs of palanquins, horses kept ready with bridles, servants carrying cages containing birds, shop-keepers with their travelling shops of food-grains and other necessities of life, and yoke-men carrying in their yokes boxes filled with treasure, all accompanied the

29. Barbosa, I, p. 212.

30. "ఘనముగా శేగగ్గకరననే వింటి".—Pv. Gr.,

31. "ఇదె చనుదెంచె జైతుఁ డని యెల్లవనంబులకుఁ బ్రహదముల్
పాదలఁగఁ జేరివార్తఁగొని జోరన వచ్చిన దాడిఁకఁ డక్కఁ..."

—Nr. Pr., II, v. 60.

Though there is a slight and subtle difference between the two terms, *vegari* and *dādikaḍu*, they were both generally applied to scouts as well as spies in Telugu literature.

army³². Certain classes of minstrels also attached to distinguished nobles and warriors accompanied the latter, singing their glories (*biridu padyas* and *garhyas*). If the Muslim historian, Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, is to be trusted, nautch girls also accompanied Hindu kings to the field of battle³³. Soon after crossing the frontier the invading troops devastated the enemy's kingdom. They pillaged "all the cattle and pastures of the enemy"³⁴ and burnt the outlying towns and villages. The king by regular marches reached the important outlying town of the enemy and invested the fort.

32. "గొల్లెనల్ మొదలైన గురుతిభారం

నిచమంబు లెల్లను నించిన గొడ్డు

శస్త్రాస్త్ర చయమయ శకట సంఘంబు

శకలవస్తువులచే సాంద్రమైనట్టి

నానావిధంబుల నాణెంబు లుండు

మందస బులు గట్ట మనలక మోయు

వేడంబుల నిచ్చి పీఠ నేతకుల

జీతపు రాక్క-ముల్ చేతిలో వేసి ...—Pv. Cr., p.

ఘనమైన కూలాలు గట్టిన యట్టి

శకటసమాహంబు నాగించి పీఠపఠ

బులు గుడారంబులు బరువులు మోయ

నెద్దుల నొంటెల మోచైన యట్టి

వేసవంబుల నెల్ల కేగంబు పూన్చి ...— Ibid, p. 29.

గొల్లెనల్ గట్టిన గొప్పలొబండ్లు

బల్లనపెట్టెలు పట్టెమంచములు

తిరుచైన పీటలు తిమ్మపడిగలును

నింతిమందసములు వెలయ గొడ్డులును

కాక్కిర కస్తూరి గంధ కర్పూర

మాదిగా వాడని లమరు పెట్టెలును

బొక్కనంబుల బల్వ బోన కావళ్లు

జవ్వజిపిట్టలు శారి కాకీర

పంజరములు వట్టు పరిచారములును

పడినాగలేజీలు పాలకీజోళ్లు

అష్టభాగ్యంబుల యంగళ్లనారు

సందడిపడ నందు చయ్యనఁ గడలె— Ibid, p. 4.

33. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Pt. III, p. 16.

34. J. S. King's *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, p. 17.

Forts :

Forts were of four kinds in accordance with the position in which they were situated, namely, *sthaladurgas*, *jaladurgas*, *vanadurgas*, and *giridurgas*. *Sthaladurga* was an ordinary fort built on a plain and protected by a big moat around it and by a number of high enclosing walls,³⁵ for example, Rajamahēndravara and Niravadyapura (Niḍadavōl) were *sthaladurgas*. The remaining three were regarded as natural forts; for, it was considered difficult to reduce the forts situated in forests (*vanadurgas*), among the mountains (*giridurgas*) and those surrounded and protected by vast expanse of water around (*jaladurgas*), because of their location. Kaṭama Reḍḍi II, father of Vēma Reḍḍi, the prime minister of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, was an expert in reducing *jaladurgas*, and consequently he got the title *jaladurga-malla*. King Anavēma Reḍḍi is extolled in his Śrīsailam record as a veritable Balarāma in breaking the *sthaladurgas* (*sthaladurga-vidaḥama-Balarāma*), and a Raghurāma in subduing *jaladurgas* (*jaladurga-sādhama-Raghurāma*). Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Bellamkoṇḍa and Nāgārjukoṇḍa were some of the great mountain forts in the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom.

Every fort was furnished with drinking water resources, enough of grain and other necessities of life including salt; to withstand a prolonged siege, and was protected by strong garrison.

Battle began at sunrise with the beating of war-drums and lasted till sunset. After sunset drums were beaten and armies returned to their respective camps³⁶.

Military Officers :

Before the investment of the fort, the army was formed into *vyūhas* or columns, and placed under the command of different officers. The rank of the generals varied in accordance with the number of troops under their command. The terms denoting generals in the Telugu works of this period are *paḍināyaka*, *paḍālu*, *paḍavālu*, *doḷavāyi*, and *daṇḍanāyaka*. The *Velugōḥivārī Vamśāvali* mentions *paḍināyakas* *biruda-rāhuttas*³⁷ (distinguished cavaliers), and *leṇkas* (servants).

35. “దుర్గంబ రాజ్యంబునకు చిర కాలనిర్వాహకం బరియు భూస్థలంబున నిర్మింపఁబడిన ప్రాకారంబు స్థలదుర్గంబు జల వన పర్వతంబులు స్వభావదుర్గంబులయ్యును ప్రాకారంబు లేకయున్న బయలకు నోచరంబులగు నీ చతుర్విధదుర్గంబులందును...”

Sk. Sm., I, Pr. 8; Kr. Rm., v. 112. Vide, Description of the fort of Warangal.

36. *T'abagat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 35.

37. P. 19.

The term *paḍi* in *paḍināyaka* seems to be a variant of *poḍuva*, and equivalent to the Sanskrit term *paṭṭi*³⁸. *Paṭṭi*, according to the Sanskrit work *Nītiprakāśikā*, an extract from a larger work devoted to the *Nīti Sāstra* ascribed to Vaiśampāyana, was the smallest unit of the army consisting of a chariot, an elephant, three horses and five foot-soldiers. According to the same work, a chariot had a retinue of ten elephants, one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry; an elephant of one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry; and a horse of one thousand foot-soldiers, and each foot-soldier had ten followers.³⁹ We have no means to verify if this description of this *paṭṭi* held good in the period under review also. We, however, take *paḍi* as the smallest unit of the army, whatever might have been its volume. *Paḍināyaka* is styled *paḍirāya* in inscriptions at Simhachalam, for instance, Śrī Rama paḍirāyaḍu, Vijayadēva paḍirāyaḍu, and Kūnāṇḍi paḍirāyaḍu. The terms *paḍināyaka*, *paḍirāya*, *paḍalu* and *paḍavālu*, all seem to be synonymous. The term Baṅḷa paḍalu, an officer (commander) of a small regiment of foot-soldiers, finds mention in an inscription at Taṅgeḍa.⁴⁰ *Paḍavālu* and *daḷavāyi* do not seem to be synonymous, though they are taken to be such at the present day. *Daḷa* means a part or fragment. Hence, it seems reasonable to think that a *daḷa* was a detachment of the army consisting of a certain number of units, each unit being, as stated already, a *paṭṭi* or *paḍi*. *Daḷavāyi* therefore seems to have been an officer of a higher rank than *paḍināyaka*, *paḍavālu* or *paḍalu*, and a subordinate official to *daṇḍanāyaka*, otherwise called *daṇṇāyaka*, a commander-in-chief

Honours :

Kings granted badges of honour to those who distinguished themselves by performing great and valorous deeds. Each military honour consisted of a title, a badge of honour, a flag and other insignia. Flags of honour of such distinguished heroes were called *birdu-paḍaḅṅṅu* or *birudu-ṭekkemuḷu*. Each of the distinguished heroes was granted the privilege to have their *birudāṅkas* (titles of honour) sung by minstrels (*bhaṭṭavāru*) in their services on all auspicious, public and state occasions. Special anklets of heroes of honour to be worn on the left leg (*ḍākāli-gaṇḍapeṇḍāramu*) were highly valued. There were umbrellas of honour (*birudu-goduḅṅṅu*) also which were different from ordinary umbrellas. Each honour carried with it some

38. The term *paḍuva* in the sense of army is mentioned in the Addaṅki stone inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga, general of the Eastern Caḷukya king, Vijayaditya III (Vide *Bharati* Vol. V, pt. i, p. 484).

39. Gustav Oppert, *On the weapons, army organisation, and political maxims of the Hindus*, pp. 4-5.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 367 of 1926.

distinguishing mark or privilege. Each honoured hero had to lay down his badges of honour, when he was defeated"; and it was the custom in ancient times for the victor to assume the titles and badges of honour of the vanquished. Besides these titles of honour, kings used to grant a village or some land to the warriors who distinguished themselves in war. This military grant also was known as *jīvitamu* (military *jāgīr*).

Declaration of Armistice and Conclusion of Peace :

Armistice was declared by blowing a trumpet (*dāra*) called *dharmadāra* in Telugu. Terms of peace were settled and written by an officer called *sandhi-vigrahin*, minister for peace and war, one of the

41. "వాడె సింగయమాదఁడు వచ్చె నేగఁ
బాణులెండని రవుకులు చీరఁబాటె
భీతి నన్నవోతారెడ్డి విరుదులన్ని
వీటిఁ బోవంగ దన్నాలకోటబయల" — Vv. Vm., v. 80.

జల్లి పల్లికడ రాజులఁ జంపి రణము గుడిపించి చలమరిగండవిరుదును, సోమకుల పరశురామ విరుదును, నంలేంబరగంపి విరుదును, ధరణీవరాహ, చౌహత్త మల్లవిరుదులను వహించి, భీమవరముకడఁ గాపానేనిఁ జంపి ఖడ్గవారాయణ, గాయగోవాళ్, హిందూరాయసుర త్రాణవిరుదులను వహించి " V. Vm., pr. 86.

Any number of instances can be cited from the *Velugōtivarī Vanisavalā* to prove the statement made above. In this way these titles of honour used to migrate from place to place and from kingdom to kingdom.

42. "నేకకులకు మునుజేసిన
జీవితములు చెఱుప — Bh. Rj., III, v. 139.
"ముక్త 1 జీవితమంది రాచపనిచేయక పాటినపంద " — Ibid, VI, v. 15.

Later on, the term *jīvitamu* came to mean that which served as a means of one's livelihood. *Jitamu*, the Telugu term now in usage, is the corrupt but colloquial form of *jīvitamu*.

43. రాత్రిపోరించిప్రభౌత కాలము పరిస్ఫుటమైనను 'ధర్మదాగ' వట్టించుచు నన్నవార దడె " — Kr. Rm.,

Vide, Introduction also, p. 115 (by Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu).

44. "అవనీపతి నిల్పందగుఁ
బ్రవిమల మతిచతురు నిఖిలభాషాకళలు
సవినయ శీఘ్రవిశేష
వినిధవిధి బ్రాధు సంధివిగ్రహపదవిన్" — Sk. Sm., II, V. 397, p. 88.

important State officials of the Hindu court. It was a general custom observed during the mediaeval period to present the victorious king girls also, besides jewels, elephants and horses.

Peculiar Customs and Rites:

Bomma peṭṭa: Victors in battle took particular delight to disgrace, insult or deride their vanquished foes, particularly during this period. This inordinate desire of the victors to do so was responsible for a peculiar custom, namely, *bomma peṭṭa* in Telugu. According to this custom the victor got an effigy of the vanquished prepared, and set it either on his spittoon or on his ornamental anklet of heroes⁴⁵ (*gaṇḍapeṇḍāramu*). The number of images either on the spitting-pot or on the *peṇḍāramu* increased in proportion to the number of heroes vanquished. This setting or fixing of an image (*bomma peṭṭa*), came in course of time, to mean figuratively to destroy, or to disgrace. In this sense many poets of this age used this phrase frequently in their

45. While reviewing the wars between the Velama kings of Rācakonḍa and Dēvarakonḍa and the Reddi kings of Konḍaviḍu, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes, "Māca was killed and his head was carried away as a trophy to Dēvarakonḍa by Vēdagiri, and was used by him as a spittoon to show his contempt for his departed enemy." (Vv, Vm., Introduction, p. 27). On another page he again writes, "Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma carried away his head to Konḍaviḍu, where, emulating Vēdagiri's example he had it fashioned into a spittoon." (Ibid, p. 28). In the above cases it is not correct to state that the head was carried as a trophy and fashioned into a spittoon. The following lines are the authority for the above statements.

“అకొమర వేదగిరి వేడే యనవేమారెడ్డి తమ్ముని మాచారెడ్డినిఁ గొట్టి తమ్మపడి
గానఁ బొదిగించిన, నాయనవేమారెడ్డి పినవేదగిరినేనిఁ జంపి తమ్మపడి గానఁ
బొదిగించి ” — Vv. Vm., p. 39.

The term తమ్మపడి గానఁ బొదిగించుట means to get a figure or image in metal set on the spittoon. That only a metal image of the vanquished is set either on the spittoon or on the anklet (*andiya*) of the heroes is clear from the following verse from the *Velugōṭivari Vanisavali*, which describes the process of preparing the image concerned.

“ఎత్తి పుటంబుఁ బెట్టి కుదియించి కళంకము దీర్చి కాకమై
నొత్తి ఘటించి లోహగతి నొండొకరీతికిఁ జెప్పి కన్నెగా
నత్తటి నీపదాంబుజమునంది నుఁ బెట్టిన రాజు లందఱుక
మొత్తముగట్టి నీ మలఁగుమోములు వేల్చురు రావు మాధవా!” — v. 87. Also
refer to verse 108, p. 40.

kāvyas.⁴⁶ Inscriptions of this period also bear testimony to the prevalence of this custom during the period under review. An inscription of Arjunadēva of the Matsya line of Oddādi at Simhachalam (Vizagapatam district), dated Saka 1279, extols him as one whose feet shone with the glittering ornament containing the images of twelve kings⁴⁷; (*dvādaśa-bhūpa-rūpakhačila-prōdbhāsi-bhūṣaṇcitra-śrīpādah*)⁴⁸; this means that king Arjunadēva defeated twelve kings whose effigies were set on the foot-ornament (the anklet of heroes, *gaṇḍapeṇḍāram*). The victors took pleasure in getting figures of their vanquished enemies prepared and arranged according to their whims and fancies in order to satisfy their vanity and pride. Some got them prepared with outstretched hands and fixed them on their spittoons, so as to make them appear as if begging for the quid of their chewed betel⁴⁹; and some with hands raised and folded as if making salutation.

Raṇamu kuḍupu: One other curious, but ghastly, rite that was in vogue during the period under review was *raṇamu kuḍupu*. This rite consists in offering rice cooked with the blood and bones of the enemy kings⁴⁶ to the *bhūtas*, spirits or goblins to satisfy them. We come to know about this rite exclusively from the Telugu work, *Velugōṭi-vāri Vamśāvali*⁵⁰. Each and every member of the Rāceṇḍra line is said to

46. “... రివరచర్మనున్ దోఱగి గ్రక్క-న లేమికి బొమ్మగట్టఁడే.”

—Vkr. Cr., I, v, 78.

“పువ్వుమాపులకును బొమ్మవెట్టు ...” — Ibid, VII, v. 44.

“పేదరికిని బొమ్మవెట్టువారు ...” — Ibid, v, 124.

47. “अस्तिद्वादशः भूपरूपावचितप्रोन्नसिभूषाञ्चित
श्रीपादो भुविनिज्जिताखिलरिपु [∴] श्रीमत्स्यवंशोन्नवः
श्रीमानर्जुनभूपतिर्गुणनिधि स्तस्याधिकप्रेयसी...”॥

48. “తమ్మ తమకంతి ప్రియమా
తమ్మకు చెయిఁ జూచి రిపూలు తలక్రింద నీ
తమ్మపడిగాన నుండును
బొమ్మలక్రిమి రావు రాచభూవరునింగా!” — Vv. Vm., p., 16, v. 58.

The term '*bommala kriya*' clearly shows that those were figures of enemy kings set on the spittoon. Also, refer to verses 112 and 118, page 41.

49. Vv. Cr., v, 62.

50. Ibid, V, 88: “కుంట్లారిమ్మడిం జరిపి ధూ । తగ్రావందిడె గొల్లపల్లి బయలన్...”

—v, 87; pr. 49; v. 58; v. 54; pr. 59, 60 etc,

have revelled in performing this rite after winning the war or crushing the enemy. Consequently, there are many verses and passages in the above-mentioned work which either refer to or describe this rite of *raṇamu kuḍupu*. From these we come to know that the heads themselves of the enemies, slain on the battle field, were placed as stumps to form the fire-place or hearth, that the blood of the captive kings was extracted by throwing them into stone mills and working them, and that food was cooked with blood as *esaru* (boiled water for cooking food) in the skulls of fallen enemies⁵¹. The authors of *Velugōṭivāri Vamīacaritra* describe *raṇamu kuḍupu* in their work⁵² as an Āgamic rite of making, on the field of battle (at the place where the enemies were slain), in the middle of night singly, stark-naked, besmearing body with ashes and unfastening the lock of hair on the crown of the head, an oblation of food mixed with the blood of enemies, placing it in their skulls, to Dākini and other *bhūtas*, chanting *mantras* relating to *bhūta-bali*. The *bhūtas* and deities that were invoked at the time of making this oblation are Digambarī, Kālī, Mahākālī, Śākinī, Dākini, Bāyilā, Kāyini, Vīra Bētāla, Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Raṇa Pōturāja, and other *kalahādhidevatas*.⁵³ After first worshipping these the oblation of food was made.

51. Ibid, v. 64.

52. Page 26, foot-note 2 with a star.

53. Vv. Cr., pp. 19-20.

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS.

PART II: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL.

INTRODUCTION

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to describe some aspects of the social and religious life of the people in the Reddi period. The account may not be full, as it is pieced together from various sources, from travellers' accounts, Telugu poems, and inscriptions of this period. The accounts of travellers are very meagre though not untrustworthy. They had little scope to come into contact with people, especially of the upper classes, unless they happened to be ambassadors or government officials. Their accounts, however, furnish good information, either first-hand or corroborative, regarding some aspects of social life, and are therefore valuable. The Telugu poems also, when properly studied, provide much useful information. It is, however, true that the heroes of the poems around whom the stories revolve, are either mythical or imaginary, and as such, they do not have any direct bearing on contemporary life. Moreover, by about this time the Telugu *kāvya* became highly conventionalised. In spite of these limitations we are able to glean something of contemporary life reflected through some of the words, similies, and other figures of speech, used by the Telugu poets of this age. Terms like *pōḍu* and *maḍḍu*, or usages like *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa*, are pregnant with meaning and connote a whole system or a live institution then in vogue. The similies and other figures of speech were drawn from the life around the authors, and the description of heroes, whether imaginary or mythical, and their activities, were based on contemporary life. We have therefore to probe deep into these descriptions and bring out the full meaning of the terms used, and get glimpses of the life of the day. The dress and ornaments worn by the characters in the poems, their games and amusements, their customs and manners, their moral precepts and their various impious deeds and practices were all primarily drawn from contemporary life, and as such, the Telugu poems, when studied with caution and discrimination, supplement the travellers' accounts regarding many aspects of life. Inscriptions, by direct statement and indirect reference, also throw some light on the social life of the period.

In addition to the general inadequacy of material, there is yet another difficulty, that of properly interpreting the age we deal with. As we are living today far removed from that period, and under conditions almost totally different from those prevailing then, and in a civilisation greatly influenced by western ideas and institutions, a proper and sympathetic understanding of the age appears quite difficult.

The succeeding pages may not give a complete picture of the life of the period in all its aspects. Yet, they may indicate, the broad outlines of the social life of a bygone age, rich in colour and variety.

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY

Society is always a complex problem and more complex is the pattern of Hindu society. It is not easy to give a clear and detailed picture of Hindu Society as it evolved through centuries of its development, with its many exogamous and endogamous divisions, nor is it very necessary for our present purpose. A brief account of the principal castes constituting it, as they obtained in the middle ages, chiefly in the period of the Reddi sovereignty, will be given below.

The pattern of Hindu society, as revealed by a study of immemorial tradition, continued to give the State the usual pyramidal structure with *sūdras* and the *caṇḍālas* at the bottom and the *vaiśyas*, *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmanas* forming the super layers. It is needless to discuss the mythical or professional basis of these divisions; but by the time of the Reddis, the Muslim invasions and the economic conditions prevailing then in the country had greatly affected the castes, the *brāhman* accepting military employment and clerical service in the State and taking even to agriculture, the *kṣatriya* becoming a practical farmer, and the *sūdra* following trade as a profession and even rising to be a king. The Reddi kingdom was the result of a spirit of revivalism among the Hindus, and during that rule, naturally, we find the various castes sliding back into their usual avocations, though not strictly adhering to them; for, the changes wrought by the Muslim rule did not fail to bear lasting effects.

Brāhmanas :

Brāhmanas, the custodians of religious and sacred knowledge, were considered to be the highest in rank of all the sections of the Hindu society. They were held in respect by members of the other three castes or *varṇas*. The *brāhman* caste consisted of a great majority of *smārtas*, and of the followers of the Hindu religious schools like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

A scrutiny of the list of *gōtras* of *brāhman* donees mentioned in the copper-plate records of this period, and of the number of the *Vēdas*, and the *Sāstras* in which they are said to have been proficient, establishes the fact that the kings of this age extended their patronage mostly to the *Yajurvēdins*, *brāhmanas* well-versed in the *Yajur Veda*,

and experts in the ritual connected with Vēdic sacrifices. This was in accordance with the spirit of the times. Prōlaya Nayaka of the Musunūri family claims that he had made pure the sacred places of the Andhra country which were desecrated by the Mussalmans, by setting again in motion the Vēdic sacrifice which was stopped during the Muslim rule.¹ Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom, assumed the interesting and revealing title of "*anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōmapānā*", one who had the *Sōma* juice taken incessantly by purōhita in sacrifices. Grants of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu testify to the revived sacrificial activity after the re-establishment of Hindu independence. It had become the self-imposed duty of the early kings of this age to recover and regrant the old *agrahāras*, to brāhmins, which had been formerly in their enjoyment, having been granted to them by kings of yore, but were lost to them during the Muslim occupation of the country. Vēdic sacrifices became the order of the day. It is, therefore, no wonder if many of the donees mentioned in the grants of this age were the followers of the *Yajur Veda*, who were adepts in sacrificial lore and ritual. Among them we find the followers both of the *Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Veda* and the *Śukla Yajur Veda*, the two schools into which the *Yajur Veda* is divided. The *Śukla Yajur Veda*, otherwise known as the *Vājasaneyya śākhā*, named as such after Vājasaneyya, consists of fifteen śākhās, of which the Kāṇva and the Mādhyandina śākhās are the prominent ones. Brāhmins of the Vājasaneyya school appear to have immigrated into the coastal Andhra country from the north in large numbers, in the early centuries of the Christian era, during the Pallava period. According to an undated stone inscription² at Uppuṭūru (in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district) Trilōcana Pallava³ alias Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi, a Pallava king, whose name is preserved only in tradition and whose identity has not yet been finally established, granted Lavaṇapura or the modern Uppuṭūru as an *agrahūra* to one thousand brāhmins, followers of Yājñavalkya, who are said to have come from the town of Ahicchatrapura on the banks of the Ganges. A copper-plate grant⁴ of the time of the Kākatiya monarchs corroborates this statement. According to another stone inscription⁵ king Kākati Gaṇapatiḍēva confirms an earlier grant of the village of Īdupulapaḍu (in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur

1. *A Forgotten chapter*, Vide Appendix, No. I, p. 104, v. 37.

2. S. I. I., VI, No. 248.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 779 of 1922.

3a. For the traditional account about Trilōcana Pallava, See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's work "*Trilōcana Pallava and Karikala Cōḍa*".

4. CP. No. 4 of 1916-17: Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 346 ff.

5. Ep. Coll., No. 803 of 1922.

district) made by Trinayana Pallava to brāhmanas of various (*gōtras* who were learned in the Vēdas and were the followers of the Kātyāyana Sūtra and the Kāṇva śākha (*Śukla Yajurvedins*). Another inscription at Kōlavennu* (in the Bejavada taluk, Kistna district) records that a minister of Kakati Gaṇapatidēva granted an *agrahāra* to several brāhmanas of the Yājñavalkyakula.

From the study of the grants of the Reddi period we come to know that brāhmanas who followed the *Yajur Veda*, whether it be of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus* school or the *Śukla Yajus* school, formed the majority of the brāhman caste. The number of those who followed the *Rig Veda* and the *Sāma Veda* was comparatively less than that of the followers of the *Yajur Veda*. We do not come across *Atharvavedins* or followers of the *Atharva Veda* in the inscriptions of this period. Some of the brāhman donees mentioned in grants were *divivedins*, experts in two Vēdas, either in the *Rig Veda* and the *Yajur Veda*, or in the *Yajur Veda* and the *Sāma Veda*.

Brāhmanas were further subdivided into a number of clans (*gōtras**) which are supposed to derive their origin from ancient Rīṣis. The *gōtras* represented in the grants of this period, numbering nearly thirty, are given below: This number is not exhaustive.

(1) Ātrōya	(11) Kāśyapa	(21) Śalankāyana
(2) Bhāradvāja	(12) Kaundinya	(22) Saṇḍilya
(3) Bhārgava	(13) Kauśika	(23) Saunaka
(4) Dēvarāta	(14) Lōhita	(24) Śrīvatsa
(5) Gārgya	(15) Maitrōya	(25) Suṅgabharadvāja
(6) Gautama	(16) Maitrāvaruṇa	(26) Vādhūla
(7) Harita	(17) Maunabhārgava	(27) Vasiṣṭha
(8) Kāmākāyana	(18) Parāśara	(28) Viṣṇuwardana
(9) Kāṇva	(19) Purukutsa	(29) Viśvāmitra
(10) Kapi	(20) Rathītara	(30) Yaska.

The list given above merely indicates the *gōtras* of brāhman donees figuring in the copper-plate grants issued by kings of the

6. Ep., Coll. No. 530 of 1925.

7. "The word *gōtra* has a curious history. In R̥g Vedic times it meant an enclosure for cows. They were kept in them during the night to prevent depredation by wild animals and thieves. At day-break they were let loose for grazing in fields, *gōṣṭhas*. Naturally the cows belonging to one family used to be kept in one *gōtra* which thus came to mean a family. The *gōtrapati*, like *kulapati*, the head of the family, became the *gōtra Rīṣi*. The grazing ground *gōṣṭha* would, on the other hand, find room for cows of many families; hence the word came to mean a number of allied families, or of persons meeting together for a common purpose, a club."—Prof. J. C. Ray in *The Modern Review*, June, 1930.

coastal region of the Andhra country during this period. By its very nature it is limited, and does not contain the *gōtras* of brāhmins who were not recipients of *vr̥ttis*. A perusal of the list of donees mentioned in grants shows that there were experts in the *Rig Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* among the brāhmins of the Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Kāṇva, Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Śrīvatsa, Vadhūla, and Vāsiṣṭha *gōtras*, and in the *Yajur Veda* and the *Sāma Veda* among the brāhmins of the Ātrēya, Kapi and Kauṇḍinya *gōtras*, and in the first three Vēdas, among the brāhmins of the Haritasa *gōtra*. We come to know also that the donees belonging to the Lōbha, Maunabhārgava, and Viṣṇuvardhana *gōtras* were adepts in the *Rig Veda*, and those of the remaining *gōtras* in the *Yajur Veda*. The primary classification of the brāhmin society was in accordance with the Vēda each individual professed to follow, in the performance of his sacrifices and ritual. This accounts for the presence of the same *gōtrins* among brāhmins following different Vēdas. The number of brāhmins belonging to the Dēvarāta, Kamakāyana, Maitravaruṇa, Maunabhārgava, Rathītara, Śuṅgabhāradvāja, Viṣṇuvardhana, Viśvāmitra and Yāska *gōtras* in the coastal Andhra country appears to have been very limited, as it is even at the present day; for, rarely do we come across names of these *gōtras* in the copper-plate records. On the other hand, brāhmins belonging to the Bhāradvāja, Hārta, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauśika and Śrīvatsa *gōtras* appear to have been strong. Mention of these *gōtrins* in the grants of this period is very common.

There was yet another subdivision among brāhmins based on a territorial origin. This appears to have been in existence from a considerably early period. The age in which this subdivision came into vogue, cannot however be ascertained with precision, with the evidence at our disposal. The geographical divisions, which brought about this classification among brāhmins, are existent from about the fifth century. The Telugu country, from times immemorial, was divided into a number of divisions or districts known as *hāras* or *āhāras*, for example, Kudūrāhara, Śatavāhanihāra and so on. Later on, the term *hāra* changed into *nāra*, as in Pāvunavāra and Gudravāra. At a still later date, the synonymous terms, *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* denoting a district, came into use and were suffixed to proper names; e.g., Vēṅgiṣaya, Kammaviṣaya, Pakaviṣaya, Vēṅgīrāṣṭra, Pākārāṣṭra, Kammārāṣṭra and so on. *Nādu* or *deśa* is the Telugu equivalent to *viṣaya* or *rāṣṭra*. Like *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* the term *nādu* also was added to the name of the district. There are cases where both the synonymous terms *nādu* and *viṣaya* were added on to the name of the division, as in Vēṅgināṇḍuviṣaya and Velanāṇḍuviṣaya. But these instances are rare. How, why and in what manner these *nāḍus* came into being is not known. Among such *nāḍ* or *viṣayas* of the

Telugu country Vēṅgināḍu, Velanāḍu, Kammanāḍu, Pakanāḍu and Mulikināḍu are important to our discussion. Kammanāḍu corresponds to the area covered by the Narasaraopeta, Ongole, and Bapatla taluks, and Mulikināḍu roughly to the taluks north of the Pennār in the Cuddapah district. The brāhmanas of each *nāḍu* formed into a *kula* or a compact group of their own, which derived its name from the *nāḍu*, their original habitat. This kind of division among brāhmanas has been in existence at least from the time of the Eastern cālukyas of Vēṅgi; for, an inscription of Ammarāja II Vijayāditya records the grant of an *agrahāra* to a Kammakulaja brāhman, that is, a brāhman born in the Kammakula, the Kammanāḍi brāhman community, belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.⁸ By the time of the establishment of the Redḍi power, we find these groups, formed after geographical divisions, well crystallised into communities in the brāhmin society. According to a Sanskrit *cātu* verse, which has been current in the Telugu country for several centuries, Prōlaya Vēma granted in all forty-four *agrahāras* to brāhmanas, of which he gave three to the Vēṅikulīnas (brāhmanas belonging to the community of Vēṅgināḍu), thirty six to brāhmanas of the Velanāṭikula or Velanāḍi community, and five to the Drāviḍa brāhmanas.⁹ This *cātu* s̥lōka clearly proves that the brāhman society was already divided into communities based on geographical divisions, even by the beginning of the Redḍi period.¹⁰ It appears that the brāhmanas of Kammanāḍu (the Kammanāḍi brāhmanas) merged in the brāhman community of Śaṭsahasradēśa or Āḡuvēlanāḍu, and of Karṇāḍu or karṇināḍu.

Surnames or house-names of brāhmanas in the grants of this period reveal another interesting feature of the brāhman caste to us. There is evidence to show that the Telugu people had surnames from almost the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era.¹¹ The surnames of brāhmanas do not however find mention in either the lithic or the copper-plate records before the fourteenth century. The copper-plate records of the early Redḍi period generally provide names of the *gōtras* of the *vr̥tti* holders and the Vēda or Vēdas in which they

8. *Sarada*, Vol. II (1928), p. 316.

आसीच्चिनुस्वास्तव्यो देवार्थो देवनन्दनः

भारद्वाजान्वयः कम्मकुलजः कुलवर्धनः॥

9. See, Pt. I, p. 87, f. n. 48.

10. Of such communities that of the Teligānyas is one. These Teligānya brāhmanas derived their name from Toliṅgāpam or Telinga (modern Telangāna). Teliṅgā seems to have been originally one of the districts of the Andhra country, corresponding to the territory around Manthana on the Gōdāvari in the Hyderabad State, where their number is predominant.

were proficient, and do not give their surnames. It is only from the latter half of the Reddi period that we come to know the surnames of the brahman donees. A list of the surnames of the brahman families with their *gōtras*, known from inscriptions of the period, is appended to this chapter. The list is not exhaustive.

A study of the surnames leads us to conclude that most of them were derived from villages; and that brāhmins who had a common surname do not necessarily belong to the same *gōtra*, but have different *gōtras*; for example, among the members of the Ākunūri family there are some who belong to the Kauśika *gōtra* and some to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the members of the Jallipalli family belong to the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra* and some to the Vasiṣṭhasa *gōtra*. We find Haritasa *gōtrins* and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* also among the members of Pedapūṇḍi family. Some of the members of the Rājukoṇḍa family belong to the Yāska *gōtra*, and some to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. Similarly, we find Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Śrīvatsasa *gōtrins* among the Rāmpallis, Kāśyapa *gōtrins* and Haritasa *gōtrins* among the Singarēmis, and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Kauṇḍinya *gōtrins* among the members of the Vallūri family. These examples are enough to show that house-names are not the sure tests to determine the *gōtras* of brāhmins, and that family names do not contribute to the division of the society into communities. Followers of certain religious sets and some Drāviḍa brāhmins also like the Kāṅgas figure as donees in the grants of this period. The Drāviḍa brāhmins having the surname Kāṅgā are found even today in the East Godavari district; and the Kandālas, a Vaiṣṇava family, is known from the inscriptions of Munmaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṅkoṇḍa. Dēvare Bhaṭṭa¹² of the Peñcōḍi family was a Śaiva learned in *Śivāgamas*.

11. Inscriptions at Buḍamanarāyalapaḍu, a deserted village in the Podili taluk, Nellore district, bear testimony to this statement. These records are undated; yet, the palaeography of these inscriptions, and the very archaic language employed therein unmistakably leads us to the conclusion that they belong to the eighth century. One of the inscriptions at that place mentions a certain Komarapōlu Koṇḍayya, the writer of the record. Here, Komarapōlu, a corrupt form of Komaraprōlu (modern Komaravolu) is certainly the surname which was derived from the village bearing the same name.
12. Dēvare Bhaṭṭa was a *Sivārcaka*, a Śaiva priest. He was well-versed in the *Śaiva-agamas*. The Brahmins of the Vaikhānasakula became priests in the Viṣṇu temples. The donee of the Komaragirivaram grant of Kaṭṭya Vēma, dated Śaka 1330, was a certain Aubhalārya, a member of the Vaikhānasac community of the Vaiṣṇavas. Ślūgaya and Veṅgaḷa of the Vaikhānasac community were the priests of god Gōpinātha-dēva of Rājamahendravarani, to whom king Kumaragiri had granted the village of Anaparti in the Śaka year 1312. The custom, among the Vaiṣṇavas, of appending the suffix *acarya* to their names, as is done at the present day, does not appear to have been in vogue during the period under review.

Brāhmans of this period were generally learned in the Vēdic lore and Śāstras, and in the Puraṇas, and Itihāsas also. Some are said to have been proficient in two and even three Vēdas. They were experts in the *avadhānas* like *jaṭā*,¹³ *dēśa*,¹⁴ and *carcā*¹⁵ relating to the Vēdas. Some were skilled in the *cirāvadhāna* in the *Yajur Vēda*, some in *krama*, some in *jaṭā* and so on. Some of these Vēdic scholars are stated to have been *sūradhyetas*,¹⁶ and some *sūradhyāpakas*.¹⁷ There were many reputed scholars who attained great proficiency in different branches of learning like Tarka, Śabda Śāstra or Vyākaraṇa, Śaḍdarsanas, Jyōtiṣa, Gaṇita, and the Āgamas. The qualifying phrases like *padavākyapramāṇajñāh*, *Śabdāsāna-Pāṇinih*, *cuḷikit-āpāra-gaṇbhīra-Gaṇit-ārṇarāh*, *Gaṇita-Brahmā*, *Śabda-Śāstra-Patañjalih*, *tīrṇa Vyākaraṇāmbudhīh*, *Vaiyāsikamatapraudhah*, *Jyotirdṛṣṭa-jagat-vidhah*, *kṛpta-dvividha-Mīmāṃsah*, *Gurutantraviśāradaḥ*,¹⁸ which find mention in copper-plate records bear eloquent testimony to the high standard of their proficiency and scholarship in different Śāstras.

Agrahāra was the home of scholars devoted to learning and intellectual pursuits. A scholar who was a master in one or more Śāstras

18. "*Jaṭā* is one of the four peculiar methods of repeating the Vēdic text; the other methods are *pada*, *krama*, and *ghana*. *Padas* are the different words of a *mantra* repeated separately. *Krama paṭha* is the mode of "progressing step by step." In this method the words are taken in pairs, the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on. In *jaṭa paṭha* each pair of words is repeated thrice. In this arrangement "the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first, and the second again are repeated together, joined by the sandhi rules and having sandhi accents. In the same manner, the second and third, the third and the second, and the second, and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in succession beginning a new *Jaṭa* arrangement, upto the end of half-ṛik or of a *mantra*, when the last word is simply repeated, as in the *krama*." *Ghanā paṭha* is more complicated and artificial one than the *jaṭa paṭha*.
14. *Dēśa* means 'place'. It appears to refer to the skill in reciting the *mantras* which include the given words.
15. *Carcā* is the repetition of a word in reciting the Vēda, especially while adding *iti* (Monier Williams). This occurs in the *krama*, *jaṭa*, and *ghana paṭhas* of the Vēda.
16. *Sūradhyetas* are champion reciters of the Vēda.
17. *Sūradhyāpakas* are champion-instructors; those who are capable of training even dullards in reciting the Vēda correctly.
18. The term *Mīmāṃsa* is used both for *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsa*. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* is also known as *Tantra* or *Gurutantra* and *Bhāṭṭam*, a name derived from the great logician Kumarila Bhaṭṭa who expounded the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa sūtras* of Jaimini. *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* is also known as *Vēdānta*. The founder of this school is said to be *Vyāsa*, also called *Bādarāyaṇa*. Because of *Vyāsa*, it also acquired the name of *Vaiyāsikamata*. The term *Tantra* is generally used to denote *Mīmāṃsa*.

or in any branch of Vēdic learning, was in the enjoyment of a whole *agrahāra* (*śikhāgam*) or had some *ṛittis* in it. Such learned scholars attracted, from far and wide, students who specialised in one or more Śāstras of their choice and stayed for years in their teacher's home, their *gurukula*. They maintained themselves by *mādhukaravṛtti* in the *agrahāra*, and it was the pious duty of the brāhman residents therein to cater to the students ungrudgingly. The teachers spent their whole life-time in imparting knowledge to their pupils and spreading and maintaining the Vēdic culture and learning. Undisturbed by kings and their officers, teachers and students spent a peaceful life in the *agrahāras*, uncontaminated by the allurements of city life. *Agrahāras* were thus the veritable *vidyāpiṭhas* of old, great educational centres and repositories of ancient culture. Poet Śrīnātha describes, in his works *Kāṣīkhaṇḍam* and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*, the prosperous condition of brāhmans in the *agrahāras* on the banks of the Gautamī, while Vēma made his brother Virabhadra rule. It is stated of course in an exaggerated way, that brāhmans residing in *agrahāras* learnt to wear rings set with rubies on their fingers, which were used to the *darbha* (*kuśa*) grass before, to make caste-marks with musk on the *gaṅgamattī*, river-mud worn on the forehead, to put on pearl necklaces (*tārāhāramulu* and *mutyālasarulu*) by the side of their sacred threads, and to stick, in the middle of their crests, red water-lilies delicious in odour, while gold and silver rolled in confusion in their homes.¹⁹

Generally brāhmans of all communities, the Vēgināṭis, the Velanāṭis, the Mulikināṭis and the like, all endeavoured to preserve and propagate Vēdic knowledge and culture. In addition to this, some brāhmans came forward to bear the burden of the State from very

19. ధరియింప నేర్పిరి దగ్ధ వైల్లెడు శ్రీశృ

లీల మాణిక్యంసుశీయకమలు

కల్పింప నేర్పిరి గంగ మట్టి నుమీదఁ

గన్తూరి కాపుండ్రకమలు నొసల

సవరింప నేర్పిరి జన్మి దంబుల మ్రోలఁ

దారహారమలు ముత్యాల సరులు

చెరువంగ నేర్పిరి శిఖల నెన్నడుమలు

గమ్మని క్రొత్త చెంగల్యవిరులు

ధానుముల పెండి పైడియుఁ దడబడంగ

బ్రాహ్మణోత్తమ లగ్నహారములయందు

శమధూసాలుఁ యనునమ్మ మీధిదు

ధాత్రి శేవి స గౌరిమితటమ వంతు.—Ks. Kh., I. v. 87.

early times. This additional task, voluntarily borne by them, brought a change in the brāhman community which manifested itself markedly during the Redḍi period.

Ṣaṣahasradeśīyas:

It was during this period that the cleavage, between those who were employed in State service, and those who stuck to their duties as enjoined by the Śāstras, became more marked than before. In fact, some of the brahmans accepted employment in State service from very early times, and acted as accountants, generals and advisers. Nevertheless, they maintained their brāhmanical ritual while following a *kṣatriya* career. A study of the Eastern Cālukya inscriptions makes this fact clear. Those who were appointed to a *niyōga*, commission, charge or office, were called *niyōgins*, officials or functionaries. The term *niyōgikavallabha* finds mention in a grant²⁰ of the Eastern Cālukya king, Maṅgiyavarāja of the early eighth century. In this way a *laukika* sect of brāhmans came into existence. Though there is evidence to show that there were such *laukikas* from the Eastern Cālukyan times or from a still earlier date, it cannot be said that they hardened into a separate community then. The lithic and copper-plate records of the Telugu country before the thirteenth century make this point clear. The terms *amātya*, *mantrin*, and *saciva* form the only evidence to prove the existence of this *laukika* community. These terms do not find mention in inscriptions prior to the thirteenth century. If they were used anywhere, they are generally found attached only to the names of those who were actually employed by the State. Their descendants followed closely in the footsteps of their forefathers, and took to service in the State. Later on, it became conventional to affix the terms to their names, irrespective of holding any office in the State. We can distinguish *laukika* and non-*laukika* brāhmans mentioned in the records of the early mediaeval period with the aid of the suffixes noted above. The names of non-*laukika* brāhmans end in *ārya*, a common term of respect, added to the names of brāhmans in general²¹. It appears that during the middle Kakatiya period this *laukika* section gained greater influence in politics and higher social distinction, and in the early post-Kakatiya period

20. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 289, 11. 25-26.

“ग्रामेयकानल गतसर्वनैयोगिकवल्लभाश्च...”

21. The examples given in his article “*Niyōgi-Vaidika-bhēda-kala-nirṇayamu*” (Vide, *Lakṣmaṇarāyaṇyāsavali*, Vol. I, pp. 10-18) by the late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao to prove that the *laukikas* existed as a separate community before the thirteenth century, are not valid. Even though the term *mantrin* is found attached to the name of Bayyana in Ananta's *Ishōjara-jñanam*, it cannot prove that this community

slowly crystallised into a separate community. The terms *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, denoting the identity of the members of this special section, are found attached to names of some brāhman donees in the grants of this period. Such donees, mentioned in the grants of Allaya Doddā Reddi and Allaya Vūmā Reddi, are distinguished by special titles like *rājakāryadhurandhara*, *kīrtibhūṣaṇa*, *rājamānya*, *rājavallabha*, *mantriśekhara* and *rājyakāryavicaṣaṇa*. Some of them were experts in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. This fact may serve to indicate that they took to the fine arts and patronised them. The number of *laukikas* or *rājamānyas* in the Reddi period was greater than in any of the previous periods. They formed into a powerful political section and held positions of *durgādhipatis* (governors of forts), *daṇḍmāyakas* (generals) and *rāyasams* (writer-secretaries) besides serving as accountants of the *Sthalas* and the *Simas*.

Curiously enough, brāhmanas of the Āṅgavēlānāḍu²² or Ṣaṭṣahasradēśa are called *niyōgis* at the present day. Now *niyōgi* means a brāhman of the Āṅgavēla community. It is difficult to say, with the

was existent then; for, the author Anantāmātya might have affixed that term to his great grandfather Bayyana in accordance with the usage of his time. The author of the Telugu work, popularly known as '*Pamulūri-Gaṇitam*', was called Mallanāmātya, probably because he was an accountant of a village in the reign of the Eastern Cālukya king, Raja Rāja. The absence of names ending in *amātya*, *mantrin*, or *saciva* in the grants of the early mediaeval period proves the correctness of the surmise made above. Those who were proficient in the Gaṇita Śāstra were merely mentioned with the term *ārya* suffixed to their names, even in the grants of the 14th century. The *laukika* section of the brāhman caste appears to have hardened into a separate community by the middle of the fourteenth century.

22. Āṅgavēlānāḍu was the country consisting of six thousand *gramas*. What the term *grāma* denotes is not known. It was an ancient custom in South India to attach a certain number to each territorial division; for example, Pākanāḍu, twenty one thousand (the country of twenty one thousand *gramas*); Veṅgi,

“అరుదందక కలనాటి చోడమనుజేంద్రాజునకు బూని ను

స్తరశక్తిని జని యేకవిఃశతసహస్రముసంఖ్యకన్

ధరణిం చేర్చిన పాకనాడు.....” — Kb Cr., I, v. 27.

sixteen thousand; Rēnāḍu, seven thousand etc. In a few cases the division or country was called by the number itself attached to it instead of by its actual name. Āṅgavēlānāḍu or Ṣaṭṣahasradēśa is one of such cases. Inscriptions reveal the fact that the number six thousand was attached in ancient times to two contiguous territorial divisions, namely, Velanāḍu and Kammanāḍu. According to a lithic record at Valivēru in the Guntūr district (Ep. Coll., No. 671 of 1920), Velanāḍu was a six thousand country ("*āṅgavēla-Velanāṇṭi-nagraharam-aṇa Valivēru*"). The records of the Kōta kings of Diānyavāṭi or Diāranikōṭa inform us that this

available data, if he was termed so, in this period. It is, however, certain that the *laukika* section comprised, among others, the Āṇuvēlu and the Pākanāḍu communities. Pākanāḍu and Āṇuvēlanāḍu were contiguous territories; for, the former, extending from the foot of Srī-śailam in the Kurnool district to the east coast, includes all the country to the south of the Brahmakuṇḍi (Guṇḍalakamma) river and to the north of the river Penna. The region to the north of the Brahmakuṇḍi as far as the Kṛṣṇa comprised two districts, each an Āṇuvēla country, one Kammanāḍu six thousand, and the other Velanāḍu six thousand. Among the Velanāṭi brāhman community there are *laukikas* as well as non-*laukikas*; while the former are known as Velanāṭi niyōgis or Āṇuvēlavāru, the latter are called Velanāṭi Vaidikis. The Telugu literature also produced during this period illustrates amply the solidifying of this *laukika* group into a separate community. Many *niyogi* brāhmins of the present day, whose surnames end in *pregaḍa*, were the descendants of distinguished ministers, commanders and poets, like Rāma Pregaḍa, Mantri Pregaḍa, Errā Pregaḍa, who flourished in this period. This was the age in which the surnames of brāhmins ending in *pregaḍa*, *mantri* and *rāju* had come into vogue, in addition to those formed in other ways.

Kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and śūdras recognised the brāhmin as their religious leader in this period also, and made gifts and other endowments to him. They learnt from them their alphabet and the three R's, and *kalas* and sciences, like dance, music and archery and so on. Their relations with the brāhman were as cordial as ever.

territory lay along the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river ("Kṛṣṇavenuṇādi-dakṣiṇa-ṣaṭsahasraṇanivallabha"—C. P. No. 5 of 1915—16). The villages, which are mentioned in ancient inscriptions to have been situated in this country, are now found in the Rēpalli, Tenālī, and the northern half of the Guntur and the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluks in the Guntur district. Records of the fourteenth century furnish the information that the country to the east of the Tuṅgabhadra in the Guntur district is called Valanāḍu. This river is now converted into a drainage channel by the D. P. W. ("Tuṅgabhadrātarāṅgiyāḥ prāgdēsam-Velanāḍ-iti). From the Kopidenā inscription of Ūpilisidhi Cōḍa of the Telugu Cōḍa family, dated in Śaka 1146 (A.S. P. P., VIII, 5-6) we come to know that Kammanāḍu also was a six thousand country.

ఈ సజన్మ త్రిమూడ విడిచింబుగ నోపిలిసిద్ధి పున్నె
 ధనకు నవంగుదమ్మండు (సం సమనం జని కన్యవాడు సే
 కొని గణపాచరితు దయఁ గూడి తదాజ్ఞ చహించి యేరెఁ బా
 వనమగు నాణుకేలును నక్రకపరాక్రమవికవంబున్.

From these references it can be concluded that a major portion of the Guntur district consisted of two six thousand countries in ancient times.

Kṣatriyas:

The Kṣatriyas of the Andhra country are popularly known as Rācavāru or Rājus. Allāḍa, the maternal grandfather of Māmiḍi Siṅga-mantri, minister of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, is referred to by poet Śrīnātha as the favourite son of Rācavāru who had the title "*peṣaṇi-Hanumanta*"²³. The particular dynasty of kṣatriyas who had that title, is not definitely known. A certain Ayyaparāja of the Vatsavāya family of the fifteenth century had the same title *peṣaṇi-Hanumanta*²⁴. Vatsavāyas form one of the important kṣatriya families belonging to the Solar dynasty. Ēṅgu Lakṣmaṇakavi of the 16th century describes this family in his Telugu kāvya '*Rāmaṇvilāsa*', written under the patronage of king Vatsavāya Timmajagapati of Peddāpuram. According to this work, the name of the ancient Cāgi family was, in course of time, changed into Vatsavāya. The reason for this change is given thus: Rāmarāja, brother of Telugu rāja and son of Cāgi Eṅapōta-rāja, made the town of Vatsavāya his permanent abode in the early post Kakatiya period, and his descendants, therefore, came to be called Vatsavāyas, instead of Cāgis.²⁵ Rācavāru referred to by Śrīnātha might or might not have been the Vatsavāyas.

There might have been other kṣatriya families having the title *peṣaṇi Hanumanta*. Besides the Vatsavāyas, the Cōḍas of the Telugu country, the Cālukyas of Elamāṇḍi and Veṅgī, and the Uṇḍirājas of Sūravarapattana, constituted, among others, the important kṣatriya families that flourished in the coastal region, during this period. The Rācavāru who are said to have had the afore-said title, may refer to

23. పేషణి హనుమంత బిరుదాంకులగు రాచు

చారికి నెయ్యింపు వగుగురుండు' — Sr. Nd., I, v. 32.

24. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 102.

25. "అరామం కేంద్రం దాజితంకమ్మన

వైరాజాల గెల్చి చారిచేత

మనగజ కంఠాని నూణిక్య గాణిక్య

కన కారణము లుపాయనము అంచె

యాచక్రశేఖరి కభినుతార్థము లిచ్చె

బ్రజల సుందరీంచె భరతు నట్లె

దగ వత్సవాయాఖ్యనగంబు నిజనివా

సముచేసె నది కారణముగ చాగి

వంశమునకు వత్సవాయ నామము లోక

నుప్రసిద్ధ ఘనుచు సాంభుఁ గాంచె..." — Rm. VI., I. Introd.

any one of the above families. The Telugu Cōḍa princes of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Uṇḍirajas of the Haritasa *gōtra*, and the Vatsavāyas belong to the Solar race, and the Cālukya princes of Elamañci, and Vēṅgī belong to the Lunar race. It is, however, interesting to note that the Cālukyas of the Manavyasa *gōtra*, who ruled the coastal Andhra country for nearly four hundred years, from the seventh century A.D., and left many collateral branches behind, do not constitute one of the primary kṣatriya families of the Andhra country, according to the *cōḷu* verse, called the *Kṣatriya-gōtra sīsamālīka* in Telugu, enumerating the *gōtras* of several of the kṣatriya families of the present day. According to this verse which has come down to us from generation to generation, the Rācavāru of the Telugu country were the descendants of four major primary kṣatriya houses, namely, the Kākatiyas, the Kōṭas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varṇātakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vasiṣṭha and Kaundinya *gōtras* respectively.²⁶ Inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries confirm the fact that the Kākatiya and the Kōṭa kings belonged to the Kāśyapa and the Dhanañjaya *gōtras* and had their respective capitals at Waraṅgal and Dhanyavāḍi. They state that the former descended from Karikāla Cōḷa, and the latter from Dhanañjaya. Karikāla Cōḷa, from whom the Cōḷas of the Telugu country trace their descent, was, according to tradition, contemporaneous with his bitter enemy, Trilōcana Pallava. Besides the Kōṭa kings, the Paricchēdis, the Cāgis, the Haihavas, and the Velanāṭis were some of the feudatory families that flourished in the centuries mentioned above. Of these, the princes of the Cāgi family ruled on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa with Guḍimeṭṭa and Vijayavāḍa as their capitals. The later members of this family became Vātsavāyas as stated before. The dominion of the Haihavas, another feudatory family of the same period, who trace their descent from Kārtavīryārjuna, was the Kōṇamaṇḍala. The territory of the Paricchēdis also, like that of the Kōṭa princes, lay in the Guntur district. Very few of their inscriptions have come to light. Even these few have not yet been published. Hence, it is difficult to say if they refer to their *gōtra* in their inscriptions. The identity of the Varṇātakas referred to in the *sīsamālīka*, is difficult to establish. Inscriptions of the early mediaeval Telugu country do not bring to light any family of this name. These Varṇātakas cannot be identified with the Velanāṭi chiefs of Dhanadaprōlu (Tsandavol in the Guntur district), as suggested by some

26 “ (3) మన్మథా పరిచ్ఛేది వర్ణాటక

కోట కాళితరణ పాటవమున

నెగడు వనిన కొండిన్య దనంజయ

కాళ్యప గోత్రముల్ గణన మీరు.....”

scholars, for the simple reason that they belong to the caturthakula or the fourth caste:

The District Manual of Vizagapatam furnishes the following account about the Rācavaru or the Rājus. "In a poem called *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijayam*, the date of which is assigned to 1540 A. D., we are told of an immigration into Telingāna of four Rājaput tribes, the Vasīṣṭha, Dhanañjaya", Kaundinya and Kāśyapa, under the leadership of one Madhavavarma, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of the Salivāhana era, corresponding to 591 A. D. This Madhavavarma is claimed by the Vijayanagaram family as their ancestor, and it is certain that all the Rācavaru of the Northern Circars (that is, the coastal region of the Andhra country) look up to the Maharāja of Vijayanagaram as their head. The Rājaput colonists settled at Bejavāda on the Kṛṣṇa, forming in course of time a petty principality²⁸".

27. It has to be pointed out here that there was a certain Dhanañjaya of Kusasthalapura, one of the several kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, who was defeated by the North Indian emperor, Samudragupta, during his southern campaign. (Fleet's *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 7). This Dhanañjaya of the Kusasthalapura was, as Śrī B. V. Krishnarao states, probably the *gōtrakartā*, the progenitor of the Kōṭa kings, and the opponent of Samudragupta; Śrī Krishnarao identifies Kusasthali with Kollipāka (Vide, his *History of the Early dynasties of the Andhradēsa*, p.). This identification is not tenable; for, the Kōṭa chiefs had nothing to do with Kollipāka. It was the Paricchedis who had the title *Kollipākapuravarādhisvara*, lord of the city of Kollipāka. The Kōṭas, on the other hand, claim to be the lords of Dhānya-vajī (*Dhanyavajīpuravarādhisvara*).
28. A *Manual of the Vizagapatam district*, p. 277. As the late Śrī Lakshmanarao rightly remarks (J. D. L. 1924, p. 58), much reliance cannot be placed upon the date given in the poem of the sixteenth century. It is, however, interesting to find that date almost corresponds to 591 A. D., the date assigned by him to Viṣṇukunḍin Madhavavarman of the Pulombūru grant (C. P. No. 7 of 1913-14; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff; J. D. L. 1924; and *Bharati*, Vol. VII (1930), September issue).

The late Śrī K. V. Lakshmanarao identifies Madhavavarman, referred to in the above passage, with his namesake of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty, the donor of the Pulombūru grant, and assigns him the date 594 A. D.

In this connection the late Śrī R. D. Banerji's remarks are worth noting. He writes, "The name Rājaput was not in existence the sixth century, and even if a migration into the Kṛṣṇa valley is admitted at that time from some unknown place in Northern India, it is not possible to connect such people with genuine Rājaputs of the divine Agnikulas of legends. The subsequent Rājaput intermarriages of the family are no proof of its descent, as, later on, all kings became kṣatriyas, geneologies were provided for them as late as the 16th and 17th centuries (the Koches of Kuch Bihar and the Ahoms of Assam), and in the nineteenth century most princes became Rājaputs."—Quoted from his "*Rājaput Origins in Orissa*, in the *Modern Review*, for March 1928, p. 286.

The date given above for the immigration of Rājaput families is not a final one. If at all this immigration was true, its date has yet to be settled. There is one Mādhavarman of Vijayavāḍa or Bejavāḍa, who figures in the Telugu and epigraphical literature as well, and about whom many traditional stories are current in the Telugu country. He is mentioned in an undated Pallava lithic record²⁹ at Bejavāḍa. This inscription records the following story about him.

"In the Kali age again, as early as the Śāka 117, there was a king famous on earth by name Mādhavarman. The son of this king having killed a child of the woman who eked out her livelihood by selling shoots of the tamarind tree, the king sentenced him to be hanged in order to meet the ends of justice. On seeing this, god Mallēśvara was pleased and rained on him a shower of gold which brought back to life the deceased prince, and the dead baby of the beggar woman. Thus, god Mallēśvara established in this world the fame of that great king (Mādhavarman)."

In an old *cāpu* verse³⁰ in Telugu, king Mādhavarman of Bejavāḍa, to meet the ends of justice, is credited to have cut off the head of his own son, for having killed the son of a woman selling shoots of tamarind. This king is no doubt identical with Mādhavarman of the Pallava inscription referred to above. It is, however, interesting to note that, whereas the inscription ascribes him to Śāka 117, the *cāpu* verse furnishes Śāka 514 as the date of the above event, a date identical with that given by the *Kṛṣṇavijayam*, referred to in the *Manual of the Vizagapatam District*.

Another epigraphical reference to Mādhavarman is provided by the Anumakoṇḍa inscription³¹ of Kākati Prōla II of 1117 A. D. His contemporary, Ugravāḍi Mōlarasa, claims to be a descendant of Mādhavarman who possessed a great army consisting of eight thousand elephants, ten crore horse, and limitless infantry. References

29. Ep. Coll., No. 536 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1910, para 8.

30. అనుభవేంద్ర సజ్జనకులార్జున మాధవవర్మ చింతలం
గాయలు కోసి యమ్ముకొను కట్టెలగుండె(?) తనూజాచావుకై
శ్రీయుక్తుడైనపు త్రితల చేతికి నిచ్చి బెజాడ పాడెనా(?)
పాయక నిర్బు (నిర్బు) వార్ధి శశిబాణశక్తాద్ధములైన కాలమున్ ||

--Ct. Mm., II, p. 76.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 264, l. 91.

to king Mādhavavarman of Bejavāḍa in other *cāṇu* verses³³ and in the Telugu works³⁴ of a later date, show that he was the same as the one mentioned in the Anumakaṇḍa record. So, whatever might be his date,³⁴ it is certain, that tradition and literature maintain that the Rācavāru or the Rājus were the descendants of the four families, the Kakatīyas, the kōṭas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varnātakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vasīṣṭha and Kaundinya *gōtrās* respectively. Their descendants had, in the Reddiperiod, probably different surnames, which it is not possible to identify with the help of the available material. The present day ksatriya families, like the Daṭṭas, the Dantulūris, the Mandapāṭis, the Vatsavāyis, the Pūsapāṭis and so on, claim descent from the afore-said four houses. Of these, the Daṭṭas

32. ఎనిమిదివేల దొంగల యేనుగుల నడి శిల ద్రోక్కిత్రో

క్కని దళలక్ష నాజులును నాలుకుచోని

ఎనయగ నుర్గ యిచ్చె ధన విద్ధధనంజయభీక రాంకుసున్

మనుజవరేణ్యతం బరుగు మాధవవర్మకు గారివలలున్

—Ct. Mn., II, p. 77.

While the number of cavalry according to the inscription is ten crore, it is only one million according to the above verse.

33. Vide, *Bharati* (1930), Vol. VII, p. for extracts relating to Mādhavavarman from the Telugu works.

34. The so-called immigration of the Rajaput families must be placed before the southern campaign of Samudragupta, that is, before 350 A. D., if his adversary, Dhanañjaya, is taken to be identical with the *gōtrakarta* of the Kōṭa chiefs. Consequently, an early date has to be assigned to Mādhavavarman, the hero of the epigraphical as well as of the literary tradition. A Mādhavavarman is mentioned as the progenitor of the kings of Hanumakonda, a town adjacent to Waraṅgal (in the Hyderabad State), whose descent is described in two late Telugu poems, the *Dvipada kāvya Siddhēśvaracaritram*, and its later poetical version, *Sōmadēvarajigam*. The former states that this Mādhavavarman ascended the throne in Śaka 230 and ruled the country for a period of one hundred and sixty eight years. This period for one reign is, no doubt, an exaggeration. In spite of the disparity in dates, Mādhavavarman of the *Siddhēśvaracaritram* and his namesake mentioned in the Bejavāḍa inscription, appear to have been one and the same. The date assigned to him in the *Siddhēśvaracaritram* may not be correct, as many of the incidents and campaigns ascribed to him are supported neither by inscriptions nor by literature. The traditional date recorded for him in the Bejavāḍa inscription may or may not be correct. The two authorities cited above, however, confirm the fact that there was a Mādhavavarman in the early period, who flourished before Samudragupta's Southern campaign. It appears likely that this Mādhavavarman was the leader of the ksatriya immigrants. We have, however, to leave this problem to be solved by future research.

trace their descent from the Kōṭa kings³⁵ of Dhānyavāti. In this connection, it may be recalled that Gannabhūpāla, who accepted dedication of the Telugu work *Dhanāñjaya vijayam* from Śrīnātha, was a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race, the progenitor of the Kōṭa chiefs of Dhānyavāti, and belonged to the Dantulūri family.³⁶ Harisīma Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in an inscription³⁷ at Appāpuram (Guntūr district) dated in Śaka 1327, as having been one of the rulers of the Kōṭa *Bhūmi*. It may be interesting to note in this connection that Sūrām̐ba, wife of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu, was the daughter of Gannabhūpāla who had the titles *Dhānyavātipurādhipati* and *Kṛṣṇareṇṇājalakṣidārinōdum̐du*.³⁸ The name and the titles tempted some scholars to identify this Ganna with his name-sake who accepted dedication of *Dhanāñjaya vijayam*.³⁹ But this Ganna was a kṣatriya, and there might have been another Ganna, a chief of the fourth caste, the father-in-law of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The kṣatriyas of this period in the coastal region had, in general, a chequered political career. They were unsuccessful in building a powerful kingdom and in spreading their power far and wide, like the members of the Sangama family of the Yādava clan. Probably, many of the kṣatriya families were wiped away in the battles waged to save Warāṅgal, and to protect the Kākatiya house. Many of the members of the surviving families either fled away from the country like Annamadēva, the brother of Kākati Pratāparudra, or took a long time to recover themselves from the rude shock of the fall of the Kākatiya power of the Solar line. It is likely that many of the families, in course of time, migrated to Vijayanagar, and took up service under the rising kṣatriya power of the Sangama line.

Vaiśyas.

Vaiśyas constituted the third caste in the Hindu social system. Trade was their exclusive occupation, though early in this mediaeval period some of the members of this caste distinguished themselves as

35. The Telugu poet, Maṅgalagiri Anandakavi, of the 18th century states in his Telugu poem *Vijayanandanavilāsam* that the progenitor of the Daṭṭa princes, to whom he dedicated his work, was Kōṭa Keṭarāja, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race. Members of the Mandapaṭi family are the descendants of Kākatiya of Warāṅgal, and belong to the Kās'yapa *gōtra* and Sūryavaṁśa. The Solar kings of the Pūsapaṭi family of Vijayanagaram in the Vizagapatam district trace their descent from the Paricchedis of the Vas'isṭha *gōtra*.

36. Vide, Dantulūri Bāpārāja's *Mūrtitrayōpakhyaṇam* (A.S.P.P., Vol. V, pp. 819-20 ; Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss., (1910-11 to 1912-13) Vol. I, Pt. iii. R. No. 50, p. 159).

37. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff, The Phirangipuram record.

39. Chilukuri Virabhadrarao's *Śrīnāthakavi*, p. 149.

commanders, and won the favour of the rulers of the country. They were great merchants and bankers. Avaciśeṭṭi was the banker of king Vēmā Reddi and financed him for building steps to Srīśailam and Patalagangā, and probably for raising armies. The Avaci family served the Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu loyally and faithfully, and obtained from them many honours and privileges. Vaiśyas claimed generally to have been born in the lineage of Kubēra. However, Avaci Tippaya, "a contemporary of Kumārāgiri, is described, by poet Śrīnātha, as "an ornament to the lineage of the sage Mañkaṇa" (*"Mañkaṇamaunivamśa mañimaṇḍana"*). From this it is evident that there were some vaiśya families that traced their descent from sages also. Vaiśyas claim to have been lords of Penugonda, Ayōdhyāpura, and Ahicchatra. Of these the last two are well-known; the first is in the West Godavari district in the Telugu country. The vaiśyas were the devotees of god Nagarēśvaradēva (*Nagarēśvaradevadivyaśrīpādapaḍmārādhaka*).

The *Vaiśyavamśasudhākaram*,⁴⁰ a Sanskrit work purporting to be a report of a judicial character produced during this period, provides, some interesting information regarding this caste. It appears from this work that, during the reign of Praudha Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar, some social controversy arose regarding the social status of the vaiśyas and the vaijātiyas. To set this controversy at rest Praudha Dēvarāya entrusted this case to the *dharmāsana* or Civil court at his capital, Vijayanagar, and wanted the issue to be decided once for all, on the basis of an inscription in Kāñcī (Conjeevaram), which recorded a previous decision on the same question. This inscription, Kāñcīn which has not yet come to light, was therefore brought to Vijayanagar at the king's command. The great scholiast, Kolacala Mallinātha, appears to have either presided over the *dharmāsana*, or to have been one of its chief members. He was the author of the report referred to above. In this report Mallinātha alludes very frequently to the

40. It is interesting to note that there is an inscription of a certain Tippiseṭṭi in the Anantapur district (Janigaravandhapalli, a hamlet of Vanavolu, Hindupur taluk), dated in Śaka 1845 Śōbhakṛt. He seems to be a member of the Avaci family, as this record mentions -Śrīriyāśeṭṭi of Tiru-Kāñcināmbikula, presumably his ancestor. As he was the son of Nāgi Seṭṭi and grandson of Taṁbi Seṭṭi, he cannot be identified with Tippaya Seṭṭi, to whom Śrīnātha dedicated his work "*Haraviḷaṣam*".

In the *prasasti* given in this record, (No. 814 of 1917) these vaiśyas are stated to have been experts in the examination of the nine gems. It is further stated that "Agastya was their *purōhita*, Garuḍa, the favourite of Kamalāpriyā, i. e. Viṣṇu, was the banner (*dhvaja*)" of Śrīriyāśeṭṭi. "The title Ayōdhyāpuravarēśvara (lord of Ayōdhyā, the best of towns) is applied to another member of this sect who is said to belong to the Kaṇva-Riśi-gotra".

41. I. I. S., pp. 234 ff.

inscription at Kāñcī. This inscription defines the two terms *vaiśya* and *vaijātiya*, the two common names, then in vogue, of those that were engaged in trade and commerce. According to that record, the *nāgaras*, *ūrujas* and *tritiya-jātiyas* are *vaiśyas*, and one who is borne to a *vaiśya* through a woman of the lower caste is a *vaijātiya*. *Vaiśyas* are entitled to the privileges of *svādhyāya*, *yajana*, and *dana*, of marrying within their own caste, and of following the occupations of trade, agriculture and tending cattle. The Kāñcī inscription includes the *vaṇik*, the *kōmaṭi*, the *vaṇivyāpāri*, the *vaṇijya-vaiśya* and the *uttarādi vaiśya* under *vaijātiyas*, and states that only the *vaiśyas*, and not the *vaijātiyas*, had the exclusive right to trade in all commodities in the twenty-four cities, and the one hundred and eight *dīnya tirupatis* (holy shrines). This seems to be the privilege gained by being counted as a member of the *vaiśya* community. *Kōmaṭis*, according to the above inscription, had only the right to buy and sell paddy (*kōmaṭistu dhānya-vikrayamātre-adhikar-ōṣṭi-yuktam*). The *dharmāsana* in Vijaya-nagar subjected the verdict of the inscription to searching scrutiny again in the light of the *Vēda*, *Smṛti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāna*, *Kāvya* and *Kōśa*, and their well-considered opinion is embodied in the *Vaiśyavamsa-sudhākaram*, drawn up by Mallinātha, obviously on behalf of the *dharmāsana*. A versatile scholar like Mallinātha, with a liberal outlook, proved, with the evidence at his command, that the terms *vaiśya*, *ūruja* and *nāgara*, and *vaṇik*, *kōmaṭi*, *vaṇivyāpāri*, and *vaṇijya-vaiśya* denoting the two sections of the trading class alluded to above, were really synonymous and refer to members of one and the same caste, the *vaiśyas*. Consequently, the distinction of the mercantile community into *vaiśyas* and *vaijātiyas* was once for all abolished, and all the merchants who were called by different names mentioned above, were declared to be *vaiśvas*, members of one and the same community.

Analogous to the subdivisions among the brahman caste, it appears that there were, in early times, sub-divisions among the *kōmaṭis* also, formed on a geographical basis. We come across the term *kamma-kōmaṭi* in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Telugu country. *kamma-kōmaṭi*, like *kamma-brāhmaṇa*, means a *kōmaṭi* of Kammanāḍu. There must have been other similar sub-divisions also, though references to them are absent in the inscriptions of this period. Evidently, by the time we come to the Redḍi period, this division into communities

42. S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 179.

Ibid, Vol. III, No. 136.

Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 1279.

formed on a geographical basis, lost its special significance owing to development in trade, and all those of the same caste who pursued trade as their profession merged together under pressure of circumstances into one corporate body or single community. According to the Telugu work *Haravilāsam*, written by Śrīnātha, the vaiśya caste consisted of one thousand *gō'tras* or families.⁴³ This is corroborated by the *Dharmapālacaritam*, a Telugu work in *dvipada* metre, now lost, but cited as evidence in the Sanskrit work *Vaiśyavāṃśasudhākaram*. This work eulogizes the vaiśyas as the pure people of the thousand *gō'tras* (*sahasra-gō'tra-pavitrulu*). This number reminds us of similar communities of one thousand families, like the Telikis (the Teliki one thousand), and the Velamas (the Velamu one thousand). What the number 'one thousand' indicates is unknown. It cannot be said that the vaiśya community consisted of only one thousand families and not more. From the earliest times, vaiśyas formed into a corporate body, well organised for carrying on trade and commerce in the country. It might be that, at the time when this community turned into a corporate body, there were only one thousand families; or that the membership was restricted to only one thousand *gō'tras*, and that the traditional number persisted ever since.

The number of pure *gō'tras* among the vaiśyas of the Andhra country at the present day is generally stated to be one hundred and two. Originally it was six hundred and twelve. How this number decreased into one hundred and two is explained by the story of Vāsavikanyakā. It is said that Raja Raja Viṣṇuvardhana of the Cālukya family of Rājamahēndranagara invaded Penugonḍa, the chief seat of the Andhra vaiśya community, with the object of capturing the beautiful damsel vāsavikanyakā, whose father Kusuma Setṭi had refused to give her in marriage to the king. Vāsavikanyakā immolated herself in order to save her honour and that of her family, by throwing herself into a burning pit, specially prepared for the occasion. The vaiśya elders of only one hundred and two *gō'tras* followed her example, while the rest fled to different quarters to save their lives.⁴⁴ Ever

43 "వైశ్యావంశయంబున వసుధ వర్ణన కెక్కి—

శయినోత్రంబుల వివరించె గాంచి. " —Hr. VI., II. v, 199.

నందనోప వంశవర్ణనలును, కులాధారి వంశసంధివులును, సిరియాళ్ళ వంశ పావనులును, తిరుక్కవునంది కులదీపకలును, సహస్రనోత్ర పవిత్రులును "

—From the *Dharmapālacaritam*, quoted in the *Vaiśyavāṃśasudhākaram*.

44. This story which is elaborated into a Purāṇa, named the *Kanyaka* or the *Vasavi Purāṇa* by Bhāskarāchārya, the *guru* of the vaiśya community, appears to be of a late origin. The mention of Rajarāja Narēndra, the ruler of the land, son of Viṣṇuvardhana in the inscriptions of private individuals of the vaiśya community in Penugonḍa recording gifts to local deities, casts a doubt on the veracity of the above story.

since that time *Vasavikanyakā* became the tutelary goddess of the *vaiśya* community, and *vaiśyas* of only those one hundred and two *gōtras* are considered to be pure. These *vaiśyas* of Penugonḍa seem to have formed into a separate sect of their own in the composite *vaiśya* caste consisting of one thousand *gōtras*, and were called *Nāgaras* or *Paṭṭaṇasvāmins*. The collective name of this community, as given in inscriptions, is *Nakaramu* which seems to be a corrupt form of *Nagaramu*. A grant made by a member of this community, to a temple at Ghaṇṭasāla⁴⁵ (Kistna district) in Saka 1142 (1220 A. D.) was placed under the care of *Nakaramu* 102, that is, *vaiśyas* of the 102 *gōtras*. This record proves the existence of the *vaiśya* community of one hundred and two *gōtras*, as early as the thirteenth century.

The following *gōtras* of the *vaiśya* caste were taken exclusively from inscriptions of this period. It is possible however to gather names of some more *gōtras* from the records of the previous and later periods:

Varidala <i>gōtra</i>	Appanaṅgakula <i>gōtra</i>
Puccakola <i>gōtra</i>	Cenuśeṭṭi <i>gōtra</i>
Yegāśeṭṭi <i>gōtra</i>	Silakula <i>gōtra</i>
Bodarakula <i>gōtra</i>	Śenaśeṭṭa <i>gōtra</i>
Veṇukula <i>gōtra</i>	Punagōsila <i>gōtra</i>
Vivarisiṭṭa <i>gōtra</i>	Mau(mai?)trēya <i>gōtra</i>

It is worth noting here that Kaupḍinya *gōtra*⁴⁶, an altogether different *gōtra* name from the above, was the *gōtra* of the *Avaci* family.

It is well known that the *kōmaṭis* have separate code terms of their own. They converse with one another in code language about prices of different commodities, so that they might not be understood by members of other communities, if they are present on the spot. It is, however, interesting to find in the Telugu work *Navanāthacaritra* of

45. Ep. Coll., No. 851 of 1917; Ep. Rep. for 1918, para 84, pp. 171-75. Ghaṇṭasāla seems to have been a famous trading centre in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The temple of Jaladhivaramahādēva of that place contains many inscriptions registering gifts of *vaiśyas*, some of whom belonged to Nabela and Middikula *gōtras*.

46. “శుభవిజయస్తోత్రపాఠండును, గౌండియగోత్రపదపాఠండును. చతుష్టయీ విద్యాజన్మ భూమియు, నయోద్యానగరస్వామియు...”—Hr. VI., I. Pr. 7,

Gaurana, a passage⁴⁷ consisting of a few lines in *kōmaṭi-bāsa* (in the language of the *kōmaṭis*). The meaning of this passage is not yet known. We do not know if this above passage intermingled with Telugu words, is made up of the code terms of the *kōmaṭis*, or if it represents altogether a separate language of the *kōmaṭis*, now probably extinct.

Śūdras:

The *śūdras* representing the great mass of people formed into several endogamous groups or communities, called *jātis*, *varṇas*, *kulas*, or *śamayas*. Including these communities the Hindu society is traditionally said to comprise altogether eighteen *jātis*. Several lists of names of these *jātis* are furnished by Sanskrit literature. They do not however agree with one another completely. Nevertheless, the traditional number is the same eighteen. Two important factors seem to have chiefly operated in giving rise to these divisions in the fourth caste, namely, occupation and trade, and geographical divisions. The corporate activity in the fields of trade and occupation manifested itself in the formation of some communities, endogamous in nature. The ancient divisions of the country were responsible for some communal divisions among the fourth caste, like Panṭa, Kamma, Telaga, and Velama.

Some of the members of the fourth caste distinguished themselves by their bravery and skill in the art of warfare, and became reputed generals and officers of State. Kāṭaya Vēma was one of the great generals

47. “తక్కటిపెట్టు నాతనిఁ బిలిపింపఁ
జేరి కోమటి బాసఁ జెప్పె “బట్టింపు
భూరాము సల్లెకు భూరాము లొండె
మరికంటు బోడదమ్మని నొండె నతని
దరిమి గాలము త్రొట దమ్ముల నొండె
మలచంపు బుడుగుల మాసల్లె దొండె
మలయక కాలము మాసల్లె దైన
జలకుల నొండెను జెనఁ జెప్పలోనఁ
దిలకింలే మనుచుఁ జింతింపుచున్నాఁడు
చిరుపల పెట్టి జెప్పె నొండుకడకు
గురిగించి మనము పంజలలోన నొరుల
నునిపి చేరము వోవు నొరపిన భీతి
గొనచు గన్మొకయుండ గుణముగా దనిన...”

and statesmen of the age. Members of the Rēvanūri, Koppunūlla, Paisāla and other families distinguished themselves as great generals and able nāyakas and obtained from their over-lords parasol, umbrella, palanquin and other royal honours and privileges. The Koppunūlla chiefs had the title 'Gajarāvu', a title similar to that of 'Asvārāvu' of a later day. Almost all the States that had come into existence during this period were set up by members of the fourth caste. They bore the brunt of the struggle in the war of independence in this period, and held the reins of government after its re-establishment. Members of the Gurijāla family of the fourth caste established their authority over the province of Sabbinaḍu on the southern bank of the Gōḍavari in the Hyderabad State with their capital at Rāmagiri and ruled the principality, probably as vassals of the rulers of Warāṅgal. Members of the Mangipūḍi family set up, as we already know, their power at Kōrukōṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōḍavari in the East Godavari district. Koṭṭam of the Koppula chiefs was another principality of the members of the fourth caste. There is no need here to mention the kingdoms of the Musunūri chiefs, the Panṭa Redḍis and the Padma Velamas of the Rēceṅḷa *gōtra*, who were the chief actors on the political stage.

The main occupations of the Sūdras were agricultural labour and military service. It was in fact this fourth caste that supplied the great bulk of infantry to the rulers of the country. Some of the sects of the Sūdra caste like Onṭarlu⁴⁸ (Vanṭarlu), exclusively took to military service. Similarly, a great majority of the fourth caste were employed in agriculture and its allied works. Some sects like Balañjas⁴⁹ (corruption-Baliḷa) followed both trade and military service. Some others were engaged in handicrafts.

This period witnessed a change of attitude in the enforcement of the civil law, particularly with regard to the Sūdras. The injunctions of the Dharma Sāstras relating to the fourth caste were not strictly adhered to, as in days of yore. As a matter of fact, with the rise of the Sūdra communities to power, some amount of latitude was allowed to them in respect of certain civil laws and liberties. Some of the rules of conduct, and precepts of the Sāstras concerning the Sūdra caste were either overlooked or disregarded; for instance, in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the right to make a gift of land either to the temple or to the brāhman, was according to the Sāstras, vested only in the ruling king, and not in either the commander-in-chief or even in the prime minister. Now, in the days

48. About Onṭarlu, see, pt. I, Chapter XV, 'Military Organisation And War'.

49. About Balañjas, see, pt. II Chapter VI on 'Industry And Trade'.

of Sūdra political ascendancy, any one and everyone who wanted to make such a gift, did so even without the formal sanction of the king. Similarly, in olden times, the study of Sanskrit literature by the Sūdras was unknown. The *Smṛtis*, in accordance with the rules of division of labour framed by them, did not allow this privilege to them. In this period the Sūdras not only studied Sanskrit *nāṭakas* and *kāvya*s, written by ancient poets, but also wrote new dramas, works on rhetoric and music, and commentaries on philosophical works. This was indeed a great change. These facts attest to the changing spirit of the times. The Sūdra more and more asserted himself and gained gradually more rights and privileges.

Another noteworthy factor that brought about a marked change in the religious outlook of the common man and contributed to shake his absolute faith in the scriptures was the Muslim invasion. The Muslims who destroyed the temples and defaced the idols were not visited with divine wrath, in the way that the Hindus had always implicitly believed. This impaired, to some extent, the faith of the people in general, in the efficacy and the magical powers of religious rites and ceremonies. The conversion of some of the Hindus into Islām also had the same affect. These conversions into Islām mitigated the fear of sin in the ordinary man. As a result of these factors, the moral back-bone of the society became weakened, and the ethical structure, on which the Hindu society was primarily based, suffered a heavy blow. The gradual decrease in fear of sin in the common man is clearly borne out by the comparative change in tone in imprecations, and by the increase in number and variety of such verses at the end of donative records, both lithic and copper-plate, of the early mediæval and later mediæval periods. With the shedding of this fear, there had come a change in the mental attitude of the Sūdra.

Another important factor that made the common people realise their power and strength, and infused in them self-confidence, is the glorious victory they won in the war of independence, without the leadership and guidance of the princes of the ancient Solar and Lunar royal families. Virtually, all these lifted up mentally the ordinary man from his stupor and brought about a change in the society.

Courtesans:

Any account of the Hindu society of the mediæval period is not complete without the mention of vēśyas or the courtesan class. They were the custodians of art, specially of music and dance. They learnt these arts from brāhman teachers, and acquired high proficiency

in them. By their accomplishments and skill in the fine arts they attracted wealthy people to their houses and made their living. Though they were members of the śūdra caste, they were honoured alike by the learned and the aristocracy. The houses of well-to-do courtesans were equipped with high-class artistic furniture. It was not deemed dishonorable to have in those days a courtesan as one's mistress, besides one's lawful wife. Wealthy courtesans who were the mistresses of great nobles and kings, exercised much influence in society, and probably in the administration of the country also, and were held in high esteem.

Caṇḍālas :

Besides the traditional four castes there was another caste that of the caṇḍālas, the lowest one, formed in course of centuries as an appendage to the four castes in the Hindu society. Even the very touch and sight of a caṇḍāla was considered to pollute a member of a higher caste ⁵⁰. As such, they were called 'an̐tarūnīvāru', untouchables. A caṇḍāla was prohibited from coming near and witnessing religious ceremonies performed in the house of *agravarnas* and in temples. It was however considered to be a pious and meritorious act to provide him with food. ⁵¹ Though he was kept out of the pale of the Hindu society, he was indispensable for its economic well-being, and was the main stay of the agrarian labour. They had their habitations at a distance from the village. They worshipped goddess Ēkavīra and sang her praises and stories to the accompaniment of dance. They adored also village goddesses like Māhuramma.

Mussalmans :

It is likely that there were small Moorish settlements in well-known seaports like Mōḷupalli, even before the Muslim invasions of the Deccan. The Arabs and the Moors engaged in coastal traffic and horse-trade, were visiting the Andhra country long before the thirteenth century. There was intercourse between the Muslim States in Northern India and the Hindu kingdoms to the south of the Tapatī, ever since 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji's first invasion of the Andhra country.

50. "స్నానమొనర్చి భారపరిధానము లనన్ భరియించి యంబుగఁగా
గాని మనుష్యులం గనక"

—Rk. Cr., I, v. 95.

51. "కడళాభినాని యాశలిఁ దీర్చిన యతండు
కరకురి స్వర్ణలోకమున నుండు ... "

—Ibid, II, v. 77.

The Bahmanī Sultāns, the Mussalman kings of the Deccan, extended their kingdom and power with the aid of religion and religious divines. They found at first that the Hindu kings of the Deccan were stronger and more powerful than themselves. They could not overcome them by mere strength of arms. They were aware that the common Muslim soldier cared only for his wages and plunder, and was not interested in the schemes of conquest of Hindu kingdoms, and territorial aggrandisement. Hence, they knew that some thing was wanted to fire the imagination of the soldier and implant in him a firm faith in the cause. This is true not only in the case of the Muslims but also of the Hindus. Here religion came in handy for achieving the ruler's ambitions. The Sultāns proclaimed religious wars against the Hindus and infused religious fanaticism into the minds of their co-religionists. Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad writes, "Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory and reviving of the customs of religious warfare (*jehād*), he (Muḥmad Shāh I Bahmanī) in the spring time of his reign, and in the beginning of his grandeur, collected a well-equipped army and started for Bilāmpattam" ⁵² (Veluṃputtam).

During one of the campaigns of Muḥammad Shāh I against Vijayanagar, Bhōj-Mul, according to Ferishta, "commanded (on behalf of the king of Vijayanagar) the brāhmanas to deliver every day, to the troops, discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brāhmanas also to rouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows⁵³." It is said that ten thousand brāhmanas were slain by Muḥammad Shāh I in a single campaign⁵⁴. In fact, the Muslim kings had recourse to these religious wars against the Hindus ever since the inception of their power in the Deccan. According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was advised by Shaikh Muḥammad Širāj Junaidi to collect an army and wage a religious war (*jehād*) till he brought the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islām⁵⁵. It is evident from this that it was only by waging a religious war (*jehād*) that the Bahmanī Sultāns succeeded in firmly establishing their power in the Deccan and extending their kingdom. Almost all the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga declared religious wars against the Hindus.'

52. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 18.

53. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 314.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

55. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 285.

Successive waves of Muslim invasions tended to the growth of Muslim colonies in all the important political centres and provincial capitals. During their first occupation of the Telugu country, the Muslims wielded great political influence as the members of the ruling caste.

The repressive policy, which the Muslim rulers unwisely adopted after the subjugation of the Andhra country, fostered discontent and resulted in rebellion. Later on, after the loss of Telingānā, the Muslim rulers realised the necessity of changing their policy, and tried to be on friendly terms with the Hindus. In spite of some withdrawals, most of the Muslims became permanent settlers in the country. Consequently, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy, they constituted a permanent factor in the population, and became the subjects of the Hindu rulers. They lived side by side with the Hindus and both the communities learnt to tolerate and understand each other. With the progress of time, each community reacted on the other in diverse ways, and both the Hindus and the Muslims were affected by each other's social traits, customs and beliefs.

During the Muslim occupation of the country there were conversions of the Hindus to the Islāmic faith, though on a small scale. Many Hindu prisoners of war were converted to the Muslim faith, and history records that Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagar dynasty, and his brothers were converts, originally Hindu captives of war who purchased their liberty by embracing Islam. By their loyalty and faithfulness the Hindu converts won the favour of their lords and occupied high places in the State under Muslim rule. Shams-i-Shirāj 'Afif gives, in his *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, a short account of a native of Telingānā by name 'Kaṭṭu' (or 'Kannu'), an officer of the last Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra, who was taken captive by the emperor, Muḥamad bin Tughlaq, in his invasion of Warāṅgal. He earned his liberty by embracing Islam and was called Malik Maqbūl after his conversion. He gained the favour of the emperor and eventually rose to the position of the Deputy Wazir of Delhi.⁵⁶ Many classes of Muslims from North India and from the neighbouring countries in the West, came in search of service in the civil and military administration and as traders. Religious divines and fakirs also came and settled in the Andhra country. Mosques were erected in important towns like Warāṅgal and Rājamahēndravaram. Mention is made of '*Turkala masīdu*' (mosque of the Muslims) in the Telugu drama, '*Kriṣṇabhirāman*' written by Vallabhāmātya. The Mosque at Rājamahēndravaram was built in 1324 A. D. After the occupation of the coastal country

56. E. D., Vol. III, pp. 367-368.

the Muslim rulers converted many Hindu temples into mosques. In course of time, the Muslims settled in the Andhra country, joined the army of the Hindu rulers and held also small appointments in the State.

After the re-conquest of some of the provinces of the Andhra country by the Bahmanī Sultān, Firūz Shāh, the Muslim governors who were deputed to rule over them, were considerate and sympathetic to the Hindus. Some inscriptions⁵⁷ at Vēdātri (in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district) show that some Muslim governors "established feeding houses and water-houses for the benefit of the public, dug many tanks, and performed many marriages by benefaction". Though it is not explicitly stated in these records, the people for whose advantage these benefactions were made, were in all probability Mussalmans.

The affect of the mutual contact between the Hindus and the Mussalmans was perceptible in the sphere of culture to some extent. The new type of Muslim dance (*Pārasika-nartana*) attracted the Hindus so much that experts in *Nāṭya Śāstra*, like Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, introduced it into their treatises on dance in the name of *Mattalli-nartana* and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it⁵⁸. Belief in Astrology and Palmistry among the Mussalmans was great, and to some extent the former was responsible for the failure of the first invasion of Muhammad bin Tughlaq against Warāṅgal. It is likely that there were some admirers of Hindu Vēdānta among the Muslims; Sūfism is believed to be much influenced by Vēdānta, and its counterpart in Islām.

57. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

58. Vide, Chapter VII, (Pt. II), on Games And Amusements.

APPENDIX.

Surnames and gōtras of some brāhman donees known from some of the records of this period.

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
Ākunūri	Kausika	Jonnalagadda	Kaundinya
Ākunūri	Bhāradvāja	Jallipalli	Sanḍilya
Aṁpada	Harita	Jallipalli	Vasiṣṭha
Anumakoṇḍa	Hārita	Kalaṅgara	Kaundinya
Artaṅgūri	Bhāradvāja	Kaljara	Kaundinya
Ātukūri	Harita	Kaluvakka	Harita
Bārajyōsya	Kaundinya	Kaṅcarepalli	Kaundinya
Beldēvi	Kāśyapa	Kandāḍa	Vadhūla
Bodḍapalli	Harita	Kandugula	Srīvatsa
Boggara	Kaundinya	Kandukūri	Harita
Bōnagiri	Kaundinya	Kappagantu	Kāśyapa
Bondalapāṭi	Śuṅga-Bhāradvāja	Kargā	Ātrēya
Bonta	Kaundinya	Kōlalapalli	Kāśyapa
Cadapalli	Kaundinya	Kollūri	Bhāradvāja
Caṁṇipi	Harita	Koṇḍūri	Bhāradvāja
Candalūri	Kaundinya	Kondaḷi	Ātrēya
Cēmakūra	Bhāradvāja	Kōrumballi	Bhāradvāja
Cēṇjerla	Bhāradvāja	Kōrumgaṇṭi	Sanḍilya
Ceguvu	Kāśyapa	Kōvūri	Kaundinya
Cilipēddi	Srīvatsa	Kramadhāṭi	Bhāradvāja
Ciṭi	Harita	Krottūri	Harita
Cukkaboṭṭa	Srīvatsa	Maddūri	Srīvatsa
Dāsula	Kaundinya	Mallela	Kāśyapa
Dēvarapu	Bhāradvāja	Malrāvu	Kaundinya
Dhīrarla	Bhāradvāja	Mānapuri	Ātrēya
Duṇḍigaḍa	Kāśyapa	Maṇḍapāka	Parāsara
Dvādasī	Harita	Maṇḍavelli	Kāśyapa
Elukugu	Harita	Maṇḍuṅgūri	Bhāradvāja
Gaḍḍapalli	Bhāradvāja	Maratūrita	Harita
Gannavara	Parāsara	Mare	Bhāradvāja
Golapalli	Srīvatsa	Mirtipāṭi	Sanḍilya
Gūḍaparti	Kāśyapa	Muḍiṇṇa	Kaundinya
Guḍivāḍa	Kausika	Maṇḍjapi	Kaundinya
Guṇṭūri	Kapi	Narlūri	Vadhūla
Inguvu	Śaunaka	Narluvāda	Srīvatsa

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
Nāntaki	Kauṇḍinya	Śarasvati	Kauṇḍinya
Paṃalapāṭi	Kauśika	Sādhu	Harita
Paṃnāla	Kauṇḍinya	Singarēmi	Kāśyapa
Pedapūṇi	Harita	Singarēmi	Harita
Pedapūṇi	Bhāradvāja	Śrikoṇḍa	Harita
Peñcēṭi	Bhāradvāja	Śrikoṇḍa	Kaṇva
Penuṃballi	Harita	Subruvīṭi	Bhāradvāja
Peyyala	Kauṇḍinya	Sundila	Bhāradvāja
Ponuṅḍōṭi	Ātrēya	Talletata	Kauṇḍinya
Pōraṅki	Kauṇḍinya	Taṅḡellapalli	Saṇḍilya
Poṭṇūri	Saṇḍilya	Tettira	Bhāradvāja
Pōtri	Saṇḍilya	Uṇḍrukoṇḍala	Gautama
Prōkēṭi	Ātrēya	Vaḍḍaṅguṇṭala	Bhāradvāja
Pulupāka	Kāśyapa	Vallūri	Bhāradvāja
Rājanaṃpāṭi	Śrīvatsa	Vallūri	Kauṇḍinya
Rājukoṇḍa	Yaska	Vāraṇāsi	Sālaṅkāyana
Rājukoṇḍa	Kāśyapa	Vaṭṭi	Saṇḍilya
Rāli	Kauṇḍinya	Veluṃpalli	Vadhūla
Rāmpalli	Bhāradvāja	Yādavani	Kauśika
Rāmpalli	Śrīvatsa	Yēḡuva	Mauna-Bhārgava.

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

We know very little of the fashions and modes, sartorial or otherwise, of the people in the period under review. The few references to dress and ornaments in the accounts of foreign travellers are more in the nature of generalisations, not giving any details and particulars. However, this information supplemented by literary references, gives us a general idea of the costumes and jewels which were commonly in use in this period.

Nicolo de Conti, the Venetian traveller, gives the following information about dress and ornaments of the Indians in general.

"The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this garment of linen or silk, which, with the men descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems"¹

The scanty dress of the Indians did not fail to attract the attention of foreigners. A still earlier traveller of the thirteenth century, named Friar John of Montecervino, observes thus: "Indian men wear a cloth round the loins, and the boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb."²

DRESS

Dōvati and *uttariyam* formed the general dress of elderly men. There were many varieties in the silk and cotton *dōvatis* and *uttariyams*

1. Major, Conti, pages 22-23.

2. *Foreign Notices*, p. 189.

having different colours and a variety of exquisite borders. Telugu works of this period enumerate a number of such silk and cotton clothes which were available in this period.³ Even in silk there were many varieties like *dasūri paṭṭu*, *chīni paṭṭu* and so on.

Cira (saree) and *ṛaika* (bodice) was the ordinary dress worn by women. There were many varieties in sarees and the cloth used for *ṛaikas* also. *Yamunāṛaika*,⁴ and *baṅgāru-pūmala ṛaika* were two varieties worn by Bondilis⁵ and rich people. Women stitched their bodices themselves at home. There were, however, tailors⁶ (*kuṭrapuvāṇḍru*) also to stitch them for low class women.

Coloured cloth, either dyed or printed, found favour with the people of those times. The colours that were very fashionable and popular in those times among the aristocratic and high class people were scarlet, pink, rose, saffron and red, all different shades and varieties of the same red colour. *Nirkāvi*, *ceṅgāvi*, *cendirakavi dōvatīs* and *cīras* were liked immensely both by men and women. Cloths dyed in deep red and blue also, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Striped sarees, those with three borders, and those with printed borders of swans, squirrels, parrots, lions, elephants, horses, and peacock-tails⁷, appear to have been common. Sarees of golden border *paṣiḍi-kummi*, *cīras* were worn by rich people.

Learned men and poets wore a kind of cap, called *kuḷḷā*⁸, on head and tied *kōḷa*, long cloth round it. Poet Śrīnātha informs us that he

3. See, Chapter IX (Pt. II) on Industry And Trade. The Telugu work *Sīthasānanatrimisika* mentions not less than forty-two varieties of cloths plain, printed, and dyed with different borders and colours, and six sorts of silk cloths.

4. "... నానా రంగుల సీతల పువ్వుల పాత్రులను కట్టికొనియు
యము నా కట్టికొనియు వాడు ... " — Ct. Mm., I, p. 124.

5. A sect of people who claim to be kṣatriyas.

6. The Telugu poet Vallabhaṇāṭya gives a fine description of *kuṭrapuvāṇḍu*, a tailor, in his work, *Kṛdābhīraṇam*.

7. Sm. dv., I, iii. 188; Hr. Vl., V. v. 38; Pn. cr. I, pp. 72 and 133.

8. It may be pointed out here that it had been an ancient custom in India for a scholar or a learned *vidvān* to wear a kind of cap. Commenting on the portrait of Dīḡnāgacārya, the Buddhist logician, which he published in his work, *the History of Indian Logic*, the late Sri Satis Candra Vidyabhūṣaṇ writes thus :

"A peculiarity of the likeness is its cap. In the early Buddhist Church monks were not allowed to wear any head-dress With the introduction of the Mahāyāna in the first century A.D., by Kāṣka, a great change was effected in the dress of monks and caps of various shapes were invented. The hat worn here (by Dīḡnāgacārya) is called *Panchenshwa-dmar* or "*Paṇḍita's red cap*" with a pointed peak and long,

wore *kullā*, *kōka* and *mahākūrpāsam*⁹ when he went to the court of the Vijayanagar ruler, Praudha Dēvarāya. This may well be taken as a courtier's dress of those times. *Mahākūrpāsam*, long coat, is otherwise called *niducatta* in Telugu. Short coat was called *aracatta*. It is likely that the *kūrpāsa* (*kūrpāsam*), whether long or short, was embroidered with silver and gold. It is needless to say that plain coats also have been in use. This form of dress worn by courtiers and nobles was in vogue in the early years of the sixteenth century also. Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, furnishes the following description about the dress of the people.

"The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in the front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands."¹⁰

Mahākūrpāsa and *kullā* mentioned by poet Śrīnātha are, no doubt, identical with white shirts of cotton or silk, and silk or brocade caps respectively, described by Barbosa. The dress of the people in general in South India was almost the same during this period, whether they were the natives of 'the kingdom of Narsinga' proper, or of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This is attested to by the foreign traveller, Varthema who came to South India in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was at Vijayanagar in 1504 A.D. He thus writes about the dress of the people there: "Their dress is this: the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle". He observed

lappets. The lappets of the cap were lengthened in proportion to the rank of the wearer."

"It is not known when the "*Pandita's cap*" was first introduced. It is said to have been taken to Tibet in 749 A. D., by Śanta Rakṣita....."—p. 271.

It seems likely that the custom of wearing caps by men of letters was coming without a break from the Buddhist period. It is probable that the shape of the cap might have changed a little in course of centuries.

9. "శుభ్రం యుంచితం నోక నుట్టిరి మహాకూర్పాసముం దొడిగిరి"
వెల్లలిక్ ... — Ct. Mm., I.

10. Barbosa, I, p. 205.

that the laws, manner of living, dress, and customs of the people of Pulicat (in Ma'bar) were the same as at Calicut." 11

There were rough as well as very fine cloth which was all hand-spun and hand-woven. Kings and nobles put on fine muslins, which, when worn, looked like the covering of the dew. There were some costly white muslin *doratis* resembling the foam of the flowing moonlight, and white sarees of the likeness of the flood of milk. 12 Kuruvas and other low class people used to cover their bodies with rugs woven of the wool of the sheep. These rugs were not generally articles of dress. They were greatly used for covering the body in the winter season.

The general form of the head-dress of men was turban. Turbans were tied by people in different fashions in and out of court. The wearing of a turban seems to have been essential for courtiers and nobles. The juggler's turban was different from that of others. He used to tie it a little to a side with a tire, leaving the ends of the garment hanging on the back like a tassel. Some of the servants of State and wrestlers also tied their turbans in a similar fashion 13. *Rāca lenkas* (servants of kings) covered their bodies with shawls or blankets 14.

11. *Varthema*, Jones, p. 195. With regard to Calicut, Ibid p. 143.

12. "జలమున జలకంబు చతురతఁ దీర్చి
మం చావరించిన మాడ్కి-ని జలగు
మించిన చీరలు పెచ్చుగాఁ గట్టి..."

—Nv, cr., p. 53.

"పరపైన వెన్నెల నుగువుల పోలికఁ
దనరారు ధవళ వస్త్రములు గట్టి..."

—Vs. Rm., I, v. 38.

"పిలుంగు పొక్కిలి యను పొజ్జ పల్లముఁ గప్పుఁ
బాలవెల్లువ వంటి చేలఁ గట్టి..."

—Ct. Mm., I, p. 184.

"కట్టిరి సన్నపుం దనువుఁ గావి కట్టికట్టి మేనిరిగఁపై..."

—Vkr, cr., IV, v. 100.

13. "తిలకంబు కన్నూరిఁ దిలకించి చొక్కెలు
చెంగులపాగతోఁ జెన్ను మీఱఁ..."

—Sm. Dev., II, XI, v. 133

తిలకంబు దళమాగాఁ దీర్చి చెంగులపాగ
తలముడితోఁ చొక్కె మలవరించి..."

—Ibid, VII, V. 45.

14. "అనినం దివియు మనుచు నయ్యుద్దఱుం గప్పిన దుప్పలు
తొలంగఁబడి..."

—Ibid, VII, Pr. 30.

Contemporary Telugu literature furnishes descriptions of the costumes of brāhmanas, shepherds, wrestlers, jugglers, pilgrims etc. The brāhman's and the labourer's dress was generally very simple. The former used to wear a *dīvati* and an *uttariyam*, an under garment and an upper garment respectively; while the latter had a loin cloth or *kaupīnam*, a small piece of cloth worn over the privities, and a turban on the head. Shepherds put on *pilipāgalu*, turbans adorned with peacock's tails or feathers of a thrush, a waist garment with a girdle cord of cotton or wool tied over it, and covered their head and body with a rug (*gongādi*) hanging over their backs¹⁵. Even in the statues representing shepherds in temples of the early and late Vijayanagar periods, we can recognise this rug which was characteristic of the shepherd's attire. They had also in their hands a long and stout bamboo staff, easily distinguishable from others. The wrestler's dress consisted of a cloth tied firmly over the loins, a girdle cord wound round it tightly, and a tasseled turban wound round over the head, combining the knot of hair as to form a tyre.¹⁶ A juggler wore an anklet on his left leg, and amulets

15. “శ్రీలిపాగయు మొలక పెట్టిన పిల్లఁ
గ్రోలు మాపున నిడుకొన్న గొడ్డలియు
నొసపుగా మనుగిడ్డ యొరగొంగడియు ...
గురిజ పూసల పేరు బొంగుఁ గోలయును
గానె దట్టియు మీఁదఁ గదియ విగించి ... ” —*Nr. Cr. I. p. 27.*

16. The following verse gives a good picture of a wrestler of those times.

“జలకంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గాసించి
చెలిత్రాడు కాసెపైఁ బలియఁ బుట్టి
దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోహకంచుకలీల
జగిబిగి గల నల్ల జగు రహస్వి
వక్షఃసలంబున రక్షపూసలపేరు
దండతాయెతులను దగ భరించి
తిలకంబు దళిమగాఁ దీర్చి చెఁగులపాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొక్కె మలవరించి
కేలఁ బుల్లతియును నీలిమూలఁనఁబూని
కేలిగతిఁ గటారిశోల వట్టి
సంగడిలు గొల్వఁ జనుచెంచె నొకమత్త
గజముభంగి కలకఁకంటకుండు” — *Sm. Dv., II, VII, v. 45.*

of tiger's claws, and a turban with a tyre. He had a sword and a shield with the figure of Hanumanta drawn over it in his hand. "

Both the Telugu poets, Gaurana and Palkuriki Sōmanātha, provide us with beautiful descriptions of pilgrims visiting holy places. Besides the *dōvati* or nether-garment and the *uttariyam* or upper garment they wore *kuppasamulu* or short coats, umbrellas and sandals. The other equipment of a pilgrim consisted in a wallet (*karatitti*), staff, and a yoke with slings attached to each end for carrying burden upon the shoulders. ¹⁷ Going to Kāñcī, one of the nine holy places for a pious and religious Hindu to visit, was believed to be a sacred act giving merit. Since a visit to Kāśī (Vārāṇasī) was attended with risk and danger to life, some of the Hindus of those days contented themselves by visiting only Kāñcī, for, in those days when there were no good roads, conveyances and efficient central police organisation, a journey to it was comparatively less difficult and dangerous than to Kāśī, though it entailed much trial and suffering. The pilgrim visiting Kāñcī used to fetch home a pilgrim's yoke called *Kañci kāvadi* laden with, besides his personal belongings, many things purchased at that holy place. Sōmanātha describes very elaborately the pilgrim caravan visiting the holy Srīśailam in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritram*. He gives in this connection a detailed description of the

17. The following verse gives a good description of a magician or juggler of the times under review.

“అయ్యోడ నొకక్రొత్తయైన మహావీరుఁ

డండియ డాకాల నమరఁబూని

బాగుగాఁ బులిగోరు పట్టుడిందుగఁ గట్టి

నుచుపార మేనఁ జందన మలంది

దిలకంబు కస్తూరిఁ దిలకించి చొక్కెంబు

చెంగులపాగతోఁ జెన్నమీఱి

హనుమంతుఁ వ్రాసిన యరిగెబిళ్ళయు వాల్చఁ

గరమఁ జనులక్ష్మి గడ్డలు కొనఁగ

నొకఁడు వచ్చె” —Sm. Dv., II, XI, v. 183.

18. “.....అందఱును

ధీగయాత్రలు సేయు లెఱుగు నటించి

కుటుపట్టుగొడుగులుఁ గొలలుఁ గావి

యజుల దోవకులు నోరచ్చు చెప్పలును

దేవత్రాజులుఁ గరతిత్తులుఁ గంచి

కావళ్ళు మాత్రులఁ గైకొని చెడరి...” —Nv, Cr, V, p. 275.

gait, dress, and equipage of the different sections of the caravan of both the sexes.¹⁹

Growing long hair was a fashion and an age-long custom among men and women in the Hindu society. They took special care in dressing and arranging it in different beautiful fashions. A study of the hair-dress of men and women in both the Amarāvati and the Nāgārjunakonda sculptures shows that there were many varieties in looping, fastening and tying the hair. Different modes of arranging the hair were in vogue in the country from the early centuries till the middle ages. The truth of this statement is borne out by sculptural representations of men and women, especially of heroes and dancing women, found in temples belonging to the early and late mediaeval period, at many of the holy places in the Andhra country. Men had their hair arranged in different kinds of knots, tight and loose, and in different loops. This kind of knot was called *krummuḍi*. Some had these knots either on the crown of the head, or a little to its right or left above the ears. Some twisted their tresses and gathered them in a lump, or tied them in a conical fashion, or in the fashion of a semicircular fan or of a bun shaped knot. The head dress of warriors (*virapurushulu*), as represented in the statues found at Tripurāntakam, Waraṅgal, and other Śaivite holy places, gives us an idea of the different patterns then in vogue, in the coastal Andhra country as well as in Telinganā. Women had their tresses either plaited or arranged in loops or twisted in different knots, in accordance with their individual tastes. *Kiljaḍa* (a woman's plaited hair hanging on the back) was one of the favourite patterns popular with young women of those times. Both men and women decorated their heads profusely with scented flowers, garlands composed of flowers of different colours, and costly ornaments. Children, boys and girls, had their hair plaited, and arranged in tyres.

Sandals:

Both men and women wore comely sandals. Each and every set of foot-wear was greatly beautified with tassels and other decorations revealing great workmanship and art. Sandals were made of light wood, leather, ivory and metal²⁰. Some of

19. The passage is a very lengthy one. It extends to forty six pages in crown octavo.

See, Pn. Cr., II, pp. 306-352.

20. “పాదపదు సంబువుల్ బెడంగు పనేడి

గొడగుల బావలుఁ గూడ లోహంబు

పావలు, దంతంబు పావలు, రాగి

పావలు, వాగెల పాదరక్షలును

దొడిగిరి..... ” Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 307.

the sandals (*ceppulu*) produced, while walking, great creaking sound, while some were noiseless. *Malakavalla kirru ceppulu*, the creaking shoes of the Malakas, or Mussalmans, are referred to in the Telugu work, *Kṛiḍābhirāma*²¹. Besides these there were other patterns also producing creaking sound, adorned with tassels of gold, silver and other materials²². Light wooden sandals with excellent finish having gold knobs²³ with pommelled heads in the fore part were worn by the Sādhus, religious people and others, during religious rites and indoor work. There were jingling sandals, made of porcelain glass²⁴ also worn by rich people.

Canes :

Generally no elderly person went out without either a walking stick, a staff or a cane in hand. The staff of a religious person was called *gauribettamu*. A cane or a staff was generally an ornament to the hand, and at times a necessary requisite also. There were canes of different patterns with gold, silver, or ivory handles of high workmanship, carved out into different shapes of birds and animals, and set with precious stones. When inlaid skilfully with appropriate stones of different colours, the handles of canes were made to look exactly like birds, or animals. Generally, they were fashioned into faces of lions, *makaras*, and elephants, and profusely ornamented with precious stones. There were different varieties of canes in use, canes of brilliant hues, toothed canes, notched or dart shaped canes, bamboo canes of golden hue, and Malaka canes²⁵ and so on.

21. “క్రొత్తమలకవాళ్ళ కిట్టు చెప్పలు. . . .” — Kd. Rm., v. 162.

22. “నిద్రహా కుచ్చుల యుద్ధాలు కిట్టని మ్రోయఁగా . . .” — Sm. Dv., II, x. v. 83.

23. “కనకంపుగొడుగు పాగాలు . . .” — Hr. VI., VII. v. 137.

24. “నాజుపింగాణి నిల్కలపాచలు . . .” — Rk. Cr., IV, v. 35.

25. “... . నన్నె బెత్తమల్ నలిబెత్తములును

నలయంబు బెత్తమల్ మలకబెత్తములు

గక్కబెత్తములును గొరబెత్తములు

జక్కని పెదురు పొంజాయ బెత్తములు

సైరణి గోలలు సందనంబులును

గైరంబు లాకులు గనుపదండములు

ననసుల కోలలు.” — Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 310.

Mention is made of *Malakavalla kirru ceppulu* in the Telugu works of this period. Here we have *Malaka bettamulu*. *Malakavalla kirru ceppulu* may mean

Umbrella:

Chatra, an umbrella is a dire necessity in a tropical climate. Umbrellas were in use in this country even from the pre-Christian era, as is attested to by the ancient Buddhist works. They refer to patterns with *maṇḍalabaddha* and *śalākābaddha* frames²⁶, and prepared with matting or leaves. Representations of umbrellas which were in vogue in the early Buddhist period in the Andhra country, can be seen in the bas-reliefs from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The Western Caḷukya king, Sōmēśvara, describes in the section *Chatrabhōga* in his *Abhilaṣītarthacintāmaṇi*, white-clothed umbrellas, adorned with pearl tassels and pendants of sapphires, corals, and with a golden *kalāśa* at the top. Umbrellas with shafts of gold, silver, and ivory set with gems²⁷ and covered with gold and silk cloths, were worked out beautifully. Generally, they were of two varieties, one which is always kept open, and the other which is made to open and shut according to convenience. Both these varieties were in use in the times under review. The former, made out of palm leaves and *mōḍuga* (*Butea frondosa*) leaves, seems to have been the common variety in use in those days.

Umbrella acquired special importance by its inclusion in the royal paraphernalia. Hence, parasol was a badge of honour and distinction granted only by the ruler of the land. The wearing of special varieties of umbrellas was a privilege granted only to a few who were in the favour of the king. The use of a white silk umbrella, the State umbrella as it was called, was the exclusive privilege of the king and no one was allowed to wear it. Umbrellas covered with blue cloth were worn by kings and princes during hunting excursions. White umbrellas, umbrellas decorated with or prepared with peacock tails, pearl umbrellas, umbrellas of honour and distinction, white silk umbrellas and foldable umbrellas were some of the varieties mentioned in the *Puṇḍitārādhyaṇī*.²⁸ Marignolli,

sandals worn by the *Malaka* people, probably Mussalmans. If this surmise is correct *Malaka bettanu* may be taken to mean a cane used by the Mussalmans in general. It is likely that they used canes, different in sort from those used by the Hindus. It is also possible to take the term to mean a *Malaka* cane imported from Malacca and the Far East.

26. C. Sivaramamurti—*Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 96.

27. *Abhilaṣītarthacintāmaṇi* III, xvii-xviii, vv. 1840—49, pp. 378—79.

28. “కడు సాంకమగు తెలి గొడుగులుఁ బీలి

గొడుగులు ముత్యాల గొడుగులు విరుదు

గొడుగులు తెలిపట్టు గొడుగులు మోడ్పు

గొడుగులు.....” —Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 311.

a foreign traveller of the first half of the fourteenth century was the first among the European travellers who visited India, to notice umbrellas which are made to open and shut. He says, "But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent roof on a cane handle, *which they open out at will* as a protection against sun and rain. This they call *chatyr*." Barbosa also observed the use of umbrella by men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga,' and remarks that, of these umbrellas, some were made of finely worked silk²⁹ with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. He further observes, "They are so made as to open and shut, and may cost three or four hundred *cruzados*"³⁰ "

29. As time went on, there seems to have come into vogue other umbrellas also. In the early days of the East India Company there were in use umbrellas called *roundells* or *arundells* and *catysols*. The latter is of "the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle, carried three or four feet or more above a man's head." A good description of the former is given in the following lines by Thomas Bowrey in his *Geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal (1669-1679)* (edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Temple Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. XII, p. 85).

"They (*Roundells*) are very light but of exceeding stiffness, being for the most part made of Rhinoceros hide, very decently painted and Gilded with what flowers they (people) admire. On the outside exactly in the midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by which the Roundelliers (*Roundell-boy*) doth carry it, holding it up, with one hand, a foot or more above his Master's head directing the Centre thereof as opposite to the ☉ (*Sun*) as possible he may".

Probably, this type of umbrella of distinction came into use during the rule of the Kutub Shahis of Golconda.

The editor furnishes the following interesting note in this connection.

"The use of umbrellas, especially of roundells, formed the subject of sumptuary regulations on the part of the Company for over a century. The allusion in the text (I omitted that portion) is to a fulmination at Masulipatam during Streynsham Master's visit, 16th Aug. 1676 (*Diary of Streynsham Master*, p. 41) -- "There being an ill custome in the Factory of writers having roundells carried over their heads which is not used or allowed by the Government of the Towne, but only to the Governour and three next principall officers and to two or three eminent merchants of ancient standing and by the Dutch only their Chief, Second, and Third, who are of their Councell, and at Fort St. George is allowed only to the Councell and Chaplaine. It is therefore ordered that noe person in this Factory shall have a roundell carried over them but such are of Councell and the Chaplaine."

Even in the days of the East India Company such privileges and honours were so zealously guarded by its servants also, just as among the Hindus.

ORNAMENTS

Jeweller's art was in a flourishing condition. The references to ornaments, in contemporary literature and inscriptions of the period suggest that there was a great variety of ornaments in the time of the Reddi kings than in the previous periods. The high class people had a taste for fine, and beautiful things, and went in for articles of fine workmanship. The low class people emulated their example, and bought things of beauty in different and cheap varieties. Thus, from the lowest to the highest, and from the poor to the rich, all cultivated an aesthetic taste for beautiful ornaments of some kind or other, and to enhance the charm of their person by wearing them. Foreign travellers who visited the country did not fail to notice the love of the inhabitants of the country for ornaments. Abdur Razak, who visited Vijayanagar during the reign of king Praudha Dēvarāya says: "All the inhabitants of this country, both those of the exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers."³⁰ The Western Caḷukya monarch, Bhūḷōkamalla Sōmēśvara of the twelfth century A.D., gives a detailed description of different kinds of ornaments, worn by people of his times in his work *Abhiḷaṣitārhaḥcintāmaṇi* in the third chapter called *Upabhōgavimīti* in the section of *bhūṣābhōga*, the luxury of ornaments. Almost all the ornaments described in this work were in use in the period under review.

There were ornaments worn on the head, ears, nose, neck, hands, chest, waist, feet and fingers. Most of the ornaments were the same for both the sexes. Only a few were exclusively worn by women. Ornaments worn by women attracted the attention of Nicolo de Conti. He observes, "By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arm and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems".³¹ As time rolled on, the number and variety of women's ornaments increased to such an extent that it became the fashion among the rich and the wealthy to have seven sets of ornaments, ear-marked for wearing on each of the seven days of the week.

It may be supposed that fashions also changed in respect of ornaments. Merchants and nobles were generally instrumental in introducing into the country new varieties of jewellery which

30. Major, Abdur Razak. p. 26.

31. Ibid, Conti, p. 23.

were in vogue in other countries and kingdoms. Fashions changed in accordance with the popularity of the new varieties introduced.

Ornaments were made of different materials, metals like tin, copper, silver, gold, and alloys like bronze and brass. There were gilded ornaments also of silver and gold. Kings, nobles and the rich put on very costly ornaments made of gold, set with precious stones. Friar Jordanus, who visited India in the early post-Kakatiya period, writes : "But the kings have this distinction from others, that they wear upon the arms gold and silver rings, and on the neck a gold collar with a great abundance of gems."³²

People generally wore such kinds of ornaments as their purse and position permitted them to wear. The rich had even anklets made of gold, and jingling toe rings (*ravaḷi maṭṭelu*). Gold ornaments studded with precious stones were common among the rich and the royal families. While the rich wore jewelled necklaces, the poor put on necklaces of glass-beads, seeds and even grains like wheat. If the rich took pride in wearing jewelled ear-ornaments, the poor were satisfied by putting on in their ears tinted palm leaves. Whatever might be the material, each type of ornaments was made lovely to look at by beautifying it, not only by its finish and perfection, but also by every possible way by joining to it pendants, small tinkling bells, tassels with silk and golden threads and the like. Judged by the descriptions given by the Western Cālukya king, Sōmēśvara, the ornaments themselves bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and to the ingenuity of design of the ancient gold and silversmiths. Some of the costly ornaments described in Sōmēśvara's work are to be seen worn even to-day by women of the wealthy class in villages and towns also, in some parts of the Andhra country.

Head-Ornaments :

Ornaments worn on the head were of various kinds. *Cērucukka*³³, otherwise called *pāpaṭa boṭṭu*, the *sīmanta-bhūṣaṇam* was the chief ornament worn in the centre of the forehead by women at the parting of the hair. It was called *sajjatilakam* by king Sōmēśvara who gives a good description of this ornament in his work. It was a golden pearl ornament studded with precious stones. Another type worn on the head was *śaśi* and *ravi*. Even to the present day they are worn by women in villages remote from towns. They are now called *candravaṅka* and *rāgiḍi*, and resemble the crescent moon and the sun respectively.

32. *Foreign Notices*, p. 209.

33. *Pv. Cr.*, p. 72.

The ornament *ravi* is bigger than *śaśi* and was elaborately worked out with gems. These two jewels are worn on either side of the *sīmanta* or the parting of the hair³⁴. *Bimbamu* was another circular golden ornament set with gems, for wearing at the back on the head³⁵. "In some places," writes Conti, "they (women) twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair³⁶." This was another ornament noticed by a foreigner. On the plaited tresses women used to wear a large circular golden ornament composed with emeralds called *paccaḍapu-guṇḍa*³⁷. Another ornament of women's braided hair (*koppu*) was called in Telugu *baṅgaru - pācerulu*³⁸ or strings of golden flowers. *Kuppela mutyāla-kucculu*³⁹ were tassels of pearls with golden knobs worn above the ears on the head on either side. Women belonging to royal and wealthy families were in the habit of covering their heads with hair-nets adorned with pearls. This was called *muktāphala-jālaka* in Sanskrit, and *mutyāla-jalli* in Telugu.⁴⁰

Necklets and Necklaces:

Many kinds of necklaces were worn both by men and women. Some of them hung down as far as the chest, and some descended still lower down as far as the navel, and some others were worn round the neck. These ornaments were called *hāras* in Sanskrit and *pērulu* and *sarālun* in Telugu. The *hāra*, the last of the above-said varieties was called *kaṇṭhikā* in Sanskrit, and *kaṇṭiṃ* or *kaṇṭe* in Telugu. Generally, these *kaṇṭhikas* were pearl ornaments, composed of pearls of one, three, five or nine strings knit together like a band. It is said that *ekāvali*, a single string of pearls of regal excellence, was considered the best of the *kaṇṭhikas* (necklets). After the fashion of the

34. "పాపట కిరువంక ... శశి రవి ధూషణయుగము..." —Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Major Conti, p. 23.

37. "జడకుచ్చులమీద.....పచ్చడపుగండ..." Hr. VI, II, v. 93.

38. "కొప్పుమీదను..... బంగారు పూచేళ్లు ..." Pv. Cr. p. 71.

39. Ibid.

40. Ka. Kh., IV. v. 183; Sm. Dv., I, iv. p. 74, pr. 188.

"×××× లక్ష్మీలతారన్ని కలరి మీద
సంతరించిన ముత్యాల జల్లివోరె."—

41. Pv. Cr., p. 72,

mauktika kaṇṭhika, and *mutyāla patṭeda*,⁴¹ "another neck-ornament, gold bands to be worn round the neck came into existence. This ornament was a pliable bar of gold bent round the neck in the form of a *kaṇṭhika*. Poor people who could not afford to go in for gold ornaments wore silver and brass *kaṇṭhikas*."⁴² There were necklets of small black glass beads also, worn by poorer classes. Copper *kaṇṭhika* also may be taken to have been in use in those times, though we do not hear about that ornament in the contemporary Telugu literature. Similar to the *mauktika kaṇṭhika* there were *ratna kaṇṭhikas* also, set with diamonds and other precious stones.

Necklaces had different distinguishing names applied to them, in accordance with the variety, number and method used in composing the different gems. There were necklaces of one string, three strings, five strings and so on. In preparing these ornaments full use was made of the nine kinds of gems. Necklaces composed of different gems, like emerald, diamond, ruby, pearl, coral, sapphire, and topaz, and those composed of any one of them exclusively, find mention in the contemporary Telugu works. The former variety with one or more strings was called *bannasarūlu* in Telugu. The term *bannasarāmu* appears to be a *vikṛti* of the Sanskrit word *varṇasaram*. This *varṇasaram* was described by Sōmēsvara in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, where he says that it was a *hāra* composed of sapphires and pearls⁴³. In practice, however, the necklace composed of precious stones or glass beads of different colours, was called *bannasarāmu*. Poor people wore necklaces of beads made of shells (*saṅkupūsala pērlu*), and of black glass (*nallapūsala pērlu*). Children put on necklaces of tiger's claws (*puli-gōrulu*) to serve as amulets.

Ear Ornaments :

There were many patterns of ear ornaments made of gold, silver, copper, ivory and probably brass also. These were either circular or square in shape, and resembled petalled flowers. Some were in the form of rings, *pōḡulu* in Telugu. Ear ornaments which were composed of only four pearls were called *caukaṭlu*⁴⁴ in Telugu. These ornaments were generally made of gold, set with pearls or precious gems. Ear

41. Pv. Gr., p. 72.

42. "కంఠమున గల గోమయములతో..."—Hr. VI., II, v.98

43. "तथैवनीलसंयुक्तं मुक्तं पूर्वक्रमेण तु

कृतोवर्णसरोनाम दर्शनीयो मनोहरः॥"—Ili., viii, v. 1125.

44. Pr. Gr., I, p. 72.

ornaments are known by the names *tāṭaṅkas*, and *kundalas* in Sanskrit, and *kammalu* and *onṭulu*⁴⁵ (of one stone) in Telugu. *Mauktika tāṭaṅkas* and *ratna tāṭaṅkas* were commonly in use among the well-to-do people. The latter were also called as *pañju kammalu* in Telugu. There were also *rāgi kammalu*, ear ornaments made of copper. There was yet another variety of ear ornaments, called *vajrala - kamma - geṇṭilu*.⁴⁶ These ornaments appear to have been large ear-rings attached with diamond *tāṭaṅkas*. There were other ornaments with tassels of pearls worn on the ears, called *bavirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu*⁴⁷ in Telugu. The former was a type of ornament worn on the tip of the ear. Jewels, called *bhramarakas*,⁴⁸ are known to us from literature. *Bavire* appears to be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit term *bhramara*. If this surmise is correct, *bavirelu* may be taken to have been made after the shape of bees. *Bavirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu*, large gold earrings with or without tassels, went together, and were twin ornaments. *Kuṇṭenakucculu* were probably *kuṇṭellu* without tassels or pendants. As their name suggests, they were large rings with tassels either of gold, silver, cotton or silk thread, or of pearls or gold chains, that hang down from the tip of the ears.

Nose Ornaments :

Nose ornaments were generally called *mukkera* and *nattu* in Telugu. *Mukkera* was a gold nose-ring, adorned with either seed-pearls or gems. *Mukkeras* with pearls (*mutyala mukkeras*), with crystals (*paṭikamu mukkeras*), and with glass piece (*addapu mukkeras*)⁴⁹, were common in those times. *Nattu*, a circular ornament adorned with precious stones, was worn by women on left nostril.

Ornaments worn on Hands :

Jewels worn on hands were many and varied. There were special circular ornaments to wear on the upper part of the arm which were called *keyūras* and *aṅgadas*. A good description of these

45. Sv. Mh., II, 61. Ear-rings of a particular pattern having a single stone worn by men, are called *Onṭulu*.

46. Nr. Cr., I, p. 42.

47. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

48. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74.

49. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

ornaments⁵⁰ is found in the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* referred to above. *Keyūra* (armlet) was an ornament worn on the upper arm (*bāhu-bhūṣaṇam*), which was made in the shape of *siṃhavaraktra*, lion's mouth, and decorated with different kinds of precious stones, pendants, and fringes (*sūsukair=laṃbanair=yuktam*). Similarly, the gold ornament *aṅgaḍam* set with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with the feathers of an owl, was also an armlet, jewel worn on the upper part of the arm. Since it is called *bāhu-sandhi-vibhūṣaṇam*, it may be said to have been worn above the *keyūra*. These ornaments, the common name for which is *keyūramudralu*⁵¹ and *bhujakīrtulu* in Telugu, were worn by kings. Those who could not afford to wear such costly ornaments, satisfied themselves by wearing circular armlets, made of silver, or copper, or even gilded ones,⁵² on their upper arms. They were called *daṇḍa-kaḍiyamulu* in Telugu. *Kaḍiyamu* is a general term for a bracelet. Besides these, there were *rakṣa-kāṭak=ālaṃkaraś*, ornaments of gold in the nature of amulets, containing tigers' claws, or other things, calculated to avert harm or calamity, or to bring luck to the wearer. These adorned with gold or silk-thread or pearl tassels were tied to the upper arms. These amulets were called *daṇḍa tayettulu*.⁵³ Those who were too poor to wear any metallised amulets, put on those of herbs which were believed to possess supernatural powers.

Bracelets or ornaments worn on the wrists were called *kaṅkaṇamulu*, *valayamulu* or *murugulu*. These were primarily made of gold, and set with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones. There were emerald bracelets, entirely composed of emeralds, pearl bracelets and diamond bracelets. According to the design and decoration the patterns varied and were known by distinguishing names. Very poor class of people wore bracelets of shells (*saṅku-kaṅkaṇamulu*),⁵⁴ and glass beads of various colours. Silver, copper and even tin bracelets also were not rare in those times. In addition to these bracelets women used to wear bangles, specially, of black and blue colours (*nalla gāṇḍulu*, and *nilāla gāṇḍulu*).⁵⁵

⁵⁰. सिंहवक्रपमाकारं नानारत्नविचलितम्

सुसुकैलम्बनैर्युक्तं केयूरं बाहुभूषणम्

सौवर्णमणिविन्यस्तमुक्ताजालकमङ्गदम्

पेक्कापिच्छसंयुक्तं बाहुसन्धिविभूषणम् ॥ — iii, viii, vv. 1419-50.

51. Br. Mh., III, v. 56.

52. Pr. Cr., p. 72.

53. Ibid.

54. Vv. Vj., II, v. 168.

55. Pr. Cr., p. 72; Pn. Cr., I, pp. 188-84.

Rings worn on fingers of the hand, called *mudrikalu* and *uṅgaramulu* in Telugu, were very common. These were also made of gold in many designs and set with gems. Rings of different patterns having different names were described by Sōmēśvara. While writing about men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga', Barbosa says, "They wear many rings set with precious stones and many ear-rings set with fine pearls in their ears." About women he writes: "Their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear ear-rings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy."⁵⁶

Waist Ornaments:

Girdles or ornaments worn on the waist were generally made of gold. The Sanskrit terms denoting a girdle are *kaṭi-sūtra*, *kāñcī mekhalā* and *rasanā*. The equivalent Telugu term is *molanūlu*, an appropriate and correct translation of the Sanskrit *kaṭi-sūtra*. Originally a cord of twisted or plaited cotton threads was worn round the waist. This became the model later for a waist ornament of gold or silver. Hence, we have *mutyāla - molanūlu*⁵⁷ and *ratnālu - kaṭi-sūtram*⁵⁸, names denoting waist ornaments set with pearls and diamonds respectively. The waist ornament, called *kāñcīdāma*, is said to be a gold ornament set with gems, and decorated with (gold) threads and pendants and with jingling bells.⁵⁹ The Telugu works mention *mekhalas* with *kanaka ghaṇṭalu* (gold bells), *mūgalu* (otherwise called *mūvalu* or *muvalu*, probably those that do not clink), and *gajjelu*⁶⁰ (rattling bells). *Oḍḍānam* is a gold ornament of a different pattern. It is in the shape of belt with or without screw, furnished with ornaments and pendants. It was a nice jewel of elaborate

56. Barbosa, I. pp. 207-08.

57. Hr. VI., IV, v. 11.

58. Nr. Cr., I, v. 4.

59. मौवर्णस्तखचितं सूसुकैर्लम्बनैर्युतम्

हेमवर्धरघटाभि निर्मितं खसंयुतम्॥

काञ्चीशमेतिविरव्यातं कटिभूषणमुत्तमम्॥— Abb. Ct., iii, viii, vv. 1170-71.

60. Nv. Cr., IV, pp. 186-87.

ornamentation and high workmanship, set with all or some of the nine gems in various designs. Another pattern of waist ornament was *vajrāla-kamaru*, a type of diamond girdle. We can probably have a good idea of these waist ornaments from what Paes writes. He says that women wore "many girdles of gold and precious stones which hung in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh⁶¹."

Anklelets :

Anklelets also were of many patterns and varieties. Some were called *kaṭiyamulu* (*kaṭakas* in Sanskrit), and some, *andiyalu* or *andelu* (*andukas* in Sanskrit). There were also ornaments of a chain variety. In each of these varieties there were many patterns and designs with or without screws. It may be mentioned here that all these ornaments were also made of gold and studded with precious stones. Boys, girls and women put on these ornaments. One or more strings plaited together, or small gold bells of various sizes, some dumb, and some producing jingling sounds, were profusely used in the decoration of these ornaments. Low and poor class people wore anklelets made of tin⁶², and plaited string belts of small bells made of brass⁶³. The toes were adorned with rings of gold set with jewels. They were decorated beautifully in order to produce clinking sounds. These rings which women wore on their toes are called *maṭṭelu* or *maṭṭiyulu*, *pādamudrikalu* in Sanskrit. These were made of tin and bronze⁶⁴ also. Rings with *śikharas*, that is, peak-decorations, were called *śekharambulu*⁶⁵. Rings worn by women on the third finger of their foot had a special name called *pillāṇḍlu* (sing. *pillāṇḍi*).

All ornaments referred to in the contemporary Telugu literature were not mere figments of imagination of poets, but were real. Most of them are in use even at the present day. Gold, silver and precious stones were in abundance. There were diamond mines, as Barbosa and Nicolo de Conti inform us, in the country. Barbosa writes, "All other precious stones are brought hither (into the city of Vijayanagar) for sale from Pegu and Ceilam (Ceylon), and from Ormus and Cael they bring pearls and seed pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason

61. Sewell, p. 278.

62. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 183-84.

63. Ibid, I, p. 29.

64. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 183-84.

65. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74, pr. 188.

they collect here in great quantities)" ⁶⁶. While writing about Pulicat, a great emporium, a little below Nellore to its south, he informs us that traders from Pegu brought "great store of rubies and spinels, and abundance of musk [which precious stones are good cheap here, for him who knows how to buy and to choose them]" ⁶⁷. What Barbosa states of Vijayanagar, and the kingdom of Narsinga was equally true of Koṇḍaviḍu, the kingdom and the city. Trade and commerce made these articles of luxury brought from far and near, accessible to people. The introductory verses in Śrinātha's *Haraniḷāsam* also bear evidence to this flourishing sea-borne trade in pearls, gold, and other articles of luxury. This affluence which marked this age, kept its level in the succeeding centuries also, as is borne out by the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, who visited the capital of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

66. Barbosa, I, pp. 202-03.

67. Ibid, II, p. 181.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION.

The religious history of the Redḍi period is more or less a continuation of that of the age of the Kākatiyas. The dominating cult was the Pāsupata Śaivism. It profoundly influenced the life and activity of the people of this period as no other cult then flourishing did. In fact, it was the religion of the royal family. The Redḍi kings were Śaivites and most of their vassals and dependants also professed that religion.

Śaivism was an ancient cult, and of the many schools of Śaivism flourishing in the Andhra country prior to the Redḍi period, the Pāsupata school was the most important. According to tradition current among the Śaivas of the Andhra country, the Pāsupata Śaivism was propagated by *ācāryas* beginning with Śvēta and ending with Lakulīśa of the Yōgācārya school. The latter is said to have been the last of the twenty eight *ācāryas* of that school. Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa was a historical personage who can be traced to the first century A. D. Kārōhaṇa, the modern Karwar (in the Lāṭa country), which is traditionally connected with Lakulīśa, was the chief establishment of these Lakulīśa Pāsupata Śaivas. It is said that Lakulīśa had four pupils, namely, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitrēya¹. Each one of these *ācāryas*, who had his own *maṭha* or establishment, was the founder of a branch. Kārōhaṇa, Kadāmbaguha, Āmardaka², and Teṅambi were some of the seats of the early *ācāryas* of the Pāsupata school³. This Pāsupata Śaivism spread far and wide in the country to the south of the Vindhya from very early times.

As early as the seventh century A.D., we come to know of the existence of the *ācāryas* of this Pāsupata school in the Andhra country from the copper-plate records of the Eastern Calukyas of Vēngī. There is reason to believe that the early spread of the Pāsupata Śaivism in the Andhra country was mainly, due to the efforts of the *ācāryas*

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p. 278.

2. "Rājendra Coḷa (the Coḷa emperor) is recorded in the Āgamanta works to have brought Brāhman Śaiva teachers to the south from the Āmardaka *maṭha* on the banks of the Gōdāvari with the following result:

"An impetus was given to the spread of Śaivism and very large number of original works belonging to the Āgama school of Śaivism was written." (T. A. Gopinatha rao in E. R. E., Vol. II, part i, p. 4. S. V. Śaivism),

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 351-361,

whose pontifical seat was Teṅambi. The yet-unpublished Ellore plates of the Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century A.D., mention two *Śivācāryas*, Vāma Śiva and Puruṣa Śiva, disciples of Brahma *Śivācārya* of Teṅambi.⁴ This village seems to be identical with Teṅambi, modern Terahi, five miles east of Ranod, more commonly called Narod in the State of Gwalior.⁵ Later on, this Pāsupata school was further strengthened and consolidated by *Śivācāryas* of the Gōlakimaṭha,⁶ who originally belonged to one of the branches referred to before, with the active support and personal interest taken by their royal pupils, the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal. They established their *maṭhas* in different parts of the country which were maintained by grants of villages.

The same Pāsupata school found ready support at the hands of the Redḍi kings who were also followers of the same order. The *Śivācāryas* were *gurus* of kings and *sthānapatis* of temples as in the previous period. Śrīstailam, Tripurāntakam, and Daksharam were some of the principal strongholds of the Pāsupata school. We are unable to know clearly the manners and customs, and rites and rituals of the Pāsupata Śaivas. No contemporary work of that school which describes them, has come down to us. However, a passage in the *Tarkarahasyaḍḍipikā* (a Jain work), a commentary on the *Ṣaḍḍarīana-samuccaya* composed by Guṇaratnasūri, pupil of Śrī Dēvasundarasūri (circa. 1363 A. D.) of the Tapāgaccha, refers to the manners and customs of the Śaivas. As this work was composed in the fourteenth century, we can rely on the information given in this work, though in some respects it is 'fantastic and incredible'. The passage is quoted below :

4. This copper-plate, which awaits publication, was discovered in a village near Ellore (West Godavari district). The passage in the grant referring to the *Śivācāryas* who were the *sthānapatis* of a Śiva temple in the village of Vasanthūrū (identical with the modern village of Vasantavāḍa, Ellore taluk) is quoted below :—

“ ते॒ वि॒नि॒वा॒सि॒ब्रह्म॒शिवा॒चार्य्य॑न्ते॒वा[सि वा] म॒शिव॑पुरुषशिवाभ्या
माराधनीयानन्त्रयाणां देवस्थानानां नित्यपूजाबलिप्रदानार्थं
दत्तं (?) धनमुषिरावनन्दवाद्यवादकगायकनटकाचार्य्यविलासिनी
जनभृतये येतद्देवायतनखण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मादि कार्य्यकरणार्थञ्च ”

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 35.

6. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII (1927), pp. 137. ff.

"Let the abstract, which will be narrated hereafter of the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas' (i. e.) of Śaiva teachings, be heard. "Yaugas is another name for Naiyāyikas, (and) first their individuality constituted by special characteristics and others will be spoken of". And they bear staves (and) wear a broad piece of cloth over the privities. They cover (their upper body) with woollen blankets and bear matted hair. They smear their bodies with ashes, and put on the sacred thread. They hold water-pitchers, and take tasteless meals. They generally live in forests, bear gourds hanging from (their) shoulders, eat bulbs, roots and fruit (of trees), and take delight in the duties of hospitality. Some have wives and others not. Those without wives are the best among them. They are engaged in the performance of the five fire penances, and even bear a consecrated linga in their hands or matted hair. But those, who have attained to the perfect state of self-restraint, wander naked. After washing their mouth, feet, and so forth in the morning, they draw three stripes at a time of ashes on their body, while meditating on Śiva. The lay-worshipper patron, while doing obeisance, folds his hands and utters "Om, a bow to Śiva", and similarly the preceptor responds with "to Śiva a bow". And they, in assemblies asseverate that even he, who, after resorting to the Śaiva initiatory consecration for twelve years, gives it up, obtains absolution, be he a male or a female slave. To them Īśvara (Śiva) is God, omniscient, and causing creation, destruction, and so forth. The following are his eighteen incarnations :- (1) Nakulī; (2) Śaushya-Kauśika, (3) Gārgya, (4) Akaurusha, (5) Maitrya, (6) Īśāna, (7) Pāragārgya, (8) Kapi-lanḍa, (9) Mānushyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Piṅgala, (13) Pushyaka, (14) Brihadārya; (15) Agasti, (16) Santāna, (17) Rāsikara, and (18) Vidyāguru. These are their *tirthēśas* to be venerated. The mode of their worship and prayers should be cognised from their scriptures They are distinguished into four sects, such as Śaiva and so forth. It has been said; "The ascetics who use a seat, ashes, cloth for privities, matted hair and sacred thread, are four-fold, in consequence of the difference of their own practices and so forth." Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and Kālamukhas are the four principal divisions amongst these ascetics." Their sub-divisions, again, are Bharatas, Bhaktas, Laiṅgikas, Tāpasas, and so forth. As regards the taking up of the religious vow in the case of Bharatas and others, there is no restriction about the castes, such as Brāhmaṇas and so forth. He who has devotion for Śiva may become any *vratī* (taker of religious vow), such as Bharata and others. But in philosophical sciences, Naiyāyikas, being devoted to Sadāśiva, are called Śaivas. Vaiśeṣikas, however, are Pāśupatas. Hence, the teachings of Naiyāyikas are designated Śaiva and Vaiśeṣika philosophy Pāśupata."

The description given in the above passage refers to the Pāśupata Saivas in general. Hence, it may be taken to apply also to the Pāśupata Saivas in the Telugu country. The passage clearly shows that the Pāśupatas wore "a consecrated līṅga in their hands or matted hair". In fact, according to the Saiva scriptures līṅga has to be worn on *kakṣa*, *kara*, *kaṇṭha*, *uttamāṅga*, *vakṣasthala* and so on.⁸ This is corroborated by the Telugu works, *Basava Purāṇam* and *Prabhulīṅgalīla*.⁹ Even at the present day brāhmins of the Saiva sect in the Andhra country wear a consecrated līṅga on their bodies. The movement to revive Vēdic sacrifices, sponsored by the nobles and early kings of this period, was greatly responsible for averting the *avaidic* influences of the cosmopolitan cult of Śaivism of the Canarese country, engineered by the great Saiva reformer Basavēśvara, minister of the Kaḷacuri king Bijjaladēva, and in maintaining the Vēdic character of Śaivism, the principal religion of the Andhra country. The popular Śaivism seems, however, to have been encumbered by a number of religious practices and beliefs, gathered around it during its contact with other schools of Śaivism, namely, the Yōgic Saiva cult of the Nātha Siddhas, and the Śakta Tantric cult which flourished in this period and had their own respective following. These two cults also left an indelible impress both on the Telugu literature and on the religious life of the people. The impress can be clearly detected from the different sets of terminology, peculiar to each of the cults, used in the contemporary Telugu literature.

The cult of the Siddhas or the Nāthas, who were adepts in the practices of four kinds of *yōgas* and were believed to have been perfect in all the *siddhis* including *kāyasiddhi*, was popular in this period. The followers of this cult are called Nāthapanthi yōgis or Siddhas

3. "गुरुणादत्तलिङ्गं तु शिवमल धारयेत् (?)

मूर्ध्नि कण्ठे भुजे हस्ते हृत्स्थलेनाभिमण्डले

एतेषा मेकदेशे तु धारायेच्छिवलिङ्गकम्॥"

— *Valūlagama*.

9. "ప్రకట రుద్రాక్ష సన్నకుట వర్ధనులు

సకలాంధునితాది కాసన ధనులు

విరచిత వస్త్రోపవేష్టిత మకుటు

లురు జటాజూట విస్ఫురిత కాసనులు

కక్ష కరసల కంఠోత్తమాంక

వక్షస్థలాదిక వరలింగధరులు

సుతసం మమీశ్వరు లకుల త్రతసు

లలికిలు రితరపా కాది వర్జితులు" — *Bs. Pr.*, II, p. 33.

The Nātha gurus are nine in number, of whom Ādi Nātha, the first *guru*, is Śiva himself. Mīna Nātha alias Matsyēndra Nātha, Gōrakṣa Nātha, Caurāṅgi, Mēgha Nātha, Virūpakṣa Nātha, Siddha Nāgārjuna Khaṇḍika Nātha and Vyāḷi Siddha were the other Nāthas. It is said that Mīna Nātha heard, while in the womb of a fish, a discourse on yōga taught by Śiva to his consort Pārvatī, and after he was born, he entreated lord Śiva, the Parama Yōgin, to teach the yōga and bless him. Śiva, who was kindly disposed towards him, taught the yōga and made him an expert in all *vēdas* (sciences), all *mantras* (magical formulas), all medicines, and all the *siddhis*. Svātmārama Yōgīndra in his "*Haṭhayōga-pradīpikā*" refers to Matsyēndra Nātha and his disciple Gōrakṣa Nātha as the first teachers who propounded the science of Haṭhayōga¹⁰.

This Nātha cult, or the Siddha cult as it is otherwise called, appears to have been closely allied to the Tāntric cult; for, we come to know that the *kulācāra* section of the Tantras is said to have been introduced by Mīna Nātha¹¹.

The adventures of these Nātha gurus are described in the contemporary Telugu *dvipada* kāvya, *Nava Nātha Caritra*, written by poet Gaurana. By the time he wrote this work there was already a Telugu *padya* prabandha on the same subject, written by an earlier Śaiva poet, named Śrīgiri¹². However, at the instance of Mukti Śāntarāya, the pontiff of the Bhikṣamāṭha, one of the five Śaiva maṭhas situated on the Śrīpārvata, the famous Śaiva-kṣētra (Kurnool district), Gaurana wrote this *Nava Nātha Caritra* in *dvipada* metre and dedicated it to him. Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of the Nava Nāthas, is said, in this work, to have visited the countries of Malayāḷa, Barabara, Magadha, Andhra, Pāṇḍya and Cōla and propagated this Siddha cult,¹³ and is referred to as *Rasayōga Sāstranirmāta*,¹⁴ the originator of the science of *Rasayōga*, and as having written many works on this science. We are informed that Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of his disciples, came to Śrīśailam with the object of transforming that mountain into a lump of gold by his skill in

10. I. H. Q., Vol. XVI (1940), p. 307.

11. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 178 ff.

12. Vide, Chapter IX on Literature (Telugu). The work is now extinct.

13. "మఱియొక బర్బర మగ ధాంధ్ర పాంశ్య

చోళభూములు చవఁ జొచ్చె విజ్ఞాన

శిలి నాగార్జున సిద్ధుఁ డింపార ..."

—Nv. Gr., V, p. 211.

14. "రసయోగశాస్త్ర నిర్మాతయై యహిమ

నెనెఁగు నాగార్జును కేను శిష్యుఁడను ..."

—Ibid. V. p. 249.

Rasavāda.¹⁵ His attempt was however foiled by lord Viṣṇu, who came to him in the guise of a brāhman just at the critical moment¹⁶ and killed him.

The prevalence of the yōgic cult of the Nātha gurus in the Andhra country seems to have been responsible for the production of the literature, dealing with the adventures illustrative of their supernatural powers and spiritual attainments. Works of this kind, no doubt, must have enhanced the popularity of this cult; and stories relating to the greatness of the attainments of the Siddhas were of common currency. These Nava Nāthas are alluded to in the Telugu works of the period like Jakkana's *Vikramārka-caritra*,¹⁷ and the influence of this cult is perceptible in some of the

15. “అటఁ బెంపుమీ నాగార్జున నాథుఁ

డిట నట ననక మహిమండలంబుఁ

గలయఁ జరించి యొక్కనిఁ దనపేర

వెలయ సిద్ధునిఁ జేసి వివిధాపధమల

మణిమంత్రయోగాది మర్మకర్మలను

నణిమాచి సిద్ధుల నాత్మప్రణీతి

రసవాద సారశాస్త్రంబులఁ బెలిపి

మసలక దేహ మేమరక నీ వింకఁ

దిరుగఁ బొమ్మని యంద్రదేశంబు కఠనిఁ

బరగ వీడ్కొలిపి”

—Ibid, V, pp. 232 - 33

From the above passage we come to know that there was one Siddha Nagarjuna, an adept in *Rasavāda*, and a disciple of Nātha Nāgārjuna specially trained by him.

16. Ibid, V, pp. 232-243.

17. “అది నాథుని యపరావతారము పూని

మత్స్యేంద్రనాథుని మహిమఁ దనరి

సారంగ నాథుని సామర్థ్యమును బొంది

గోరక్ష నాథుని గుణముఁ దాల్చి

సిద్ధబుద్ధుని బుద్ధి చిత్తం బునం జేర్చి

ఖనికు విద్యాధిక ఘనతఁ బేర్చి

మేఖ నాథుని మంత్ర వైఖరి వహించి

నాగార్జునునిక శాస్త్రీగమించి

యావిరూపాక్షుఁ డితఁ డన నతిశయిల్లి

యర్థి నవనాథ సిద్ధుల కైకయై న

మోహనాకృతి యితఁ డను మూర్తిఁ దనరి

చిన్మయస్వాంతుఁ డగు నొక్క సిద్ధవరుఁడు —Vk, Cr., V1. ౧, 4

stories in it. *Siddhasārasvatamantra*, one of the numerous Siddha *mantras*, believed to make the practiser of that *mantra* proficient in all branches of learning, is referred to in the contemporary Telugu works¹⁸. Vallabhāmātya, son of Tippaya and the author of the drama *Kṛīḍābhīramam*, is said to have been favoured with the wealth of *Siddhasārasvata* by the grace of god Bhairava¹⁹. The lore of the Nava Nāthas, as narrated by the famous Siddhas, was read to the people in public halls²⁰, like the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas in these days, and explained to them. This was one of the forms of literary propaganda carried on in those days to spread a cult. Even to this day the man in the street believes that the Siddhas go at their will to any place they wish, possess magical stones (*manis*), yielding their possessors all that they wish, know the art of alchemy (turning everything into gold) and all medicines and *mantras* that endow invulnerability and longevity and supernatural powers. As these Siddhas were adepts in *Rasavāda* (science of Chemistry), experiments in medicinal preparations using *rasa* (Mercury), and *gandhaka* (sulphur), were made, during this period, and *rasavaidya* was greatly improved in the Andhra country. This yōgic cult of the Siddhas was responsible for producing Vēmana, a hāṭhayōgin and an alchemist, towards the end of this period.

The prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the Andhra country during this period is suggested by the terms used in contemporary Telugu literature, like *Bhairavī cakra*,²¹ *Bhairavayōgi*, *Yōginīcakra* and the like. Terms like these creep into the literature and language of the country, only when the cult to which they belong is prevalent there. In this way both the Telugu language and literature were enriched by the terminology of the respective creeds and philosophies that once flourished in the Andhra country. The Tantras enunciate the worship of Śakti, the female energy of Śiva, chiefly devoted to Ānanda Bhairavī.

18. “సిద్ధ సారస్వతమంత్రం బుబదేశించె నంతం దదశ్చమోనవిశేషంబునకు కారద ప్రత్యక్షంబై యతని సముచిత విద్యా వికారదుం గావించిన—Vik, Cr., V, Pr. 163.

19. “ప్రత్యక్ష మొనరించె భైరవస్వామిచే
సిద్ధ సారస్వత శ్రీరహించె”—Kd. Rm., V. 23.

20. “ప్రసిద్ధ సిద్ధ జన కథిత నవనాథచిత్ర చరిత్రవల్లన ప్రమాదహృదయ సామాజిక విరాజమాన మణి మండపంబుల కలనను ... —Vik, Cr., 11, Pr. 51, p. 35.

21. “In the *Bhairavī cakra*, or the circle of Bhairavī, where Kaulas gathered to worship Śakti, all castes were admitted, meat of every sort excepting perhaps beef was allowed, and every worshipper was required to contract a marriage which was to last to the end of the gathering—*Maha-Parinirvāṇa Tantra*, VIII, 177; IX, 268-9—J.I.H., Vol. IX, p. 121.

This worship, being centred chiefly in mystic circles, is known as *Bhairavatantra* or *Cakrapūja*, in which there was free use of liquor (*madya*), eating of meat (*māṃsa*) and fish (*matsya*), communion with women (*maithuna*) and eating a kind of food (*maṭrā*) (generally known as *Pañca-Makaras*). Followers of this form of worship were called *kaulas* and the custom they practised was known as *kulācāra*. The *kulācāra* section of the Tantras is said to have been brought down to earth by the Siddha Mina Nātha.²² *Bhairavatantra* is alluded to in the contemporary Telugu work, *Kṛīḍābhīrāmam*.²³ Bhairava yōgini is referred to in a story in Jakkana's *Vikramārkacaritra*.²⁴ Self-immolation was a Tāntric practice and the existence of *Campūdu-guḍi*, a temple to commit suicide, was indicative of the prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the country. *Yōginīcakra* is referred to in one of the stories in the contemporary Telugu work, *Simhāsanaadvātrimśika*.²⁵ *Raṇamukudupu*, a rite observed in this period to satisfy Bhūtas and Prētas by an offering of food soaked in blood in the field of battle at night, is said to have been a Tāntric rite.²⁶ In the contemporary Sanskrit work, *Vemabhūpalacaritam* written by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, we find a passage describing the worship of the goddess Ādi Bhairavī in the temple of Caṇḍī (*Caṇḍīkāyatana*) in the Vindhyan forest by king Peda Kōmati Vēma during one of his campaigns.²⁷ This worship, which was conducted according to the *kulācāra* rites, included the offering of *surā*, (liquor) also. All these instances unmistakably point to the fact that the Tāntric cult also spread in the Andhra country during the period under review. However, the extent of its popularity or of its following cannot be ascertained with the evidence available.

The influence of the gurus or *ācāryas* of these cults on the people of those times was very great. Members of the Ghōḍerāya family were the Śaiva gurus of the Reḍḍi royal families of Koṇḍaviḍu, Rājamahēndravaram and Kandukūru. Some of the members of this Ghōḍerāya family are known to us from inscriptions and Telugu literature. Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva was the guru of Prōlaya Vēma

22. J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXIX (1933), p. 75.

23. “టిటిభస్మటిగారు వినుండి యొకచోక్క-ఁపు జోగి శయి శో
వట్టిడి దీనితోఁ గలసి ‘శైరవ తంత్రము’ దీర్చి మెచ్చిసా
భాటమునకై లిఖించె నఖరాక్షరభంగిఁ దెనుంగుఁ బద్యముక
బుట్టువు పేరనాగతము భోగము భోగ్యము ప్రస్తుటంబుగకై”.—Kd. Rm., v. 240.

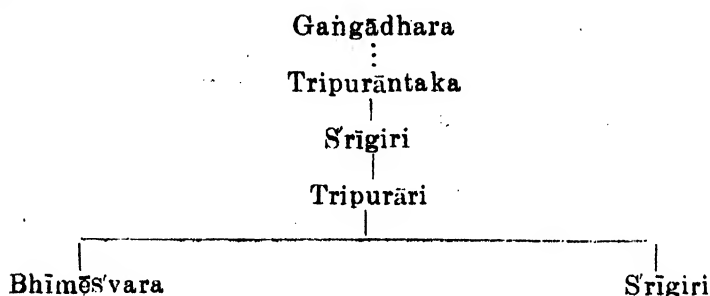
24. VK. Cr., VII, v. 15; Also see Hr. Vl., II, v. 109.

25. Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 98.

26. VV., Cr., p. 26, f. n.

27. *Vemabhūpalacaritam*, pp. 187-189.

Reddi.²⁸ The latter is said to have acquired the grandeur of the kingdom only by the grace of his guru Gaṅgayadēva. Ghōḍerāya Tripurāridēva and his son Bhīmayadēva were the gurus of the kings of Rājamahēndravaram.²⁹ Both of them are mentioned in an inscription at Palivela³⁰ (East Godavari district), dated in Saka 1345 (corresponding to the cyclic year Sōbhakṛt). This record registers some gifts made by king Virabhadra Reddi and his queen Anitalli at the command of their gurus, on the banks of the Gautamī during the *puskarm* festival. Here in this record the father and son are mentioned as Tripurārijiyyaṅgāru and Pinumayyaṅgāru (wrongly written for Bhīmayyaṅgāru). Sivaliṅga Reddi of the Kandukūru family furnishes commentary on the *Giriśaśruti sūktimālā* the following genealogy of his gurus, the descendants of Gaṅgādhara or Gaṅgayadēva.³¹



Besides these there were many other religious divines, like Śaṅkaramuni, who, for their scholarship, conduct, penance, and devotion to God, were highly esteemed by kings and people alike, and were their guides and philosophers.

28. Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, Madras Museum plates, v, 13, p. 15.

29. “ఈశ్వరుఁ డింటి వేల్పు జగ దేక నరుండను ఘోడరాయ ధీ
 ఈశ్వరుఁ డాత్మవంశ నరును... .” —Ka. Kh., I, v. 50.

See also introductory verses in the *Sivalilavilasam* (Appendix to chapter IX, Literature).

30. [ఘోడ*]యరాయ తిపురారిజయ్యుంఁగరికిని ఘోడమల్లు (ఘోడరాయ) పిన
 మయ్యుంఁగారి (ధీమయ్యుంఁగారి) అనతి క్రమానను... .” S. I. I., V, No. 114

31. “శ్రీగంగాధరవంశవాధిరజనీనాథస్యవిद्याనిధే
 నేనా శ్రీతిపురాంతకస్యసుధియః పౌత్రోగురోః శ్రీగిరిః
 పుత్రః శ్రీతిపురారిదేశికమణిః భీమేశ్వరస్యానుజో
 यस్య శ్రీగిరిదేశికొగూరు రభూత్ శ్రీకోణ్డయోగీకృతః (?)” ॥

Next to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism was the most important religion of the period. Vaiṣṇavism underwent a great change after the death of Śrī Rāmanujācārya. He brought into his religion a cosmopolitan outlook. There were other ācāryas who differed from him to a certain extent and interpreted their scriptures according to their own light. However, there was not a dominant personality who could stand comparison with that great ācārya and make his co-religionists follow him implicitly and accept his interpretation. Hence, the differences silently accelerated a cleavage in Vaiṣṇavism into two distinct schools, one consisting of the followers of Śrī Rāmanuja and the other comprising those who were averse to his cosmopolitan outlook and love of reform.³² This acceleration of differences seems not a little due to the revival of Vēdism. The Reḍḍi kings, after the establishment of a kingdom in the East, revived Vēdic sacrifices and patronised scholars who were proficient in Vēdic lore. There was a big movement in Vijayanagar also to resuscitate Vēdism, sponsored by Harihara I. and his brother Bukka I, under the able guidance of their guru Vidyāranya. These attempts indirectly resulted not only in preserving, as has previously been stated, the Vēdic character of Śaivism in the Andhra country, but also accelerated the progress of the revivalist movement in the Vaiṣṇava religion. This schism, which was dormant in the Vaiṣṇava Church for a long time, became more explicit during this period. Some of the Vaiṣṇava ācāryas were desirous of maintaining their hold on the people, and yet, of preserving the brāhman supremacy, and the purity and Vēdic character of their religion. Venkaṭanātha, or Vēdānta Dēśika as he is popularly called, and Pillai Lōkācārya and his brother Aḷagiya Maṇavaḷa Perumāḷ Nainār became the leaders of the two parties into which the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were divided. Through the efforts of these ācāryas and their teachings, the two opposite schools of Vaiṣṇavism which were till then hazy, soon crystallised into two well-defined sects, the Vaḍagalai, or the Northern school, and the Teṅgalai, or the Southern school. Vēdānta Dēśika³² was the leader of the Vaḍagalai school, and Pillai Lōkācārya and his brother, of the Teṅgalai school. The social and religious conditions prevailing in the early post-Kākatiya period in the Deccan country, were indirectly responsible

32, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV. pp. 126-186; 277 ff.

"An impersonation of orthodoxy and a doughty champion of Brāhmanical supremacy, the sole authority on the Bhāṣyas and the most profound living scholar and writer in sanskrit, he (Vēdānta Dēśika) represented all that was traditional and conservative in Vaiṣṇavism, and all that was obnoxious in the eyes of the new party (?) (Teṅgalaism). They (the leaders of Teṅgalaism) looked upon him, therefore, with a sullen and grim hatred. They considered him narrow and fanatical, reactionary and unsympathetic." — Ibid, "*The life and times of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika*," by Śrī V. Rangāchari, M. A.

to a great extent for hastening this change in the Vaiṣṇavism, and this was one of the momentous periods in the history of Vaiṣṇavism both in the Tamil and the Andhra countries.

Though Vaiṣṇavism penetrated into the Andhra country long before the Reddi period, and had, for its strongholds famous holy places, like Srikūrmam, Śimhāchalam, Sarpavaram and Bapaṭla, it really began to capture the hearts of the princes and the people alike, only during this period. Though *Vedamūrga-praṭiṣṭhācāryas*, like Mārgam Pahinḍimukkula Vīra Tiruvengalākumāra, were able to secure the patronage of some of the local feudal chiefs of the Telugu Cōḍa dynasty³³, in the southern coastal region, the progress of Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country till this period was very slow, and the efforts of the earlier ācāryas to spread that religion on a large scale bore fruit only during this period. The many illustrious Vaiṣṇava families, like the Bhaṭṭars, the Kandāḍais, and the Tirumalais, came and settled in the coastal Andhra country, and propagated the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The Bhaṭṭars were an illustrious family of scholars of Śrīraṅgam. Śrīvatsacihnaguru, or Śrīvatsacihnamiśra as he was generally called, was the first and foremost disciple of Śrī Rāmaṇuja, and the founder of the family of Bhaṭṭars. He is better known in the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles by the name of Kūrattālvān. He was born in the village of Kūram near Chingleput, and belonged to the Haritasagōtra and Āpastamba Sūtra. His son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa I who was nominated to the pontifical seat at Śrīraṅgam by Rāmaṇuja. In this family, was born Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the seventh in descent, who went on a tour to the Andhra country, where many kings and nobles became his disciples. Mummaḍi Nāyaka whose capital was Kōṅkōṇḍa, near Rājamahēndravaram, was one of them, and he made a grant of the village of Kottāllapaṅṅu to his guru as *guru-dakṣiṇa*. He was also called Śrīraṅga-vardhana, a title which he probably assumed, as Gōpinātharao thinks, after he became the disciple of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.³⁴ It is probable that Parāśara finally settled at Kōṅkōṇḍa, for, from the Kōṅkōṇḍa pillar

33. N. I. D., Kr. Nos 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 and 66.

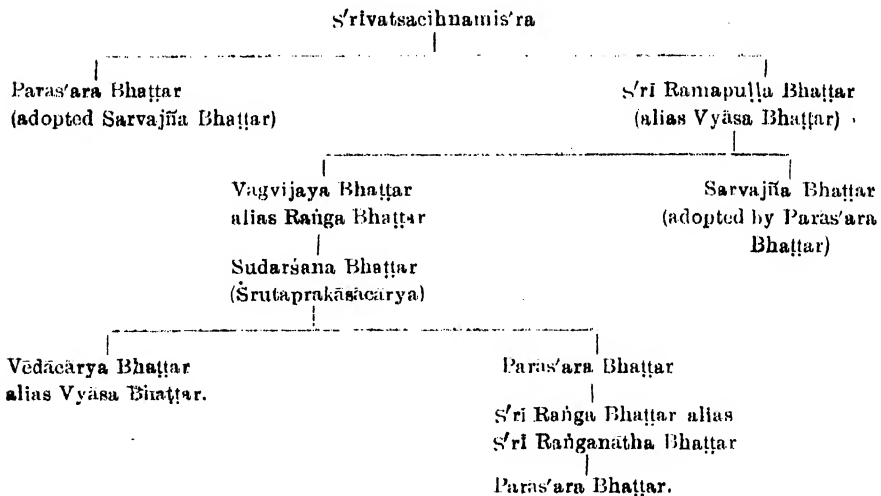
34. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 86-88; Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, vv. 34-42, pp. 92-93, "The village granted to Parāśara Bhaṭṭa VII was evidently enjoyed by him for some time before he died. His mother, who survived him (v. 48), seems to have thought of allowing the relatives of the deceased to inherit the village; but in the meanwhile she changed her mind and gave it away to the god Raṅganātha, taking Him, as she says, as the greatest of all relatives. Most likely the relatives began to trouble her and perhaps also to question her rights to the property, which must have goaded her to take the course which she chose." — p. 84. Verses 34-42 mention Śrīvatsacihnamiśra, the founder of the Bhaṭṭar family of Śrīraṅgam, his son Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, another Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the seventh person in descent from the founder (?), one of his illustrious relatives Vedācārya Bhaṭṭa,

inscription³⁵ of Mummaḍi Nāyaka we come to know that Parāśara died at that place.

After the death of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have become the disciple of the Kandāḍais. An inscription³⁶ at Siṃhāchalam dated in Saka 1286, mentions Mummaḍi Nāyaka as the disciple of Kandāḍa Ayyaṅgār. We do not know if this Kandāḍa Ayyaṅgar had any thing to do with Kandāḍai Aṇḍan, a disciple of Brahmatantra Svatantrajiyar, who was contemporaneous with Vēdānta Dēśika.

and later on another Parāśara Bhaṭṭa. However, the genealogy given here, seems to be somewhat confused. According to the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles, Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa, son of Sudarsana Bhaṭṭa, alias, Śrūtaprakāśācārya, was the eldest brother of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, and his son was Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭa. "In all probability the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara of our document was identical with the Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, the son of Śrīraṅganātha Bhaṭṭa, and the grandson of Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa" (p. 88, f. n. 1).

There is a Telugu manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, by name *Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭaru vaiṣavaḷi* (S/5-2-33) which furnishes an account of the Bhaṭṭars of Śrīraṅgam. The Bhaṭṭar families that settled in the Andhra country, find special mention in it. According to this work the genealogy of the Bhaṭṭars is given as shown under.



The work states that it was Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, younger brother of Vedācārya Bhaṭṭar, and son of Sudarsana Bhaṭṭar who came and settled at Koṟukonḍa. In that case he must be the fifth in descent and not the seventh (*tadudli Sapta puruṣam-kulam*) from the founder of the family as the grant says. The statements made in this *vaiṣavaḷi* and the genealogy given there seem to be incorrect.

85. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912: Ep. Rep. 1912, para 68, p. 87.

86. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 841. See also 1084, and 1090, and J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, pp. 212-218.

Another illustrious family of the Vaiṣṇava teachers was that of the Tirumalais. The Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher Tirumala Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, also called Nallānu Cakravarti, came and settled in the Andhra country. He had five sons, Tirveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubala Cakravarti, Śrīdēva Cakravarti and Gōvinda Cakravarti.³⁷ This family seems to have belonged to the Guntur district. A record at Rompicherla³⁸ (Guntur district) mentions a certain Rāmadāsu, a disciple of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti. Another record at Kārempūḍi³⁹ (Guntur district) dated in Saka 1318, records the decision of his son Nallānu Gōvinda Cakravarti in a certain dispute.

Besides these there were other ācāryas also of the Drāviḍadēśa who toured the Andhra country and propagated their religion. During the tour, they visited many a royal court and had religious disputations with the teachers of other faiths there. Each ācārya who was successful in such wrangles, was assured of a big following of converts to his faith, besides innumerable presents in the form of jewels, land, etc. One of such ācāryas was Vēdāntadēśika's son and disciple Varadācārya, also known as Nainārācārya. In a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work called *Guruparaṁparāprabhāva*, he is said to have gone to the court of a certain Sarvajña Śingama Nāyaka, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, and defeated Śākalya Mallu Bhaṭṭa and established the Vaiṣṇava religion. Thereafter the same chief became his disciple and honoured him with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia.⁴⁰ Nainārācārya's father, Vēdāntadēśika, is also stated to have composed three works, the *Subhāṣitanīvi*, *Tattvasandēśa* and the *Rahasyasandēśa* for the delectation of the same chief.⁴¹ However, the identity of that chief still remains a puzzle, though he seems to be one of the Rēceḷa kings (Padma Vēlamas) of Rajukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Though the earlier Redḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, Anavōta, and Anavēma, and the rulers of Rājamahēndravaram, were staunch Śaivites, Kumārāgiri Redḍi, Kāṭaya Vēma Redḍi, and the later rulers of Kandukūru, were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. Their conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, however, did not affect their attitude to other sects. They were tolerant of other faiths and extended to them their patronage without any partiality.

37. Bj. Rj., I, v. 11.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 900 of 1915.

39. Ibid., No. 556 of 1909.

40. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222; and Vol. XXV, pp. 323-24.

41. Ibid.

These Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachers were great scholars in Sanskrit and Telugu, and several Telugu poets of this period were the pupils of either the Śaiva gurus or Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. Many Telugu poets flourished during this period as a result of the interest created, and taste developed, in Telugu literature by these religious preceptors.

One notable development in the religious life of the people, which affected brāhmins as well as the other castes during this period, was the cleavage between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Vēdism or the religion of Vēdic sacrifice and ritual, though popular for a time at the beginning of the age, gradually lost its hold, yielding place to cults, like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, which were growing more and more popular and attaining great importance. Those were the times when Vaiṣṇavism strove hard to capture the hearts of the public and reign supreme. These two cults changed altogether the aspect of religion till then in vogue. The Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava teachers vied with one another, the former in maintaining the hold which they already had on the common people, the latter in spreading their religion all over the country. They both zealously tried to convert to their respective faiths the kings, and nobles the country and their subjects, and make them their disciples. They became the custodians of this neo-Hinduism of cults, the law-givers, and the interpreters of *dharma*. The teachers of each cult gathered around them as many disciples as possible, and revived the drooping spirits of the nation, which suffered greatly owing to foreign aggression and oppressive rule, and maintained their preeminent position as the accredited teachers of religion and leaders of society. With this new turn the religion had taken, the emphasis in this age shifted from caste to cult, and from sacrificial Vēdism to a popular religion of creeds and *vraṭas*. Members of the Hindu society, whatever the caste to which they originally belonged, became divided chiefly into the two important sectarian groups, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Teachers of these two *samāyas* had their respective *māṭhas* or monasteries at different places in the country, with their regional pontiffs.

The Smārta brāhmins who belonged to neither of the two sects, were not unified like the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas under one or more religious heads. No doubt, it is true that there were *moṭhas*, founded by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya centuries before. The pontiffs of these *moṭhas* were, however, unable to make any headway, or to exert their influence on the brahman society in general. This was probably due to the several political and dynastic changes, religious conflicts, and, above all, to the rise and expansion of Śaivism, which had been flourishing under royal patronage in the country south of the Vindhya, for some centuries before the Redḍi period. The lack of royal patronage to the

premier *maṭha* at Śṛīngēri is borne out by the absence of inscriptions recording grants of land or *agrhaṇas* to it. In fact, inscriptions give us to understand that that *maṭha* became a religious and social power only from the middle of the fourteenth century, under the patronage of the first Vijayanagar dynasty.⁴² The weakness and the disunion of the Smārta community, and brāhmanism in general, was recognised by some of the thinking section of the people, and the result was the revival of the religious and social power and influence of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, 'the high-priest of the Smārta brāhmins'.

On the east coast in the Reddi kingdom there was no such move. The Reddi kings were Śaivas and had Śivācāryas as their gurus and guides. They patronised Śaivism. However, after the downfall of Koṇḍa-vidu, the influence of the Jagadguru of the Śṛīngēri *maṭha* spread over the eastern Andhra country which formed part of the Vijayanagar dominion. With the revival of the power of the pontiffs of the Śṛīngēri *maṭha* and the spread of their influence, the Smārta brāhman community also fell in line with the other sectarian communities.

The temple and the *maṭha* were the two prime religious institutions which exercised, as before, their beneficial influence, in strengthening the purity of the religious life of the people in general, and promoted some of the traditional arts and crafts. Both these institutions were maintained by royal as well as public patronage.

The temple in this period was a full-fledged institution with its elaborate service and office establishments. It was more or less a state within a state with its full administrative machinery of police, accountants, supervisors, treasurers and servants. The temple was the nucleus around which the ancient village developed. Hence, there was hardly any village without a temple. Towns grew, and commerce developed around famous religious centres, holy *tīrthas* and temples. The number of temples generally grew in proportion to the size and extent of the village, and in accordance with the intensity of the charitable and religious zeal among the public. The number of

42. "There are over 80 inscriptions recording grants made by or under gurus of the Śṛīngēri Maṭha ranging in date from 1392 to 1758 A.D. The Śṛīngēri dharmapīṭha or religious throne was established, as mentioned above, by Śaṅkarāchārya, the great Śaiva reformer of the 8th century. The celebrated scholar Mādhava or Vidyāraṇya (forest of learning), author of the Vēdabhāṣya who was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in 1336, was the head of the establishment at that time. By his aid and advice, Hakka and Bukka, the first and third sons of Saṅgama, succeeded in establishing the new state and Hakka, the first king assumed the name Harihara In gratitude for Vidyāraṇya's services, Harihara established the maṭha at Śṛīngēri in 1346 and he and his brothers richly endowed it " — *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. V, pp. 1176-77.

temples in towns and capital cities was great. Rāghavēśvara, Mūla-sthānam Mailārādēva, Nagarēśvara and Aṅgaḍi Gōpinātha, were some of the temples at Koṇḍaviḍu, the capital of the Reḍḍi kings, that find mention in inscriptions.

In its conception, the temple was a sectarian religious institution. Saivas worshipped in Śiva temples, and Vaiṣṇavas in Viṣṇu temples. The popular forms of Śiva worshipped during this period were Svayāmbhū Śrī Mahādēva, Tripurāntaka, Kalyāṇa Candra-śēkhara, Iṣṭakāmēśvara, Mallēśvara or Mallinātha, Mailārādēva, Vīrabhadra, Kāla-Bhairava and so on. The aspects of god Viṣṇu known from inscriptions to have been worshipped during this age were many, and they are Gōpinātha (Ananta Gōpinātha, Varada Gōpinātha, Prasanna Gōpinātha, Bhuvanamaṅgaḷa Gōpinātha), Kēśava (Cenna Kēśava, Prasanna Kēśava, Prasanna Cenna Kēśava), Nṛsimha (Sānta Nara-simha, Lakṣmī Narasimha, Yōgānanda Nṛsimha) and Rāma (Ghaṇṭāla Rāmanātha, Rāghavēśvara), and Janārdana. Śrīsailam, Tripurāntakam, Dakṣharam, Palakollu (Kṣīrārāmam), Bhīmavaram (near Sāmalkōḷ), Guḍipūḍi and Amarāvati, were the reputed Saiva *kṣetras*, of which the last five were renowned as Pañcārāmas. Śrīkūrmam, Simhachalam, Sarpavaram, Śrīkākuḷam, Bāpaṭla, and Ahōbalam were the principal Vaisnava *kṣetras* of this period.

Besides these Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, there were some others which were special to some communities. The Vaiśyas had their temple of goddess Kanyakāparamēśvari or Vāsavi kanyakā, their tutelary deity. Some of the trading communities had their own special temples to patronise and worship, like those of Nagarēśvara and Gaurēśvara. The horse-dealers worshipped the goddess, Guṅḡalaparamēśvari⁴³. The members of the Viśvakarmakula also seem to have had their own temple for worship. Bāṇāla Liṅgana, a member of the Viśvakarma family, built in Śaka 1327 a temple of Cenna Mallikārjuna (Śiva), and endowed it with a grant of land.⁴⁴

Another interesting feature of this period was the growth of *parivāradevatās* in the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It was a prevalent custom of those days to get the images of Ālwārs (twelve in number), and Hanumān consecrated in Viṣṇu temples. One other feature was to consecrate liṅgas in the name of deceased persons, and set them up in temples and worship them. A certain brāhman Mañcīrāja brought two liṅgas from Śrīparvata, after the death of his

43. Ep. Coll., No. 205 of 1936.

44. N.I.D., Vol. III, O. 83, pp. 1050 ff.

eldest brother Mallinātha who was honoured by king Anavōta Reddi and set up one of them in the temple of god Maṇḍūka Śaṁbhu of the village of Maṇikēśvaram, designating it Rāvinūntula Parvata Mallinātha līṅga in Śaka 1275.⁴⁵ Pinna Bhūpāla's servant, Nāra Bhūpāla, Allāḍa Reddi's commander, constructed a stone temple, and consecrated therein a līṅga called Allāḍēśvara līṅga, presumably after the death of his master, Allāḍa Reddi, and granted some lands for worship to the temple.⁴⁶ The charities made to temples in the form of lands, villages and otherwise, were placed formally under the charge of the respective communities to which the temples belonged.

Maṭha was the other religious institution which played an important role in diffusing knowledge among the common people. The pontiffs of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* were highly learned and cultured personages, proficient in their respective scriptural lore. They encouraged learning and patronised scholars and poets. Of the five Śaiva *maṭhas* of the Kākatiya period, which were situated on the holy Śrīparvata, only Arasa *maṭha* and Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* find mention in the scriptures⁴⁷ of this period. We do not know the pontiff of the Arasa *maṭha*. The head of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* during the period under review was Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya. He encouraged the Telugu poet, Gaurana, to write *Nava Nātha Caritra*, an account of the Nava Nāthas as a dvipada kāvya in Telugu. At the instance of this same Śivayōgīśvara, poet Śrīnātha wrote his *Śivarātri-māhātmyam* in Telugu, and dedicated it to his devoted disciple and attendant, Mummaḍi Santayya. In this way, the pontiffs of Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* not only imparted religious education to their folk but also advanced the cause of Telugu learning by patronising men of letters. Gōlakī *maṭha* "whose spiritual influence extended over three lakhs of villages" was a famous institution that flourished during the Kākatiya period, and had its branches at Mandāram (present Mandaḍam in the Guntur district), Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), and Puṣpagiri (Cuddapah district). We find no references in the records of the post-Kākatiya period to the famous Gōlakī *maṭha* established by Viśvāśvara Śivācārya in Śaka 1183 at Mandāram⁴⁸. Only the *maṭha* at Tripurāntakam and Puṣpagiri⁴⁹ find mention in the inscriptions, though nothing is known about them.

45. Ibid, O. 78, pp. 1037 ff.

46. S.I.I., V, No. 135.

47. The five *maṭhas* situated on the Śrīśailam Hill were Arasa *maṭha* (also mentioned as Arasi:*maṭha* in inscriptions), Bhikṣa *maṭha*, Gaṇa *maṭha*, Kalu *maṭha* (or Śilā *maṭha*) and Śāraṅga *maṭha*.

48. Ep. Coll., Nos. 380, and 809 of 1915.

49. Ep. Coll., No. 94 of 1917, Ep. Rep. 1917, para 83, p. 123.

50. Ep. Coll., No. 829 of 1905; No. 272 of 1905.

We have no evidence of any of the Vaiṣṇava *mathas* that flourished during this period, either from literature or from inscriptions.

Popular religion consisted in the periodical worship of gods Śiva and Viṣṇu according to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *Āgamas* respectively by Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, observing *vratas*, and worshipping village goddesses, and other religious practices, like the performance of *japa* and *tapa*. Śaivas worshipped their god Śiva six times^{50a} a day at fixed periods. The chanting of *Tiruvōymoli* and *Tiruppāvu* in the Vaiṣṇava temples of the Andhra country was in practice from long before the Redḍi period⁵¹, and *vrttis* in temples were granted for this service.

The worship of heroes, and hero stones also became part and parcel of popular religion. There are references in contemporary literature⁵² to the worship of heroes with flowers and other offerings. Every year festivals were held in honour of local heroes in different localities and ballads⁵³ commemorating their deeds of heroism were sung to

50 a. “अरुणावर्धरात्र्यन्तु षट्कालाः परिकीर्तिताः

तेषु कालेषु कुर्वीत षट्कालाष्टविधार्चनम्॥

भूत्यागन्धाक्षतापुष्पैः सपत्रैः फलदायकैः

धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यैर्वीट्याचाष्टविधार्चनम्(?)॥”

51. S. I. I., Vol. V. 82, 66.

52. “నిరవధకధర్మై రహితైః ప్రణవోపహార సమర్పణ మహావీర

వరకైః ప్రతిరూపంబుల వలనను”—Vk. Cr., II, prose 51, p. 85.

53. The singing of some of these ballads which roused the enthusiasm of common people and infused and nurtured heroic spirit in them, was made into a regular profession and some communities lived by them. In this way, some communities were exclusively entrusted with the task of perpetuating these ballads; for instance, the heroic ballad of *Kaṭamaraju-katha* relating to Kāṭamarāju of the Yādava (Gollashepherd) clan who gained a victory in his fight with Nallasiddhi, the Telugu Cōḍa king of Nellore, was entrusted to the charge of Kommu people, a community of the cobbler caste, who made it their profession to sing only that ballad and chiefly subsist by gifts and *vartanas* given to them by the members of that clan. The Yādavas respect the Kommu people greatly, in as much as they preserved and propagated the ballads glorifying them. It has been an age-long custom observed by the Yādavas not to take food without offering it beforehand to a member of the Kommu community, whenever he comes to his house. Some of the Pikilis (పికిలివారిండ్లు—one of the communities of the Gollas) also made it their profession to sing this *Kaṭamaraju katha*. These professional ballad singers of the Pikilis and the Kommu attend the annual festivals of the goddess Gaṅgā, the tutelary deity of the Yādava clan. On such occasions, it has been the time-honoured custom among the Pikilis not to sing the *Kaṭamaraju* ballad unless and until it was first sung by

the accompaniment of music and dance. The Annual festival of the heroes was a solemn and grand festive occasion, which not only served to perpetuate the memory of the departed heroes but also to sustain and cultivate heroic spirit among people. This worship developed into a regular cult, called *Virācāram* in the Telugu country, with some following,

the traditional singers, the Kemmu people. In this way, this cult of the heroes gave rise to some communities of professional ballad singers who were experts in the art of singing ballads.

The ballad of the heroes of Palnāṭi also was sung to the accompaniment of music and dance. This is referred to in Vallabhāmatya's *Kṛīḍābhīraṇam*.

“దుతతాళంబున వీరసుంభితక ధుం ధుం కిటాత్కారసం
గతి వాయింపుచు నాంతరాళికయతి గ్రామాభిరామంబుగా
యతిగూడం ద్విపద ప్రబంధమున నీరానీకముం బాడె నొ
క్కతె ప్రత్యక్షరమాం గుమారకులు ఫీట్కారంబునం దూలఁగన్.”

“గర్జించి యరకి జంఘాకండయుగళంబు

వీరసంబెటకోల చేయు నొకఁడు

అలీధ పాదవిన్యాస మొప్పుగ్రామి

కుంతాభిషయముఁ గైకొను నొకఁడు

బిగువు గన్నుల నుబ్బు బెదరు చూపులతోడ

ఫీట్కార మొనరించుఁ బెలుచు నొకఁడు

పటుభుజావష్టంభ పరిపాటి ఘటియిల్ల

ధగటి యాస్ఫోటించి దాటు నొకఁడు

ఉద్ది ప్రకటింప నొక్కగుం డోలవాఁడు

బయలు గుఱ్ఱంబు భంజశృంగుల నొకఁడు

కొడుము దాటింపుచును బెద్ద కొలుపుతోనఁ

బడతి పల్నాటి వీరులఁ బాడునపుడు.”

From the above verses it is clear that the ballad of the Palnāṭi heroes was sung by a female, and that men playing the roles of different characters, danced expressing emotion and sentiment by gestures and movements in accordance with the spirit of the ballad sung, as in Kathakali, and that the *dvipada* prabandhas were sung and not merely recited, in olden days.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS, RITES AND FESTIVALS

The Hindu is not free to perform any ceremony, purely domestic or public (civil), according to his own will at any time. His whole life, from birth to death and from morn to eve, is regulated by strict discipline. The course of each and every function he has to perform, as a *gṛhastha* and as a member of the society at large, was all chalked out, and strict rules of conduct were laid down in the *Smṛtis* and *Dharma Sāstras* with their three-fold division of the *ācārakāṇḍa*, *vyavahāra kāṇḍa*, and *prāyaścittakāṇḍa*. Even a slight deviation from these rules of conduct, swerving even a little from the ordained path and strict discipline enjoined on him, was not appreciated, nay, tolerated. If the conduct of any Hindu was such that it affected the dignity of society and polluted it with irreligious actions, his guru, the religious head of his order, gave notice to the head of his family, and brought round the wrong-doer and his elders with a fine or punishment. Politics and judicature were the domain of the king. In religious life and ethics, the guru of each *Samaya*, and the religious pontiff of the *Śrīngēri mātṛa*, ruled the people of the respective sects. The *Dharma Sāstras* laid down the rules of conduct to be observed for the first three *varṇas*, and the members of the fourth caste had to regulate their life, in accordance with the precepts of the elders belonging to the *agravārṇas*, and in consonance with the *dharma*s enunciated by the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas*.

There was a new orientation in religion during this period, which saved the Hindu society from disruption, following the rude and severe shock it received from the Muslim invasions. There was a gradual decrease in the performance of *yāgas* and *yajñas* by brāhmins and a great increase in the tendency to observe diverse *vratas* and the innumerable *dānas* (as codified in the *Calureargucintamani* by Hōmādrī). The new turn religion had taken in this period, tended to mitigate the divergence between the members of the first three *varṇas* and knit them together more closely than before. The several *vratas* or religious observances, whether *Saivite* or *Vaiṣṇavite*, were thrown open to all Hindus irrespective of caste; and this nurtured a sort of fraternity and unity among them, which greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Hindu society, and the cohesion of its ingredient *aṅgas*. The members of the fourth caste were made to feel, for the first time in the course of their history, that the Hindu religion was as much

theirs as it was of the higher castes, and almost all the ceremonies to be performed, became common to all the members of the society. The feasts, the festivals, the religious observances, the *dānis*, *vratas*, and *parvas* or auspicious occasions, all became the common legacy of the Hindu folk in general.

Pañcāṅgam :

The *pañcāṅgam*¹ played an important role in the daily routine of the people of all communities. Their domestic and social activities were guided by a consideration of the auspicious moments for commencing them. From the brāhman who projected an important *yajña* down to the farmer who was eager to commence the agricultural operations in the new year, a reference to the *pañcāṅgam* for the correct time and the propitious moment was necessary. From times of yore the Hindus have been trained to do a thing at the auspicious moment. For the performance of each and every one of the ceremonies, the auspicious month, fortnight, week-day, *muhūrtam*, and the precise *lagna*, had to be ascertained and fixed correctly. The king, according to the *Niti Śāstras* (works on Polity), had to perform and attend to many duties. Diverse rites and rituals had to be arranged in temples according to *Āgamas* at fixed intervals of the day. For this purpose, the Hindus in general divided the civil day from sunrise to sunrise into thirty *muhūrtams* (the day into fifteen, and the night into fifteen), and gave each *muhūrtam* a different name.^{1a} As sixty *ghaṭikas* (*gaḍiyas*) make one full day, each *muhūrtam* is made up of two *ghaṭikas* of time, that is, forty eight minutes. The kings also were enjoined to divide the day and night alike into eight half-watches or *ardha-yāmas*, each half-watch coming to $3\frac{3}{4}$ *ghaṭikas*, or one and a half-hour, and spend each half-watch as directed by the *Niti Śāstras*. It was believed that, to produce the desired effect and to achieve success and merit, correct moment for the commencement of the ceremony, rite or ritual, either social or religious, had to be ascertained. Even the slightest variation in the correct *muhūrtam* and the precise *lagna*, fixed by the *jyōtirjñās*, did not produce the desired result, but was also believed to do harm to the *yajamāna*.

Gaḍiyāram :

This over-emphasis on time in fixing the *muhūrtam* and the moment correctly, and announce it to the king, the priest and also to

1. The *Pañcāṅgam* or the Hindu almanack contains the five *aṅgas* or elements, namely, the *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *yōga* and *kāraṇa*, which are determined by the disposition of the *grahas* and the *nakṣatras*. It has been the thesis of the Hindus that human destiny is inseparably connected with the movements of the stellar bodies which are part and parcel of the Universe.

1a. F. E. Pargitar - *The Telling of Time in Ancient India* - J. R. A. S. 1916.

the people, necessitated the Hindus to devise an arrangement to measure time. This device was called *gaḍiyāram*. The Telugu poets of this period, like Anantāmātya, Koravi Gōparāja, Śrīnātha, Vallabhāmātya, and Pōtana, all refer to *gaḍiyāram* in their works.

Gaḍiyāram seems to be the Prakṛit form of *Ghaṭikāgāra*² (*gaḍiya*, the tadbhava of *ghaṭi* or *ghaṭikā*, and *āra*, that of *agāra*). In Sanskrit this device is called *ghaṭikāyantra* or *ghaṭīyantra*. *Gaḍiyāram* therefore means a clock tower or a room or building containing this contrivance. In course of time this term came to be applied to the contrivance itself without reference to the room or building.

The common device to measure time that had been in vogue from ancient times is the water-clock. The Buddhist work, *Divyāvadāna*, Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma Purāṇas* and some astronomical works, describe this clock. The antiquity of this contrivance to measure time is proved from the fact that the *Jyōtiṣa Vedāṅga* of the *Rig* recension, contains its description. This contrivance of water-clock was very simple and consisted of a big vessel filled with water, and a small jar or bowl with a hole at the bottom. This bowl is called *pātra* in Sanskrit and *kuḍuka* in Telugu. The astronomer, Lalla, of the seventh century of the Christian era describes this bowl as "a vessel shaped like the lower half of a water-pot (*kalāśa*) made of ten palas in weight of copper, with a diameter of half a cubit (9 inches) at the top and a height of half of that, and having a hole made with a wire fashioned from $3\frac{1}{3}$ māśas of gold drawn out to a length of four aṅgūlas (3 inches).³ Time could be observed in using this bowl in two different ways. The time taken by the bowl, for draining in, and sinking in water while floating in a large receptacle filled with water, and also the time for emptying itself when filled with water, was considered as a *ghaṭi*, *ghaṭikā*, *nāḍi*, *nāṭikā* or *nāḍikā* of time, that is, twenty four minutes. The more ancient form of this Hindu water-clock worked in the latter way, that is, by emptying itself in the course of a *ghaṭikā* (*gaḍiya*) of time.

2. Cf. Bhaṇḍagara-Bhaṇḍara; Kṣīrāgara-Kīlāra and so on. Vide-Sri V. Suryanarayana Sastri's-*Gaḍiyāram*—A. S. P. P., XXXII, pp. 9 ff.

3. Dr. J. F. Fleet - *The ancient water-clock*; J. R. A.:S., 1915, pp. 218 ff., "In this variety, but in other sizes and materials," Dr. J. F. Fleet says, "the appliance has survived to the present day, and seems to be fairly well-known to people who have lived in Northern India where it appears to be still used sometimes by police guards in out-of-the-way villages." There is a water-clock in the Raja's palace at Venkatagiri in the Nellore district, where time is announced to the Public in *gaḍiyas* even at the present day.

The water-clock that was in use in the Andhra country during the period under review, was a late device that worked by drawing in water. The *ghaṭikā-pātra* or the bowl, which draws in water and sinks in the water in the big receptacle within a *ghaṭikā* of time, was called *gaḍiḍya-kuduka* in Telugu. Koravi Gōparāja compares very aptly the sun setting in the ocean with a *gaḍiḍya-kuduka*⁴, sinking in the sheet of water in the big receptacle. That this appliance operated in this way is further made clear by the passages in the *Bhōjarū-jīyam*⁵ and the *Virobhadravijayam*⁶, written by Anantāmātya and Pōtana respectively. They refer to the sinking of the eagerly watched *tāmra-ghaṭikā-pātra* or the copper-bowl. The passage in the latter work referred to above, suggests that this appliance was also set up temporarily at the time of marriages⁷ and other auspicious occasions, to ascertain and announce the precise auspicious *lagna* or moment. No sooner than the bowl sank in water than the time was announced⁸ to the public, by either striking a gong with a rod (called *koḍupu* in Telugu), just as it is being done now in towns, in Thānas, Taluk offices, Collectorates and Police stations, or by the blowing of conches. Time was calculated and announced in *ghaṭikas* of time beginning from the sunrise to the sunset, and probably from the sunset to sunrise. Vallabhāmātya, the author of the Telugu drama *Kriṣṭābhīramam*, refers to the *gaḍiḍyāram* in the *māsāla* (entrance hall) of the Andhra monarch at Warāṅgal. Hearing the *gaḍiḍyāram* strike sixteen (*renḍi*=*enimudul*), indicating thereby that

4. “గడియ కుడుక భంగి గ్రహ రాజు జలధిలో వ్రాతె.....”—Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 238.

5. “జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్రపుటి కాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి . నక్షత్రలు చల్లిన...” —Bh. Rj., IV, pr. 92-93.

6. “శుభలగ్నోదయ సూచకంబగుచు జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్ర పుటి కాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి...” —Vr., Vj., III, pr. 123.

7. “తమ పెద్దిటి యగుంగుమీన గణక ధాన్యంబుపై జెండ్లి గ్నముసాధింప జేసిండ్లిపెంపున నభంగంకానదీ తోయమల్ రమణం బోసి కులంకరించి గడియారం బొప్పు గట్టించి...” —Ibid. v. 24.

8. “కంగున గంటపై గొడుపు గ్రహు న వైచుడు...” —Bh. Rj., IV, vv. 92-3.
“మునుగడియారంబున గట్టిన పెనుజేగంటలరవము శేయన నెడ...”

—Sm. Dv., I, ii, v. 5.

“గ్రహబలంబు గలుగు వేళ పూర్ణపుటి కాంతనాదంబు చెవుల సోకినత...”

—Ibid, v. 60.

“శక్రగడియారమున మించె శంఖరవము

విబుధ లోకంబునందలి వేగునోక ” —Hr. Vl., VII, v. 131.

sixteen *ghaṭikas* of time elapsed till then from the sunrise, Gōvinda Mañcana Śarma, one of the characters of the play, suggests to his friend Tiṭṭibha Setṭi, another character, that it was a little past midday and time to go to dinner to a hotel,⁹ as they felt very hungry.

Gaḍiyāram or water-clock was put in charge of learned brāhmanas, who were probably proficient in astronomical calculations. They were remunerated by land grants. An inscription¹⁰ at Sarpavaram (Cocanada taluk, East Godavari district) informs us that a certain Gōli Sōmā Redḍi, after instituting *gaḍiyāram* in the Bhāvanārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at that place in Śaka 1326, Tārāṇa, entrusted it to the charge of two brāhmanas Aubhaḷōjhu and Singa-ojhu, and paid one hundred *ṭaṅkas* as the price of two fields, five *kha* (that is, five *puṭṭis* of land) in extent, which were granted to them free of tax as *mānyam* to cover their salaries.

Different Ceremonies and Samskāras :

Every auspicious ceremony, rite and ritual was commenced precisely just at the *lagna* fixed by the *munhūrtikas*. The Smṛtis and some of the digests on Hindu law furnish a list of sacraments that a Hindu householder had to observe. Hōmadri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*¹¹ provides a complete list of all the *vratas*, *dānas*, and the like, that the Hindus had to perform.

9. “ఉదుపీఠక్షే శిఖరావలంబియగు నుద్ధోర్ధ్వశు మోసాలపై
 ×డియారంబున ప్రమాసె రెండెనిమిదు ల్ ఘంటాఘటాత్మకముల్
 సడలెత్తె భాసుడు పశ్చిమంబునకు వైశ్యా పూటకుటింటికి
 గుడుడు బోద మె లెక్క యిచ్చి? కడు నాకొన్నార మిప్పట్లునె”

—Kd. Bm.

10. S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 10.

11. R. (†) Bhandarker—*Early History of the Dekkan* (3rd edition), pp. 203-04—The celebrated author Hōmadri served the Yadava kings Mahādeva and his successor Ramadeva or Ramacandra of Dēvagiri, and flourished in the latter-half of the thirteenth century. He codified all the religious practices and observances that had been in vogue till his time, and that had come down from times immemorial in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* which consisted of four parts, namely, “(1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious feasts and observances, (2) *Dānakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tirthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places, and (4) *Mōkṣakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth.” Besides these “there is a fifth *khanda* or part which is called *Parisṛṣakhanda* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Sṛaddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyascitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information.”

The important ceremony which every Hindu performed with great eclat and rejoicing was the marriage. Among brāhmanas it appears to have been the custom to celebrate the marriage of a girl at the early age of eight years.¹² The difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was, when compared with the present custom, considerably great. In those days the brāhman youth spent the early years of his life exclusively in learning the Vēdas and acquiring proficiency in one or more Śāstras. He married only after finishing his studies, by which time he was nearly twenty five or thirty years of age or even more. The *Manu Smṛti*, the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* and other similar works, lay down the marriageable age of girls in accordance with the age of the would-be-bridegroom. Of the two Smṛtis mentioned above, the *Manu Smṛti* states that a man of thirty years should marry a maiden of twelve years of age, and one of twenty four years, a girl of eight years of age. Bṛhaspati lays down that a person of twenty one years of age should marry a girl of seven years of age¹³. For want of definite and positive evidence, it cannot be asserted that the Smṛtis referred to above, were followed by the Andhras in the period under review. Nor do we know definitely the Smṛti or the Dharma Śāstra that was in use in the Andhra country at this period. It is not therefore possible to say how far the Smṛtis referred to above, bear testimony to the practice then in vogue. There is however reason to believe that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was probably followed during this period; for, a junior contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayāji, named Kētana who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, rendered freely into Telugu verse Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara*, the most famous of the many commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, under the name of *Vijñānēśvarīyam*. This translation itself establishes the fact that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was followed in the Andhra country about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Because it was then in use, Kētana was probably tempted to render it into Telugu, for the benefit of the Andhras. Even this *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* does not lay any hard and fast rules as those of the *Manu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* regarding the marriageable age of girls. We may be however nearer the truth if we say that the girls of those days were married very early between seven and ten years of age, and that the difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was greater than what we observe at the present day. There were instances, though probably rare, of *gr̥hasthas* giving their daughters in marriage to old men with the desire of getting large sums of money from them¹⁴.

12. Sm. Dv., II, VI, 74.

13. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Tr. by Rao Bahadur Sriśa Candra Vidyāranya, BK. I., Ch. III, Marriage, p. 101.

14. Bh., Rj., VI, v. 18,

Before settling a marriage the bride-groom's relatives used to go and visit the bride's father and other elders, and if the match was to their satisfaction, the *uṅkuva*, that is, the money to be given to the parents of the bride as bride-price, was fixed, and then the match settled. This betrothal ceremony was a small function, of which the mounting of the wedding ring (*mudirārōhaṇam*) (to the bride's finger) formed the important part. It ended with a small feast given by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's party. The technical name of this feast was called *pāla-kūḷḷu kuḍucūṭa*,¹⁵ that is, partaking of milk dishes. Among marriages in royal families, the brides' father offered to his daughter many elephants, horses, milch-cows, men and maid-servants besides much jewellery, and at times gave villages¹⁶ also, according to his status, when she was going to her husband's house. The nobles and vassals followed in the footsteps of their overlords. At the time of marriage, encomiums in *gadya* and *padya* befitting the occasion, were recited.¹⁷ Ceremonies like '*kranta*', *saptapadulu* (seven steps) observed in the marriages of this time, are in vogue even to-day. Remarriage of widows was not allowed. John of Montecervino observes : "Their marriages take place only at one time of the year ; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again."¹⁸

Generally one had to marry, according to the Sāstras, a girl belonging to one's own *varṇa*, and not to a different one. But some of the marriage alliances, contracted by some of the ruling families during this period, were not in consonance with the general rule laid down by them. There were mixed marriages; for example, the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara II of the Lunar dynasty belonging to the Yādava Kṣatriya family of Saṅgama, gave his daughter in marriage to a member of the fourth caste, namely, Kaṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, prime minister of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, king of Koṇḍaviḍu; the Ēḷuva prince Cōḍa Bhīma, son of king Cōḍa Bhakti Raja of the Solar dynasty, and belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, took to his wife a daughter of king Anavēmā Reḍḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu; the Gaṅga monarch of Kaḷiṅga, Vīra Narasiṃhadēva, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the Lunar dynasty, gave his daughter to the Rēcerla prince, Kumārāṇnavōta of Rājukoṇḍa belonging to the Caturthakula. These matrimonial alliances were, no doubt, actuated by political expediency. It was the prevailing general custom for the vanquished kings to offer their daughters in marriage

15. Vb. Vj, III, v. 55.

16. NK, II, v. 221.

17. Hr. VI., IV, v. 99.

18. *Foreign Notices*, p. 188.

to the victors in battle, along with many gifts of jewels, elephants, horses etc. These political marriages form by themselves a separate category of their own. They raise the doubt if the Smṛtis or the Dharma Śāstras allowed such inter-caste marriages in this period of Hindu religious revival. Though the examples cited above were political marriages and stand on a different footing altogether, Dharma Śāstras allowed some *anulōma* marriages. According to them the members of the first two orders of the Hindu society might marry a girl from any of the remaining orders, besides a girl of his own caste; that is, a brāhman may marry, a kṣatriya girl, a vaiśya girl, or a sūdra girl, and a kṣatriya, a vaiśya girl or a sūdra girl, and a vaiśya a sūdra girl. The sūdra had to marry a girl of his own caste.¹⁹ Some of the marriages cited above might have been *anulōma* marriages, and hence, the seeming inter-caste marriages referred to above, might not have been really such. The outlook of the different castes and communities in this period was more conservative than before, and every community and sect tried to preserve its purity and pristine glory. In fact, this also seems to have been one of the main motives behind the controversy regarding the status of the vaiśyas and the vaijātiyas, which made a decision with a royal decree necessary from the *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar, alluded to in one of the previous chapters. The Muslim invasions appear to have been greatly responsible for fostering this kind of exclusiveness and narrow outlook. The respective castes and their internal sub-divisions moved within a limited social orbit and hardened into *kulas* in this period, each *kula* tending to become endogamous rather than exogamous. When such was the state of society and the tendencies that moulded its form, there was hardly any scope for inter-caste marriages.

The following were the Samskāras that were generally observed in those days as they are done even to-day: (1) jātakarma, (2) nāmakaraṇa, (3) annaprāsana, (4) caulam, (5) upanayana (6) vivāha, (7) garbhādhāna, (8) pūṁsavana, and (9) śimnatōṇnyana. From the date of conception to the date of birth many customary rites, that had come down to that day from very early times, were observed with the same solemnity as those that were sanctioned by the Śāstras, in order that no calamity might befall to the pregnant woman, and that she might have an easy delivery, and that the child might be healthy. These rites consisted in making offerings of cakes and the like, to the tutelary goddess of the village and other

famous local goddesses, in the third, fifth and seventh months of pregnancy. ”

As soon as a child was born, it was customary to observe some popular ceremonies, which had no religious sanction behind them, as is even now the case in villages devoid of medical aid. Some of these customary ceremonies, which were observed in a wealthy or royal family at the birth of a child, are recorded in the Telugu literature of the period. Of these, some observances survive even to day. It was an ancient custom, observed during the period under review, to place a gold coin on the navel of the new-born baby and cut the umbilical cord, and dip the baby in the winnowing fan filled with pearls. The baby was then sprinkled with water in which rice had been washed (*kali dūci*), and it was gently rubbed on the crown with fingers dipped in sesamum oil, and besmeared with ghee. After being washed in warm water, collyrium was applied to the baby's eyes and *tilakam* or ornamental mark was put on its forehead. On either side in the corners (*podigillu*) of the gate outside the room, wherein the baby slept, were placed bran (*lavudu*), live embers (*nippulu*) and cotton seeds. Disenchanted bran was poured across the gateway outside it. Water pots or *atikas* (small pots with broad mouths), in which were placed some margosa sprigs (*cēpa remmalu*), were put probably in the room near the baby's cot or outside the door of the baby's room. Other similar precautions for the safety of the baby were taken. After all this was done, married women were invited, and after receiving the gifts they brought, they were served with *vāyanams* (presents of sweets and other things) and betel with pieces of camphor. ”

20. “ విశదముగ నడిగి యారా

జగితావఃణి కఱుంగఁ జెప్పి సఖు లింపగు స

ర్వ శుభంబులు గూరిచిత

చ్చిశువునకు స్మిదఁ జేకుచెవి కానుండెన్.”

మూఁడు నెలలఁ జేయలు ముద్దులు నెట్టిరి

యలరుఁ గుడుము లైదు నెలలఁ బెట్టి

రేదు నెలల ట్రొక్కి—రెఱ్ఱపొలమ్మకు

గతికిఁ జూయ నెళ్ళ జరుపుకొనుచు.” —Sm. Div., I, iii, vv. 32-33.

21. “నినువుబొడ్డుమీఁదఁ బసిఁడిటఁకం బిడి

యొయ్య నాభినాళ మత్తరించి

మాత్తియములచేట మంచి యం దిడి కన

దమ్ములందు సమ్మదమ్మునగుడ.

Generally in the eighth year after conception, or in the eighth year of birth according to Yājñavalkya, the upanayana ceremony of the brāhman boy was performed. The investiture with the sacred thread of the kṣātriya boy took place in the eleventh and of the vaiśya boy in the twelfth year. After investing the boy with the sacred thread and initiating him into *brahmacharya* the guru instructed him in the Vēdas and the Śāstras. The pupil remained a bachelor until he finished his studies. After completing his education, he married a girl of his own caste and led the life of a *gṛhastha* (house-holder), performing the various duties enjoined on him by the Smṛtis or the Dharma Śāstras. A youth of those days was expected to learn a Śāstra sitting at the feet of an *acārya* or guru, to acquire good instruction from elders, to fulfil his vows with daring, and to win a victory over his kinsmen. He who failed to do these was not considered to be a man at all.²²

It was the pious aspiration of the brāhman *gṛhasthas* of those days to construct a lotus tank²³ (*kamala kūśūra*), to rear a grove of *tulasi* plants, to worship *pēraṭāṇḍru*, that is, women who committed sati, to set up a *salila sātra*, that is, water pandal for offering drinking water to the thirsty in the summer season, and to go on a pilgrimage. When the brāhman went on a pilgrimage to any

“కలిఁ దోచి నూనె శ్రలిడి

తలపుట్టయియందు నేత్తితైలమును జొ

త్తిల దాచి మెత్తఁగాఁ బొదు

గలరచి కమారు ననిచి రానాడు అట్లు”

“క్రమము : దాడు లక్కడను ముప్పటిలిని

జలకంబుఁ దేర్చి యాచెలువ సుతుని

కొనరఁగాఁ గాటుకయును, జుక్క-బొట్టును

బాటిఁచి యాగడపకు వెలుపటుఁ

బొదికిళ్ళఁ దవుడు నిప్పులుఁ బ్రత్తిగింజలు

నిడి యడ్డముఁ జిట్టు బడిసి జెచ్చి

నేడు రమ్మలు నీళ్ళ వెలలోపల నించి

కాపులు పురింటింట గట్టిచేసి

నాయనముల కెల్ల వని తల రప్పించి

నారు చెచ్చిన యవి వరుస నంది

పచ్చకప్పురంపుఁ బలుకులు వెట్టి వి

డియము లిచ్చి రింపు నయముఁ గలుగ” — Sm. Dv., I. iii, vv. 42-45.

22. Ks. Kh., I, v. 107.

23. Ks. Kh., III, v. 31.

holy place like Kāsi or to a sacred *tīrtha* like the Ganges, he fasted the whole day and kept holy vigil (*jāgarāma*) during night at that *kṣetra* or *tīrtha*. In the early morning he bathed in the river, performed *pīṭṭarpana* and *piṇḍapradana*, that is, worshipped the manes with libations, and the god of the *kṣetra*, and then took his meals.²⁴ He performed many *dānas* and *dharma*s in the course of his pilgrimage, which brought home to his mind the rigours, hardships, and realities of life, gave him opportunities to come into contact with the outside world, and broadened his outlook on life and polished his mind.

The conduct and behaviour of some of the brahman youths, however, was not satisfactory in the light of the ethics of that age. Some of them did not take much care and interest in the performance of *sandhyāvandana* and the sacrificial rites and ceremonies. They spent their time in a jolly way, taking to music, vocal and instrumental, and associating with gamblers. There were also some who stole jewels and vessels from their own house and staked them in gambling. Decorum of speech was not observed. Some youths went after alchemists to win their favour and learn the art. Some made friends with atheists and treated *naṭas* and *pīṭhamardas* with respect, and felt glad to be with *viṭas*. There were some youths who did acts like these which were totally condemned as unbecoming and unworthy of true brahmans.²⁵

Dānas:

Dāna or gift acquired fresh importance during this age of Hindu revival. Hemadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, which elaborately treats of innumerable gifts of a religious character, inspired the public to make gifts to acquire eternal merit, and to ensure wealth and happiness in the future birth. It roused the charitable instinct in men and women, holding out before them the attraction of the acquisition of merit and happiness for mere giving away of something of his own, ungrudgingly with a pure heart. Every member of the Hindu society, man and woman, generally made some gift or other according to his ability and status. The Redḍi kings are stated to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa* which was a popular treatise on the subject. Their chief credit lies in their having made not only the minor *dānas* but also the *mahādānas* which were sixteen in number. There is reason to believe that the number of *mahādānas* was not constant, and that it had increased with the advance of time; for, a passage in the Pasumargu grant of the Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century, extols the king as having made *tuṭi* and other *daśavidha mahādānas* in the

24. Ibid, v. 121.

25. Ks. Kh. IV, vv. 81 and 100.

country extending between Kañci and the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sāgara ("Ā-Kañci-Gaṅgā-Sāgara-madhya - paripaka (?kalpita) tulādānādi-daśavidha-mahādāna-manādhika-dānabuddhih")²⁶. From this it is evident that at the time of Viṣṇuvardhana III, that is, by the middle of the eighth century, the number of *māhādānas* was only ten. If it were greater, certainly, it would have found mention in the grant itself. It is, therefore, obvious that, from the eighth century to the fourteenth century, the number of *mahādānas* increased from ten to sixteen.

Among the kings of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, Anavēmā Redḍi, the third king, is expressly stated in one²⁷ of his records to have made the *dānas* namely (1) *brahmāṇḍa dāna*, (2) *Kanakadharā dāna*, (3) *Gōsahasra dāna* and (4) *Kalpotaru dāna* etc. His Pedaceṇṇukūru record²⁸ also refers to the *Kanakadharā mahādāna* made by him. The express mention of these gifts should not lead us to think that Anavēmā did not make other gifts. As a matter of fact, the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, Rājamahēndravaram and Kandukūru are credited in their records to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādrī in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*. We cannot, however, authoritatively maintain that this claim is true of every king belonging to the three houses, though it might be true in case of some of the kings like Anavēmā Redḍi. Kumāragiri Redḍi also made *mahādānas* like *Tulāpuruṣa*²⁹ *dāna*. His Anapartī grant³⁰ states that he made this *Tulāpuruṣa dāna* at Dākshāram after the completion of his victorious eastern campaign.

Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja of the Ēḷuva family, is said to have made *Gōsahasra dāna* in the vicinity of the temple of Virbhadrā at the holy place of Paṭṭesam, an island in the river Gōḍavārī, and also the *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇyamēru dānas*.³¹

26. C. P. No., 9 of 1913-14.

27. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

28. Elliot's Collection; No. 15-6-26.

29. *Redḍi Rāṇi*, II, No. 1. Oct. 1924 - Vide, his Komaragiripuram grant.

30. J.A.H.R.S., XI, p. 91.

31. Ep. Ind. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

"The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hemādrī. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus; Brahmins must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *puṇyāhracana* or purificatory ceremony. In a maṇḍapa which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *Vṛddhisraddha*, or the *sraddha* for ensuring prosperity. Seven golden *kuṇḍas* (vessels) 21" X 21" or 10" X 10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from seven to one thousand *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured.

Aśva dāna is yet another *dāna*, referred to in the inscriptions of this period. *Aśvadānadīkṣāguru* was one of the titles of Uṇḍirāja, surnamed Uṇḍiśa of the Solar race, who ruled from Sūravaraṇaṭṭaṇa.³²

Allaya Vēmā Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram was also reputed for his liberality. He is stated in his Vēmavaram grant³³ as having given away to brahmins thousands of kine (*gōsahasrāṇi*) in the Dākṣarāmabhūmi, before god Bhīmēśvara. This is no doubt a reference to the *gōsahasra mahādāna*. He is also extolled in inscriptions³⁴ as the *gōcarma-mahāgrahāra-pradātā*, one who granted to brahmins many *agrahāras*, each of the extent of a *gōcarma*.³⁵ Besides these

They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively, to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology, and the images in gold respectively of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty five brāhmaṇas (8 Rtviks, 8 dvarapālakas, 8 japa-brahmins and one guru) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the maṇḍapa must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the Yajamāna has to bathe and go around the *vēdi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times; and finally the *kuṇḍas* must be given away as a gift to the brāhmaṇas." Hēmadri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Danakhanda* (Bibli Ind., Ch. V. pp. 337—339).

"*Hiraṇyamēru* or *Suvarṇamēru* comes under *Mēru dānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case if it is made of grain, it is called *Dhānyamēru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold the representation of the Mēru must have three redges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the Mēru is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a brāhmaṇa for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varaha (Ibid. pp.:391—392)". Quoted from the paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Telugu Cōḍa, Annadēva by Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI. p. 38, f. note 6).

32. C.P. No. 16 of 1917-18, dated in Śaka 1304, Hēmadri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Danakhanda* (Bibl. Ind.) Vol. I, pp. 589-90.

33. Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 237 ff.

34. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1332.

35. Ep. Ind., XIII, V. 19 p. 242.

The Sāraṅgapuram grant (N.D.I., Vol I, C.P. 17, p. 137) of Sāraṅgadharma dated in Śaka 1176 gives the definition of a *gōcarma* in the following verse :

दशहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निवर्तनम्

तान्यैवदशगोचर्म तद्दानादच्युतं पदम् ॥— v. 28.

Ten *hastas* make one *daṇḍa*; thirty *daṇḍas* make one *nivartana*; and ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*.

"*Gōcarma*—A place thirty *daṇḍas* long by one *daṇḍa* and seven *hastas* broad—Brhasp. [M. Bh., XIII, 3121 Sch.].—Monier Williams, p. 304.

dānas he presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēśvara at Rājamahēndravaram a bronze bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas* (*dvādaśasahasra-palikā-pramāṇa sukāmēṣya-nirmītam* *varaghaṇṭam*³⁶). Ordinary offerings or gift of things suitable to and much needed in the season in which it was made, like drinking water (*salila-dāna*), and fans in the summer season, and *kambala dāna* or gift of blankets in the winter season, acquired fresh importance. Above all these gifts, *anna dāna*, or the offering of food to the Hindus irrespective of caste or community, and particularly to the brāhman on particular days and occasions, was considered to be the greatest of all the *dānas*. Offering of food acquired fresh importance during this period and was considered to be a very meritorious act. There were some brāhman in this period who observed the gift of offering food as a *vrata*, and were eulogised by people as *divyānnadātas* and *annapradātas*. Some such brāhman with these titles figure as shareholders in the *agrahāra* grants given by the Reddi kings of Rājamahēndravaram³⁷.

There were special auspicious occasions for making gifts. It is stated in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* that gifts made on such occasions brought to the giver inestimable merit. The moment of Sun's progress to the north and the south (*Uttarāyana-puṇyakāla* and *Dakṣiṇāyana-puṇyakāla*), the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, the *Arthodaya* and the *Mahodaya* occasions, and the *Puskaram* festivals, were, even as in the present day, considered to be very auspicious occasions, for making gifts. In fact, most of the grants, both private and public, recording gifts, were generally made on the occasions of the Sun's progress either to the north or to the south, and at the time of eclipses either lunar or solar. The grant of the village of Gūmpini recorded in the Konkuduru plates of Prince Allya Dodḍa Reddi of Rājamahēndravaram was made on the occasion of *Arthodaya-puṇyakāla*, which is an astronomical combination of the nakṣatra Śravaṇam, the yōga Vyatīpāta, and the week day Sunday on the new moon Pausya, i. e., this *parvam* "takes place on the new moon *thithi* of the Amānta Pausa, provided this *thithi* falls on a Sunday, when during the day time the nakṣatra is Śravaṇam and yōga Vyatīpāta".³⁸ "The *thithi* (Pausa bahuḷa 15) is called *Mahodaya* when any one of the aforesaid special features is wanting and others

36. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242, vv. 19 and 20.

37. Ep. Ind., XIII. pp. 254-55.

Annadāta Vennayārya.

Annadāta Liṅgaya Bhaṭṭa.

Annadāta Lakṣmanārya etc.

The title *annadāta* became almost a surname of the above families.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. V. p. 55.

are present." Other auspicious occasions are the *tīthi*s Śivarātri, i. e., the 14th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, and the Ēkādaśī, the 11th day of the bright half of the months of Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārtika, Pauṣa, and Phālguna, which have special names, viz., Mōhinī Ēkādaśī, Sayana Ēkādaśī, Parivartana Ēkādaśī, Bōdhana Ēkādaśī, Vaikuṇṭha Ēkādaśī, and Āmalakī Ēkādaśī respectively.

Vratas :

Many of the *vratas* described by Hēmādri in the *Vrata khanda* of his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, were performed by people in the age of the Redḍi period. Most of these *vratas* have survived even to the present day. Of these, some were exclusively Śaivite in character, some Vaiṣṇavite and some, common to all sects, the Śmārtas, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. *Śivarātrivrata* and *Ēkādaśivrata* were very important *vratas* to the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas respectively. Observing holy vigil during night on the day of the *vrata*, spending the whole time in the singing the glory of the deity dancing *līlas*, hearing the *puṇya kathas* and *Purāṇas* and praising the glory of the God of the respective persuasions, were important items to be observed in the performance of the *vrata*. The way in which the Śaivas of those days spent the day of the Śivarātri, and the stories illustrating the merit accruing to the performer of this *Śivarātrivrata*, are well described in the *Puṇḍitārādhyacaritra* and *Śivarātri Māhātmyam* written by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha and Śrinātha respectively. *Ēkādaśivrata* is described in a general way (not its ceremonial aspect) in the works *Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam* and *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* written by Bhairavakavi and Praudhākavi Mallana. In fact, the latter work was particularly written to popularise *Ēkādaśivrata* and to drive home, to the mind of the people at large, the invaluable fruits one would derive both on this earth in his life-time and in heaven in his life after death, placing before them the concrete example of king Rukmāṅgada of yore who, in spite of many allurements, temptations and difficulties, did not fail to observe this *vrata*. Consequently, we are told that he went to Vaikuṇṭha, the permanent abode of god Viṣṇu. The *Dvādaśivrata* is another *vrata* supplementary to the *Ēkādaśivrata*. Those who observed the *Ēkādaśivrata* had necessarily to perform duly *dvādaśipāraṇa*, that is, breaking fast on the Dvādaśī day, the next lunar day to Ēkādaśī, of the light fortnight, very early in the morning by giving a feast to brāhmins. Many brāhmins of this period observed this *Ēkādaśivrata* and gave the *dvādaśī* feast. Because of the religious observance of this *dvādaśī* feast, the term *dvādaśī* itself became the surname of some families in this period; for example, a certain scholar Allāḍa Bhaṭṭa, one of the

donees of the Vēmavaram grant of king Allaya Vēmā Redḍi, had the surname Dvādaśi.³⁹ These two *vratas*, Ēkādaśī and the Dvādaśī, though very important to the Vaiṣṇavas, were generally observed by the Smārtas also. Another *vrata* of the same category referred to in the Telugu work *Kṛidābhirāman* is the *Kāmēśvarīvrata*. It mainly relates to the worship of seven married women who go by the general name of Akkalu. The song *Akkla-pāṭa* relating to this *vrata* is still current in the Telugu country. This Śaivite *vrata* is observed even to the present day in the Telugu country in some families. Owing to the impact of Western culture, the development of science and the change that has come over the outlook of the Andhras, the religious fervour and belief in *vratas* have been gradually dying out, and many of the *vratas*, which were in vogue during the Redḍi period, have been forgotten. The two main *vratas* alluded to above, namely Śivarātri and Ēkādaśī have however still a hold over people unlike many of the other *vratas* described by Hēmādri.

Peculiar customs and rites :

The different ceremonies and *vratas* whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, brought in their train several peculiar customs, like keeping holy vigil on special and sacred days, fasting the whole day and breaking on the following day very early in the morning, and taking meal only once in the day (*ekabhuktam*⁴⁰), either in the afternoon or during night time and so on.

As in the previous period the dominating religion at this time was Śaivism which gave rise to some peculiar customs and rites, some of which took such deep root in the country that they are observed by the Saivas even at the present day. Taking food only once a day during nights in the month of Kārtika, and on some days which were considered to be sacred to god Śiva, was and is one of the customs observed by the Saivas. The special term by which this custom is known in Telugu is *nakṭam* which literally means night. *Bharitabhōjanam* is another custom among the Saivas which survives till this day. According to this custom the Śaivas do not eat or partake of anything, without first offering it to the god whose emblem (*liṅga*) they wear

39. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 254, and p. 245.

"Divyānnadātā dvādaś'yām
Vēda-s'āstra-pāṭus-suddhīh
Dvādaś'y-Allaḍa-Bhaṭṭah"—v. 56.

40. "ఏక భుక్తములు నడిచినానములు న, చూచినములు..."—Sm. Dv., II, viii, v. 141.

41. Vr. Pr., XII, v. 55.

which they call *prāṇa-līṅga*, and not a particle of whatever that was served, was left behind uneaten. Once the offering was made to the *prāṇa-līṅga*, no dish offered subsequent to it, was accepted. This kind of meal goes by the technical name of *bharita-bhōjanam*.⁴²

These *vratas* served as a means to educate the common man in soul-culture, and to train him in disciplining his conduct of life. The sanctity and greatness of each *vrata* and the inestimable fruits one would reap by performing it, are illustrated by means of mythical or semi-mythical stories, the central figure of which was either king Yudhiṣṭhira, or some other hero, who is generally stated to have observed this *vrata* in days of yore. In this way, these *vratas* indirectly contributed to the growth of popular traditional literature, which exercised great influence on the mind of the common man, sharpened his religious outlook, and inspired him to pursue the objects he cherished with faith and devotion. In addition to this literature, the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* which were daily read to the public in *agrahāras*, temples and *maṭhas* by efficient *paurāṇikas*, stamped on the mind of the common man the fundamental principles of neo-Hinduism and trained him in the *dharma* of the land. The *vratas* the ancients observed, the literature they produced, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas they heard, the *geyas* and the folk-songs they sang, the puppet shows they exhibited, the dramas they put on boards, the stories they recited, the sculptures in temples they represented, the pictures they painted, all had only one aim and object, namely, to educate and train the common man in Hindu culture, and to disseminate spiritual knowledge to one and all, irrespective of age, sect, caste, creed or religion, to enable them to face the realities of life with composure, and finally to attain *mokṣa*, the fourth *puruṣārtha*. Principles were enunciated, *dharma* was defined, and all the forces were set in motion; the State, the society and religion, all worked together as one unit with perfect harmony without any rift to achieve the common object and reach the goal.

Self Immolation:

Saivism by nature, was a martial religion. It turned out to be more martial in the mediaeval period than in the previous one, and put in vogue certain rites, at once audacious and brave, which were either rare or unpopular till then. The Tantric cult, one phase of Saivism, which found its way into the Telugu country during the mediaeval period, was greatly responsible for popularising these rites and firmly implanting them in the land. The most important of these rites was, of course, self-immolation by offering one's own head either to a god

or goddess. In order to propitiate a deity, whose wrath was believed to have been manifested either in the form of a pestilence or calamity, or in order to fulfil a vow taken by him to get his cherished desire or earthly object coveted, it seems to have been an ancient custom in South India for a devotee to offer his head and immolate himself. This rite was called *mīḍi-tala* in Telugu, and *talai-bali* in Tamil. This rite of *talai-bali* is referred to in the early Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*, wherein we read of warriors who "cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked, and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious." "Sculptural representations" of the offering of the head of the early period are not entirely absent in South India, though rare. We thus come to know from the *Śilappadikāram* and the sculptural representations that the rite of offering one's own head had been in vogue in South India from very early times. The Tāntric cult of the early mediaeval period, and the Pāsupata Śaivism which had been an active and dominating

43. *Śilappadikāram*, Tr. by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 118; Vide also, the author's note on p. 118.

44. They are found at Mahabalipuram, Trichinopoly. Pullamaṅgai (ten miles to the south of Tanjore), and Mallam (in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district). In the sculptures found in the Draupadiratha and the Varāha cave at Mahabalipuram we find two male figures kneeling on the side of a four armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durgā or Mahiṣasuramardāni. It was Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who has first drawn our attention to this rite of head-offering by publishing his paper entitled "*The head-offering to the Goddess in the Pallava sculptures.*" (Vide, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 539 ff). The cult of Durgā and Bhairava appears to have come into vogue during the period of rule of the so-called Greater Pallavas of Kāñcī, that is, the descendants of Mahendravarman I Pallava. The representation of Durgā killing Mahiṣāsura at Mahabalipuram is one of the gems of the Pallava sculpture. In the sculptures at Trichinopoly and Pullamaṅgai the devotee who was offering his head is represented as holding up his tuft of hair by his left hand and applying the sword which he held in his right hand to his neck. A similar representation is found sculptured on a hero-stone set up at Mallam in the 20th year of the Pallava king, Kampavarman. The hero is here represented as 'holding his severed head by the tuft in his left hand, while the right-hand grasps a sword. (S. I. I. Vol. xii, p. 50. Pl. vi). Sculptural representations of this head-offering are not wanting in Northern India during the pre-mediaeval period. While identifying a sculptural representation on a terra-cotta plaque, excavated at Paharpur, Bengal, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph.D. writes a very revealing article, wherein he gives a number of quotations from the *Markandēya Purāṇa*, the *Kāṭika Purāṇa*, the *Tantrasāra* and other works, to prove that this was a rite belonging to the Śākta cult. He however observes that "it is most often associated with the Śākta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva and other deities also occur."—Vide, his article on "*the oldest representation of the Śakta cult in Bengal art*" in I. H. Q., XVI, 489 ff.

force during the Kākatiya period, no doubt, gave fresh impetus to this rite of self-immolation,⁴⁵ and imparted to the hero a sanctity all his own.

This self-immolation by a devotee in his excessive devotion to his tutelary deity was the best offering he could make on earth. This dominating desire to sacrifice his all, in a frantic religious devotion, made the devotee spill his own blood on the altar of his deity, by cutting open his heart, his belly, or any part of his body, or pluck out and offer his eyes, whenever necessary. He gave his precious life which was the best and the highest offering he could make. The zeal, enthusiasm, and unflinching faith in the ideals made the offering appear to the devotee a very easy, simple, and an ordinary affair, unworthy even to get elated in making it. This was the spirit that dominated the latter part of the Kākatiya period, and the period under review as well. This spirit was cultivated greatly about the period of Muslim invasions, and served as a powerful antidote to the religious fanaticism of the Muslims in their aim to destroy the fabric of Hindu religion and culture. This force developed by the virile Śaiva cult of the Kākatiya period, was employed in defending the Hindu religion. It arrested the Islamic aggression and held it at bay during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making it possible for the Hindus to reorganise and resuscitate their religion and culture. It may be probably regarded as an answer given by the Hindus to the challenge thrown against them by the aggressive Muslims.

Heroes :

It was the belief of the people of those times that the goddess Durgā granted the desires of all those who worshipped the Aṣṭa Bhairavas of the eight quarters with the blood of their *aṣṭaṅgas*, eight limbs of the body, and made an offering of head soaked in blood.⁴⁶

45. This rite of self-immolation seems to have originally spread from the Coḷa country to the Andhra country during the Kākatiya period; for, from the Malkapuram inscription (J A H R S., Vol. iv. p. 160) of queen Rudramadēvi, daughter of Kākatiya Gaṇapati-deva, dated in Śaka 1153, that is, 1261 A. D., we come to know that the great Śaiva saint Viśvēśvara Śiva, the recipient of the village of Mandaram from the queen, subsequent to the establishment of a Śaiva maṭha, known as *śōḷakīmaṭha* at that village, appointed as guards of the village and the maṭha Virabhadras, who are said to have been born in the Coḷa country (*Coḷācūrajah*), and to have been drawn from the four caste (*Caturvarṇya-samudbhūtaḥ*). This shows that these Virabhadras came there from the Coḷa country. They were no, doubt the devotees of god Virabhadra, a terrific aspect of Śiva. These village guards Virabhadras, are said to have done heroic deeds such as the cutting of their scrotum, stomach or head, for the protection of the village". Offering one's life for a cause, a faith, or to one's own deity was a marked feature of the latter Kākatiya period.

46. "అష్ట దక్కులనున్న యష్ట భైరవులకు
సాష్టాంగ రుధిరంబు లర్పింతుగ
జేసి కడరక్త సిక్తంబు జరి యిచ్చు
జనుల శోధుక్ లెల్ల శక్తి యిచ్చు"

—Sm. Dv., II, X, v. 155.

The worship of Bhairava, and Vīrabhadra, the fearful and terrific aspects of god Śiva, and of Śiva's Śakti, Durgā, of Bhadrakālī, the consort of Vīrabhadra, and of Vētaḷa, a prince among goblins, prevalent in the Andhra country during the Redḍi period, inspired the Śaiva devotees as well as the common people, and kept up the level of the high watermark of heroic spirit reached in the Kākatiya times. Gradually, any one who voluntarily gave up his life for the sake of Hindu *dharma* or of a noble cause, or performed any heroic deed risking his life in the interests of either one's own community or of the entire Hindu society, was dubbed as a hero, and his family was duly rewarded. Such heroes sprang up from every caste. The value and nature of the cause, object or ideal for which a person gave up his life, decided the place of honour to be given to him in the hierarchy of heroes.

Self-immolation developed into an institution altogether, and there were special temples of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra and Kālī, which went by the name of *Campudu-guḷḷu* ⁴⁷ in Telugu, where the heroes or devotees immolated themselves in fulfilment of vows. During the Redḍi period, this rite of self-immolation grew in popularity, and the number of persons, who killed themselves by offering their heads to Śiva, was greater than in the previous period. They were not allowed to practise this gruesome rite at each and every place and at each and every temple. Since they believed that they would go to heaven or to the presence of the deity by performing this rite on an auspicious occasion, specially sacred to the Śaivas, in the presence of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Bhadrakālī or Durgā, they had to go in search of such temples. So, to relieve their difficulty king, Anavēmā Redḍi, the third king who sat on the throne of Kōṇjavīḍu, built, for the merit of his paternal uncle Annaya, a stone pavilion called *Vīraśīrōmañḍapa*, the hall of the heads of heroes, on the hill of Srisailam, in the court-yard of god Mallikārjuna. His officer, who was entrusted with the construction of this building, was a certain Mallana, son of Pañcabhikṣam Rāmanatha or Rāmaya, "who supervised the work of building steps to the Pātāḷagangā under king Vēmā Redḍi." Mallana is described as *Śaṅkar-āgama-maṇṭra-dikṣā-vibhūt-yudañcitācāruḍu*, that is, one following the course of conduct of the divine excellence of the *mantra-dikṣā*,

47. *Campudu-guḷḷu* is the plural of *Campudu-guḍi* which term finds mention in the Telugu literature of this period.

“చంపుడుగుడి యది యని యా

దంపతుల క శ్రీబరమూలఁ దలబఁగ నిని. . .” — Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 17.

The temple referred to in these lines is said to have been consecrated to god Bhairava.

enunciated by the *Śaiva Āgamas*. The above facts are known from the Srīśailam record ⁴⁸ of Anavēma Redḍi, dated in Saka 1299, that is, 1378 A. D. This record which was inscribed on the pillars of the maṇṭapa adjoining the Nandi-maṇṭapa in the Mallikārjuna temple, gives a description of this maṇṭapa. It was a thirty eight-pillared, pavilion consisting of a broad central hall paved with stones (slabs), the ceiling of which was decorated with sculptures of fresh lotuses, and a fine arched gateway (*mukṭhabhadra-tōraṇa-yutam*) containing the images of *dvārapālakus* on either side. Each of the pillars is said to have consisted of five limbs (*aṅga-pancaka-yutaiḥ*). The several varieties of maṇṭapas mentioned in the *Śilpa Śāstras* were named in accordance with the kinds of pillars employed. Of such maṇṭapas one is the *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*, each of the pillars of which consisted of five *upastambhas*.⁴⁹ Since the pillars of the *Vīraśīrōmaṇṭapa* built by Anavēma are said to have consisted of five limbs, probably five *upastambhas*, this seems to have been a *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*. The term *bhadra* in *bhadraṅkam*, the qualifying adjective of the maṇṭapa and in *mukṭhabhadratōraṇa* denoting the frontal arched gateway, is suggestive of double meaning. The term may also signify Vīrabhadra or his consort Bhadrakālī. It is not unlikely that an image or images either of Vīrabhadra or of Bhadrakālī or both were sculptured in the hall and on the arched gateway. The inscription further states: "How wonderful it is that here in this maṇṭapa hosts of Ēkāṅgavīras, who proudly make a votive offering of their eyes, hands, heads, and tongues, by cutting them, attain instantaneously a brilliant body of blessed limbs. The next moment, endowed with three eyes, ten arms, five faces (heads), and five tongues, they shine as if they were *aṣṭamūrtis* (eight-bodied Sivas)." The construction of a separate pavilion by Anavēma Redḍi for the sake of those who immolated themselves, bears testimony to the popularity of this rite in the times of the Redḍi kings.

Midi-tala or offering of head was also known as *ganḍa-tala*.⁵⁰ Any kind of hindrance to the normal observance of the *vratu* or worship in any way, by reason either of loss of any one of the materials daily used in the ceremonial worship, or of not getting hold of the required *pūjā dravyas* essential for worship according to the vow taken, was at times the cause of this self immolation. In the full belief that this was god-sent to test the depth of sincerity of his vow, the devotee chipped off his head unflinchingly with the 'shears of destiny',

48. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

49. In. Ar., I, p. 219.

50. "మను బాహులును లింగముల నందికను గొంత
నల లింగ్య . . ."—Bh. Rj. V, v. 249.

called *gandigattera* in Telugu. It was a broad circular sharp-edged iron-instrument which, besides the dagger and the sword, was largely used for cutting the head by applying it to the neck.

Nicolo de Conti who witnessed such self immolation in the city of Cambait, which remains yet unidentifiable, describes the way in which the hero chipped off his head with large shears. "Many present themselves," writes Conti, "who have determined upon self immolation, having on their neck a broad circular piece of iron, the fore part of which is round and the hinder part extremely sharp. A chain attached to the forepart hangs suspended upon the breast, into which the victims, sitting down with their legs drawn up and their neck bent, insert their feet. Then...they suddenly stretch out their legs and at the same time drawing their neck, cut off their own head, yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols. These men are regarded as saints".⁵¹ Besides Conti, other foreign travellers, like Friar Odoric (1321-22 A. D.) and Friar Jordanus (1323-1330 A. D.) who visited South India earlier than Conti, refer to this rite of self immolation, and describe the manner in which it was done. Writing about Ma'bar (the Coromandel region) Odoric says: "And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God." And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written".⁵² Again Friar Jordanus writting about Greater India⁵³ states thus about self immolation. "In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischance, they vow themselves to the idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things, etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and

51. Major., Contl, pp., 27-28.

52. *Foreign Notices*, p. 197.

53. Greater India of Jordanus included many kingdoms of which Telene (Telinga or the Telugu country) was one (Vide, Ibid, p. 212).

crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land (like the image of the Virgin Mary here among us at the Rogation tides); and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those (knives) which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol." ⁵⁴

Another way of self immolation was by throwing oneself under the wheel of a car carrying an idol in procession in reputed holy places and get crushed to death. This seems to have been in vogue in South India during this period. Telugu literature does not furnish any references to this custom; but the foreign travellers who visited this country noted this. Friar Odoric observes thus: "Many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God: And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot...And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God." ⁵⁵ Nicolo de Conti also saw this custom at Vijayanagar. "In Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) also", he observes, "at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, - a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God." ⁵⁶

In fact, some Śaiva communities like Virabhadras, Viramuṣṭis, and Mailāra Virabhaṭas practised these rites and customs to an excess and made them part and parcel of their daily life. Viramuṣṭis are mentioned in a Kākatīya record of S. 1183⁵⁷, and the daring deeds of the Mailāra Virabhaṭas are described in *Kṛiḍābhīrāmam*. Both the Viramuṣṭis and the Mailāras are Liṅgāyats now. The former are professional acrobats and mendicants, who are now attached to Dēvaṅgas and Kōmaṭis. They perform acrobatic feats with swords and daggers. We are informed by Edgar Thurston that "they correspond to the Virabhadra Kāyakams of the Canarese Liṅgāyats, like whom they dress

54. Ibid, p. 209.

55. *Foreign Notices*, p. 196.

56. Major, Conti, p. 28.

up and adorn themselves with small *lingas*, the figure of *Virabhadra*, a sword, a plate bearing a star, and the heads of *Asuras* (demons). Every important *Saivite* temple has one or two *Viramuṣṭis* attached to it, and they are supposed to be servants of god, *Siva*. One of their chief duties is to guard the idol during processions, and on other occasions. If, during a car procession, the car does not move, the *Viramuṣṭis* cut themselves with their swords until it is set in motion" ⁵⁷. The following are some of the heroic feats performed in this period by *Mailāra Virabhaṭas*, the devotees of god *Mailāra*. The heroic servants of *Mailāra* used to jump down, from a considerable height above, into the pit of sharp iron spikes below (that is, into the pit wherein were planted these sharp iron spikes), cutting off the cords of the fibrous network sling, *uṭṭi* as it is called in *Telugu*, which they held, while hanging in the air. Another feat was the swallowing of an iron tube (*ayōnālambu*) applying 'shears of destiny' to the neck without any fear or hesitation. Piercing *nārasas*, sharp thin pin-like iron pieces, into their body, on their chest, lips, tongue etc., they used to light *āratulu* in the naked palms of their right and left hands ⁵⁸ and wave them before the deity.

Hero-Stones :

Such heroes of the period who laid down their lives for a sacred, noble, or public cause, were revered as saints. Even the *brāhman* and the cow, the two symbols signifying the spiritual wealth and the material prosperity of the nation, were considered to be fit objects for the sacrifice of one's life, in their protection ⁵⁹ or liberation. These

57. Ep. Coll. No. 94 of 1917; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 53.

58. Edgar Thurston - *Castes and Tribes of the Madras Presidency*, Vol, VII, p. 410.

59. "కరవాడి యలుగుల గనపపాత్రలో
 నుట్టిచేరులు కోసి యులుకువారు
 కట్టి కయోనాళంబు గండగ తైర వట్టి
 మిసిమింతులును గాక మింగువారు
 సందులను నారసంబులు సలుపువారు
 ఎడమ గుడిచేత నారతు లిచ్చువారు"

—Kd. Rm., v. 142.

60. "పసుల కుయ్యి గాదు బ్రాహ్మణు చెజ గాదు
 స్వామి హిరిము కాదు వ్రతము కాదు
 లోక హిరము గాని యే కాంగిరారునఁ
 జచ్చువాని కేమి స్వర్గహృదే. —Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 51.

This verse indirectly, but clearly, enunciates the objects for which it was customary in those times to offer life, namely, in the protection of cattle (especially of cows), in the liberation of a *brahman* from captivity, in the interest of one's master, and in fulfilment of one's vow.

martyrs were honoured by the commemoration of their sculptural representations in their act of trying to kill themselves, or fighting for their master or country. Stones containing representations of *vīras* or heroes are called *vīrakals* or hero-stones (*kal* or *kallu* means a stone). These stone representations of heroes were made either by the public, by their master, or by their near relations. Many such *vīrakals* are found in some of the Śaiva *kṣētras* in the Andhra country (for example, Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district, Mōpūru in the Cuddapah district, and Kāreṇpūdi and Mācerla in the Guntur district). These hero-stones are seen in the Telingānā also, particularly at Śaivite centres, like Warāṅgal, the seat of the Pāśupata Śaivism of the Kākatiya period. As this had been a wide-spread custom it is still possible to discover such hero-stones in many places of the Andhra country. Regarding the hero-stones found at Tripurāntakam, the Superintendent of Epigraphy writes as follows :

"Within the court-yard, and in front of the central shrine (of the Tripurasundarī temple) are arranged in a line a number of *vīrakals* representing human figures in various postures some with a dagger thrust into their necks or abdomen, and some driving their daggers into the left thigh with one hand, and raising a weapon with the other, in order to stab themselves in the chest. One peculiar feature of these figures is the long braided hair⁶¹ which is gracefully allowed to hang right up to the knee ... A large number of similar stones were seen by me on the hill at Mōpūru⁶² in the Pulivendla taluk of the Cuddapah district ... " An inscription on one of the *vīrakals* in the Tripurasundarī temple which may, on palaeographical grounds, be referred to the thirteenth century A. D. seems, however, to explain the real situation. It runs: "*Svasti Śrīmatu Sōmaśivagurudevāru Allā(ḍa) Vīramall-an vīrunivārīki mēlu-kāvalenani tana tala Tripurādēviki icce*". "Hail! The glorious Sōmaśivagurudēva offered to Tripurādēvī his (own) head so that good may befall to the hero called Allā(ḍa) Vīramallu⁶³. Another record (not completely preserved) states about the end; "(this is) the head to the goddess." From these it looks as if the figures were meant

61. There are also figures of heroes represented with different types of beautiful *kṣapayas*, modes of arranging the hair in the form of a loop, and not let loose hanging down on the back.

62. The temple on the hill at Mōpūru is dedicated to god Bhairava.

63. It is interesting to note here that there were instances where *Sivacaryas* also offered their heads in the interests of the heroes for whom they cherished great affection. Such instances as these must have been however very rare.

to represent cases of either suicide or human sacrifice⁶⁴ to which people in those days must have had free recourse in the belief that by so propitiating the deity they would ward off evil"⁶⁵.

Hero-Cult :

These hero-stones were worshipped with devotion and vows were made to them. These customs developed into a religious order (*Virācārā*), the cult of heroes, which found ready patronage at the hands of nobles and kings of the country. They granted *erttis* or land-grants for conducting *pūja* to these *virakals*. This cult of heroes seems to have come into existence towards the end of the Kākatiya rule; for, a record⁶⁶ of Śaka 1236 at Mācherla, inscribed on a stone in front of three small temples dedicated probably to heroes, on the bank of the local stream Candravaṅkā, of the time of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a grant of wet land as *sarvaṁānya* to *virapurūṣulu* (for conducting worship) by the king's officer Dēvari Nayaninṅāru. It appears that only during the period under review that the popularity of the hero-cult and hero-worship reached its climax. During this age, the heroes of Palnāḍu⁶⁷ were much venerated and stories about them became very popular. It was at the end of the Redḍi period that a tower (*mēḍa*),

64. These were neither cases of human sacrifice, as supposed by the Epigraphist, nor the cutting of heads and stomachs 'were punishments' as was wrongly imagined by the late Sri J. Ramayya Pantulu. He writes about this custom of the Virabhadras while editing the Malkapuram record of Rudramadevi as follows : (J. A. II. R. S. Vol. IV, p. 53) "I imagine that these were punishments prescribed by law in those days for certain heinous offences and that particular class of persons were appointed to carry out those punishments."

65. Ep. Rep. 1909, para 73, page 119.

66. Ep. Coll., No. 586 of 1909.

67. The Chiefs of Palnāḍu (Guntur district), namely, Nala Gāmarāja and his step-brothers, sons of Anuṅgumaṇḍalēs'vara, and their respective ministers, who fought a deadly battle amongst themselves for the sake of the kingdom, were all extolled as heroes. These heroes of Palnāḍu, *Palnāṭi virulu*, as they are popularly called, flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. Nala Gāmarāja, son of Anuṅgumaṇḍalēs'vara and Mailaladevi, is also known as Kamarāja or Anuṅgum Gāmarāja. He ruled from Śaka 1056 (1134 A. D.) to Śaka 1085 (1163 A. D.), the earliest and the latest dates of his records, so far discovered. These inscriptions of Nala Gāmarāja definitely settle the time of the heroes of Palnāḍu. A certain Anuṅgumaṇḍalēs'vara is mentioned in a record at Kārempūḍi (Guntur district), which states that a merchant built a temple for *virakoti* in Śaka 1346, corresponding to the cyclic year Krodhi (Ep. Coll. No. 557 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1909, para 49, page 99). There was no chief by name Anuṅgumaṇḍalēs'vara ruling over Palnāḍu in Śaka 1346, as stated by the Government Epigraphist.

called Nāyaḍu-maṇḍapa, evidently dedicated to the heroes of Palnāḍu in the middle of the village of Kāreṃpūḍi, was erected by a certain Jivarakṣa Timmana.⁶⁸ Though stories illustrating the epic heroism of these chiefs were already current in the country during the latter Kākātīya period, and were narrated by *Virakathakas* on special occasions dedicated to their honour, this was the period in which heroic ballads composed to preserve the memory of the departed heroes came into existence. This was the age which produced the now popular Telugu ballad, the *Heroes of Palnāḍ*. This hero-worship or the cult of the heroes turned out to be one of the chief aspects of popular religion during this period.

Sahagamana :

Sahagamana or sati was another custom. Some of the Telugu works, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* and *Kaṭikhaṇḍam*, which were produced in this period, describe the custom of *sahagamana*, or following one's husband to the other world by immolating oneself on his funeral pyre. The latter work states that she who jumps into fire gladly without any fear or timidity, acquires as much *phala* as one would get by the performance of an *aśvamedhayāga*, that is, the horse sacrifice. The exuberant praise, lavished on this custom in the Telugu works referred to above, and the enumeration of different kinds of merit, which a married woman would reap by performing this rite, suggest that there was a conscious effort to popularise this custom. It seems probable that the Muslim invasions were, to some extent, indirectly responsible in inducing the leaders of the Hindu society to mobilise opinion to enforce this custom, if it was already in vogue. The atmosphere, which was surcharged with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and the social and political conditions then prevailing, added strength to this custom.

There is no denying the fact that this custom was in vogue in the period under review. "When any man dies", observes Friar Odoric, "they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there

68. An inscription (Ep. Coll. No. 555 of 1909) at that place, dated in Śaka 1367 Raktākṣi, that is, 1445-46 A. D. recording its construction, states that it was the spot where Silama Nayaḍu, one of the heroes of Palnāḍu, had planted his spear. "Quaint figures of Pina Mallidevarāja, Cilama Nayaḍu, Jivarakṣa Timmana, Pada Mallidevarāja, Mācerla Timmana, Ūbinēni (Ūbinēri is wrong; It is the accusative singular of Ūbinēḍu), and his family are all incised on the beam of the maṇḍapa either as holding spears in their hands or standing in a worshipping posture."—Ep. Rep. 1909, p. 99, para. 49.

is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife" ⁶⁹. Friar Jordanus writes: "In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned; and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead" ⁷⁰. One who committed sati was revered as *pāraṇṭūlu* or *mahāsati* and occasionally her image was made in stone and worshipped.

Other Customs and Beliefs :

Hook-swinging also was a religious custom prevalent in this period. Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas or the servants of the god Mailāra referred to above, are said to have specially practised this custom. It is said that, piercing an iron-hook of a long spike to pass through the skin covering the breast-bone (*kaṅkālacarma* or through the fleshy part of the back) they used to swing round a may-pole in mid air. ⁷¹ Nicolode Conti who witnessed this custom, describes it thus: "Others (other people making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot (in which the idol of God was placed, that is, in the *rathayātrāmahōtsava* of God), by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead, accompany their idol." ⁷²

Fire-walking was another custom in vogue in this period. This was also practised by the servants of god Mailāra, who rushed into pits filled with live-embers and walked across them ⁷³.

Practices of people of the Reddi times based on belief in luck, were varied and legion. Koravi Gōparāju gives a long list of bad omens ⁷⁴. Before doing any act, the people of this age

69. *Foreign Notices*, p. 195.

70. *Ibid*, p. 203.

71. "కాలంపుఁగొంకిఁ గంకాళచర్మము గ్రుచ్చి
యుడువీధి నుయ్యెలలూగువారు..." —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

72. Major, Conti, p. 28.

73. "అవలంకరమంట నెట్టని చొడమల్లెలఁ
జోద్యంపు గుండాలు చొచ్చువారు..." —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

74. Sm. Dv. I, i, v. 140; v. 231.

consulted omens. It was their belief that a thing could not be achieved and an attempt could not be successful without the *śakunabala* strength of the omen. People consulted *śakunikas*, who were experts in the science of omens for everything they did. Vallabhāmātya also mentions in his *Kṛiḍābhirāmam* some auspicious omens which are conducive to success⁷⁵. The list of omens mentioned in the works referred to before, shows that belief regarding omens had already taken a deep root in the country. Talismans also were commonly used for warding off evil. Belief in devils and goblins was common. Professional sorcerers were requisitioned to exercise the ghosts from possessed persons and haunted houses. Belief in witchcraft was strong among the people. It was the common belief in this age that one could be destroyed or killed by *abhičāra-hōmas*. Some of the ills or misfortunes one would get, were attributed to black magic, practised by an enemy agency.

The faith of the people of this age may be better understood by the following account of how the temple of god Narasimhasvāmin of Kōṅkukonḍa came into existence.

"A Vaiṣṇava teacher, Bhaṭṭari, of whom Mummaḍi Nāyaka was the devoted disciple, told the chief one day that he had reached the last of his human births, and as soon as the existing mortal frame was given up, he would appear in the form of god Lakṣmī Narasimha on the hill at Kōṅkukonḍa. Soon after this revelation the teacher died and all about his rebirth as god Narasimha was, apparently, forgotten. A dancing girl of the village called Lakṣmīdāsi saw the teacher in a dream and was told by him of his manifestation on the Parāśaraśaila (the hill of Kōṅkukonḍa). The king being informed of this was at once reminded of what the teacher had told him, and permitted the dancing girl to build a temple. She wandered about in rags begging for money, pledged her daughter, earned the amount required, built a temple and consecrated therein Parāśara Nṛsimha, presenting, at the time of consecration, two villages^{76 77}.

People of those days believed that ardently religious people like saints and gurus incarnated themselves as gods. Another instance of this type may be cited. Cokkana Siṅganamgāru, governor of Taṅgeḍa sīma in the reign of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, had a vision similar to that narrated above. As a result of that vision Siṅganamgāru constructed a temple for god Narasimha at Anantagiri (Guntur district) and consecrated therein the image of that deity.⁷⁷

75. Kā. Rm.

76. Ep. Rep. p. 87, para 68.

77. Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1926.

People believed in the efficacy of *mantras*, that is, magical formulas, and *japas*, in warding off evil, and in the acquisition of merit, when properly repeated and performed according to the sāstraic injunctions. Belief in supernatural powers of gods and *mantras*, and in the efficacy of *vratas* and other religious practices and ceremonies for the fulfilment of desires and ambitions was common. *Siddha-sārasvatī-mantra-jāpa*, *Śrī Rāma-mantra-jāpa*, *Gōpāla-māntra-jāpa*, *Narasimha-mantra-jāpa* and *Pavamāni-mantra-jāpa* were in vogue. For averting bad days and ill-luck, *grahas* or planets were propitiated by religious rites and brāhmins were fed sumptuously. In times of drought the idol of god Śiva in Saiva temples was bathed in water poured from one thousand pots chanting *Varuṇa matras*. This ceremony was believed to bring down rain.⁷⁸ Brāhmins in general began to develop a sort of conservative outlook. To cross big rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā was believed to be harmful, like enmity with the members (judges) of the *dharmāsana*,⁷⁹ and crossing over the image of a god.

It was an age of miracles. People believed in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and in their Siddhis, that is, acquisition of supernatural powers by magical means which were eight in number, namely, *apīma*, *garima*, *mahima*, *laghima*, *prapti*, *prakāmya*, *īśitva* and *vasitva*. The magical sandals, magical staff, and the magical quail of the Siddhas were great wonders round which many romantic stories were woven.

Belief in alchemy was at its height. People regarded the Siddhas as adepts in alchemy. They had profound faith in *sparśavēdha* (*parusavēdi* in Telugu), and *dhūmavēdha*, the two processes by which metals were converted into gold. Prōlaya Reddī, father of Vēmā Reddī, the founder of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, is credited to have known alchemy (*svarnakara-prasiddhim labdhvā*). *Dhūmavēdha* is alluded to in the work *Bhōjarājīyam* by Anantāmātya. It is stated therein that the

78. “నరుణలింగంబునకు దీర్ఘవారిధార

వేయిగుటమాల నభిషేకవిధి యొనర్చు

వలపు దోసంబు వాయంగ వాన నరియుం

గొల్పడలం బండు వారిబోటులెల్ల”...—Bh.Pr. III, v. 142.

79. “విశము మహానది దాటుట

యును గురువిప్రార్థనందయును ధర్మసభా

జనవైరము దైవతలం

ఘనమును బరికింప హాని కార్యముల సుమీ...”—Sm. Dv., I, III, v. 102.

assembly hall (*koluvu-cavike*) of king Bhōja, which was made of five *dhātus* (*pañca-lōhas*) in the palace called Anugumōḍa, was converted into gold by the process of *dhūmavedha*. A siddha was believed to have told a *veśya*, who served him for a long time, the names of chemicals to be used, the way to mix them, and the process by which to turn metals into gold by the smoke of the compound⁸⁰. Another article was *anjanam* or the magical ointment that makes the treasures hidden in earth or those that were lost, visible⁸¹.

Vows to visit sacred shrines were much in vogue. People used to make vows to the deity of a particular shrine that, if by the grace of the deity they recovered from sickness, or obtained success in any undertaking or fulfilment of any desire, they would sacrifice an animal, make a votive offering, or take part in the next festival. Those who were blessed with children subsequent to the vow, were named after the deity they had vowed to.

It was common custom to sacrifice animals, like goats or sheep, in order to satisfy both gods and demons, when unearthing a treasure.⁸²

It was one of the interesting customs of those days to celebrate the marriage of the mango plant and the creeper *mādhavi* with due pomp and ceremony.

Festivals:

Of all the festivals celebrated during this period *Vasantōtsava* or the spring festival was the most important. It was one of the major festivals of the age. In fact, this festival was observed by Hindus from very early centuries of the Christian era. It finds mention in *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras* refers to this festival as *Suvasantaka*. Jayamaṅgala, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtras*, calls this festival *Madamamahōtsava*, an occasion marked by merry making with music and dance. There are references to this festival in the Sanskrit

80. “ఔషధములు చెప్పి యవి గూర్చువిధమున

జెప్పి దీపజప్తి శిఖలమీఁద

నైవ ధూపవేదవలన లోహంబులు

హేమ మగు తెఱంగు నెఱుంగఁజెప్పి...” — Bh. Rj. II, v. 180.

81. “... అంజన మచ్చిననానికీన్ధరా

[కాంతములైనపెన్నిధులు శన్నులకున్ బొడచూపుకైవడిన్” — V. Cr., I. v. 192.

82. Sm. Dv., I. i, v. 189.

dramas, *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidasa and *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa. In fact, the latter drama opens with the *Vasantōtsava* celebrations. These references are enough to prove the antiquity of this festival.

This ancient festival acquired fresh importance in the Andhra country only during this period of Hindu revival. It became popular like the *vratas* and the *dānas*. Inscriptions of this period refer to *Vasantamahōtsava* celebrations of local gods. Some of the Sanskrit dramas, also of this period, are said to have been produced to be put on boards during the festival celebrations. All these attest to the great popularity of this festival.

Vasantamahōtsava was a seasonal festival celebrated at the approach of the vernal equinox. This is a festival devoted to Madana or Kāma, god of Love, and his friend and ally Vasanta, the presiding deity of the spring. This *Vasantamahōtsava* was also called *Madanamahōtsava*. It was primarily a romantic festival involving fun and frolic, music and dance, song and play, swinging, and swimming and all kinds of amusements. It was a festival for one and all, during which every one put on a gay dress, decorated oneself gaily and spent one's time in mirth and merriment. It was formerly held, according to Monier Williams, on the full moon of the month of Caitra, but now of Phālguna. The celebrations appear to have begun from the *Vasanta-pañcamī* and lasted for nine days. These nine days were called *Vasantanavarātras*, the nine bright nights of the spring season. Both men and women, young and old took part in this festival and marched in procession in streets, singing love songs and dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music. Generally dancing girls and their paramours took an active part in these frolics.

This festival of *Madānamahōtsava* is described by Hēmadri in his *Vratakhanda*, wherein he narrates the following story about its origin. After marrying Gaurī, Śiva, observing *Paupatavrata*, lost himself in meditation. Gaurī's desire for maternity remained unfulfilled. Brahmā and other gods held consultations and sent Madana to disturb Śiva's meditation, with the hope that he alone could divert Śiva's attention. Madana accompanied by Vasanta, went in front of Śiva who was then in deep contemplation, and having drawn his sugarcane-bow, discharged his missiles of flowers on Śiva which disturbed his deep meditation and caused *madanōnmāda* or love madness. Śiva burst into a rage and opened his third eye of fire reducing Madana to ashes. Madana's wife, Ratī, seeing her husband burnt to ashes, was stricken with great grief. Then with a heart softened by seeing her pitiable condition, Gaurī said to Śiva, "you have burnt up Kāma who had come here for my sake. Pray, take pity

on his wife Ratī, and bring Madana, her husband, back to life." Siva replied, "How could Madana, once burnt to death by me, come to life again? However, I shall grant your request. In the spring season, on the thirteenth day of the light-half of the month, he would reassume his bodily form." Having granted this boon, Siva is said to have gone to Kailāsa.⁸³ So the lunar thirteenth day of the bright fortnight was the day of Madana coming to life again. Hēmadri does not specify the month; but simply states that it is in the springtime. It is evident that it is the lunar thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. This spring carnival is therefore called *Madanamahōtsava* or *Vasantōtsava*.

The *pūjavidhāna* or the mode of worshipping Madana is also described by Hēmadri. It is said that, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half, a representation of the *Asoka* tree should be made after taking a bath, and the floor should be decorated with *kōlams*. Images of Kāmadēva, Vighnēśvara, Siva and Vasanta and *Apsarāgaṇas* made either of gold or of any other metal or material, should be worshipped with incense, sandal paste, and flowers at midday by the king, along with his ministers, ladies and others. After the completion of worship, offerings of cakes of different kinds should be made to them and betel should be distributed among the brāhman couples with *dakṣiṇa*. It is further stated that, on this day, a wife should worship her husband by offering new clothes, flowers and ornaments. Those who observe this *Madanamahōtsava* are enjoined to keep holy vigil that night, and perform *rūsa-mahōtsava* or love-dance. Lamps should be lit, and wine should be offered to śūdras, and camphor, kuṁkuma powder, sandal paste and other perfumes and betel should be distributed.

Beautiful descriptions of this spring festival are furnished by the Telugu works *Simhāsanaślokaśrī*, *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* produced in this age. These works give us a clear idea of the celebration of the festival and the different ceremonies practised on this occasion. As the authors of these works lived in this age when the spring festival was at its zenith of popularity, we may be certain that, much influenced by the realistic grandeur of this carnival, they introduced it into their works, and provided us a good picture of the festival, as it was in vogue in their time.⁸⁴

83. Bibl. Ind., Vol. 1. Hēmadri's *Vratakhanda*.

84. We gather from *Simhāsanaślokaśrī* the following account of the spring festival.

The ministers of State keep ready everything required for the celebration, of the festival. A beautiful pavilion fit for the occasion is erected and elaborately decorated with golden arches and awning, under which a number of altars decorated with precious stones, are constructed for gods, like Kāma, Vasanta and

The descriptions of the spring festival given in the works cited above, enable one to picture to one's self the manner in which it was celebrated in the period under review. It was customary for a king to go to a park adjoining the town with his queens, princes, nobles, poets, jesters and other common people in state, accompanied by his army. In this connection, it may be interesting to mention that there were different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of each and every important town in the Andhra country during this period, as the planting of a garden was considered to be one of the seven meritorious acts. The king rested in a place specially arranged for him under a big shady tree in the garden, and spent some time in the company of poets, artists and jesters. Then his vassals and other

others. Every altar is beautified with plantain trees and plastered with musk. The floor of the *vedi* is ornamented with camphor *kōlam* or lines in various designs, and adorned with *pūrṇa-kalasaś*, that is, vessels filled with water, the symbols for plenty. The *vedi* is enclosed by the plant sweet marjoram. The king then starts in procession, and goes out of the city gate in state on horse-back to an adjoining park followed by his army, poets, dancers, buffoons, heroes, beautiful damsels (wearing rich apparel and jewels), who are veritable ornaments of the festival, and others, amidst the sounding of conches, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Poets and musicians chant the king's praises.

While the king takes a stroll in the park, a jester (*vidūṣaka*) writes a verse on a (mango) leaf and presents it to the king. The purport of this verse is this: whoever takes recourse to the *rasala* (sweet mango tree) it becomes the root of the wealth of victory over Kāma, the god of Love. The king thereafter spends some time in the company of jesters and poets. While the king is thus engaged, the damsels go round the garden to have a look at creepers and trees and to pluck flowers. Some play hide and seek behind the flower-bushes, swing on swings made of creepers singing *ḍalalu*, a variety of songs. The lovers, their paramour and the courtesans are engaged in fun and frolic, and in plucking flowers. While the king rests in a place specially arranged for him, beautiful damsels make a present of flowers and flower garlands. Then the *sāmantas* and *maṇḍalikas* or vassals bring in their tribute to the king in the form of girls, horses, precious stones and other jewels. The minister introduces different chiefs and nobles to the king, whereupon the king enquires about their welfare.

After the completion of the function, the king enters the pavilion surrounded by young damsels, and worships with 'sixteen acts of civility' (*Ṣoḍaśōpacaras*), god^s Madana and his consort Ratī, Vasanta, Lakṣmī and her husband Upendra, Gaurī and her lord Śiva, and Śacī and her husband Surendra. During the period of worship *pañca-mahas'abdas*, the five great musical instruments are played, and lovely maidens sing and dance to the accompaniment of music.

After the worship is over, the king sports with beautiful damsels. They fling on one another camphor, sandal-paste, and other perfumed articles as in frolic. Other citizens also follow their example and do the same. Later on, the king and his ladies go to a lotus-tank and swim in water for a time. After finishing the bath the king with his queens gives audience to the public in the same park under a tree.

subordinates came to him and paid tribute. After this ceremony is over, the king went along with his queens to the pavilion in the park, containing different well decorated altars to different gods, specially constructed for the occasion, and worshipped Madana, god of Love, and Ratī, his consort, Vasanta, the ally of Madana; Lakṣmī and Acyuta, Śiva and Pārvati, Śacī and Indra, and Vighnēśvara, with incense, sandal, flowers and other things. Images of these gods were made of either gold, silver or any other material. The worship of gods came to a close with the distribution of betel and camphor with *dakṣiṇa* among brāhman couples. The king then scattered, among people who gathered there for the occasion, perfumes, such as camphor, musk, civet, saffron, sandal, and gave sanction for the spring sports. Men and women, boys and girls, the young and the old, husbands and wives, paramours and prostitutes, peasants and labourers, all joined in the great carnival. They freely indulged in sprinkling rosewater, water mixed with turmeric and

The *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* furnishes some more details about the festival, and the description of the festival therein is a complete one. Śrinātha, the author of that work, makes god Bhīmanatha of Dakṣharam or Dakṣavaṭi celebrate this festival at the beginning of the spring season, attended by gods, *Apsarasas* and *Gandharvas*, and the village goddesses of Dakṣharam. Taking this occasion, Śrinātha gives a realistic account of the spring festival of his day. According to a hyperbole in this work, the *Dēvas* and the *Gandharvas* erect fortifications with camphor-pieces and musk, battlements with *kuṅkumadrava*, gate-ways with coral-tenders, large-doors with lotus-petals, arrange a moat with *agaru*-mud and rose water, *kōlams* with *ratnankuras*, flags with silk-clothes, beautifully decorate the park attached to the temple of Bhīmanatha, and worship the mango trees. The *Apsaras* play on *kanaka vīṇas* sitting on the altars in the Dakṣhavaṭika and sing *jāḍara* songs on Bhīmanatha. After a time, they get into cars and hit him with flower arrows. Then god Bhīmanatha distributes among the *Dēvas* *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, sandal, musk, camphor and other perfumed substances in abundance, gives them, by a signal, sanction for sport and play. Then the sports begin.

One lady sprinkles the dust of flowers on Kuṁbhōḍara, another damsel applies sandal and turmeric powder on the forehead of Bhṛīṅgiriṇi. Another woman hits Virabhadra with a lump of sandal, on his chest. A beautiful girl squirted rose-water into the ears of Kāla Bhairava. Another girl applied civet-paste to the head of Kumarasvāmin. Another girl filling a jewelled vessel with civet, poured it on the pot belly of Vighnēśvara. The village deities Gogu, Nūka, Maṇḍamadēvi and Ghaṭṭitali sported with *Bhūtakoṭi*, demons, by squirting ghee, oil, turmeric water, *kuṅkuma* and vermilion on one another, in the streets of Dakṣharam with joy and glee. Malavidēvi sprinkled fragrant turmeric powder on Bhadrakālī, and Karpamōṭi ejected musk-water filled in glass bottles. The *Dēva-vēśjas* Rāmbhā, Mēnaka, Mañjughoṣa, Tilottamā and others sprinkled sandal, rose-water, saffron-mud, civet, *saṅkumada*, *javādī*, and camphor pieces on Moon. During these spring sports water mixed with sandal, camphor and musk was showered on Acyuta by Lakṣmī, on Brahma by Sarasvatī, and on Mahēndra by Śacī. After the termination of these spring sports and pastimes, god Bhīmadēva rewards the *Dēvas* and others with presents.

kumkum, and other things. For this they used bamboo syringes. The sport included sprinkling and scattering of various powders, coloured and un-coloured, perfumed and non-perfumed, and sandal paste. Camphor pieces and powder were showered on the crowds. Occasionally oily substances, like ghee, and oil, pure or mixed, were also freely squirted over one another.

After the termination of the sports, the king with his queens went to a lotus pond nearby and sported in water for a while. Returning from the lotus tank he gave audience to the public and rewarded poets and artists according to merit. Dramas were put on boards; dance recitals were given; musicians, showed their skill in music, both vocal and instrumental; and magicians and others proficient in other *kalas* or *vidyas*, came there in search of patronage, and displayed their feats of strength, skill and sleights of hand. It was a grand occasion for patronising Arts and Letters. In this way *Vasantamahōtsava* was the major festival of those days, which exercised great influence on the people culturally and socially. It was occasions like this that advanced the knowledge and culture of the common people. Every gifted person desirous of seeking royal patronage and approbation of the general public, showed his dexterity and skill in Arts and Letters, tried to excel the standards previously set up, and to win laurels from the king.

It was the Reddi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, who by their participation in the festival, imparted to it some royal grandeur, and converted it into a country-wide national festival. The first Reddi king known to us to have taken an active part in this *Vasantōtsava* was king Anavēma. Many verses in his copper-plate records attest to his ardour and activities in the *Vasantōtsava* celebrations. His Drujjavaram⁸⁵ grant states that Anavēma successfully celebrated the spring festival every year with musk, saffron, sandal, rose-water, camphor and other articles. It poetically describes that the rose-water, mixed with particles of musk and showered during the spring festivities, resembled a heavy downpour of rain, and the scattering of camphor pieces among the people a hail-storm. One of the verses in his Naḍupūru grant⁸⁶ describes him as having "caused not only the earth but also the sky scented with musk, camphor, and sandal scattered in the spring festival". The composer of this grant shows in another verse his poetical skill by asking the question: "Did the three worlds become white through the copious camphor powder scattered at the spring festival, or through his fame⁸⁷?

85. *Reddi Rani*, Vol. III, p. 139 (1926); C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

86. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 289, v. 18.

87. *Ibid*, v. 14.

Anavēma was also called Vasantarāya and Karpūra Vasantarāya, a name he richly deserves by the celebration of this spring festival with plenty of camphor. He is eulogised in his Śrīśailam record⁸⁸ as *ghanasāra-kastūrik-ādi-vastu-vistāra-viracit-āpūrvavibhava*, he who had the extraordinary glory caused by the abundance of sandal, musk and other articles. In the time of the Redḍi kings this festival was annually celebrated at Koṇḍaviḍu with great pomp. Anavēma's successor, king Kumāragiri had also the titles Vasantarāya and Karpūra-vasantarāya. He named his work on *Naṭya Śāstra* *Vasantarājīyam* after his surname Vasantarāya. His brother-in-law and prime minister, Kaṭaya Vēma, says, in his commentary *Kumāragirirājīyam*, that Kumāragiri Redḍi took part in new dances, in the company of beautiful damsels and in spring festivals.⁸⁹ The policy adopted by king Anavōtā Redḍi regarding sea-borne trade, and the charter he granted to the merchants of Mōṭupalli who traded with distant islands and coastal towns, "was fruitful of beneficial results", and increased the wealth of the country. The extensive sea-borne trade carried on by merchants, ever since the granting of the charter, by Anavōta made camphor, sandal, musk and other articles of merchandise of distant countries and islands, available to the people in the Redḍi kingdom in plenty. They imparted a solemn grandeur to the spring festival, and a pleasing fragrance to the social life of the age. Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi, the merchant-prince contemporaneous with king Kumāragiri Redḍi, supplied to the king all the musk, saffron, camphor, civet, rose-water, eaglewood, sandal, and other aromatic substances required for the great spring festival. We come to know from the *Haraviḷāsam* that he used to open a perfumery emporium at Koṇḍaviḍu during the period of festivities. The following observations of Nicolo de Conti seem to apply to this spring festival. "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passersby even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for the purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter."⁹⁰

Conti enumerates some more festivals. He writes, "thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions, the males and females of all ages having bathed in the river or in the sea, clad themselves in new garments and spend three entire days in singing dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimanni, which are kept burning day and night. On the third which

88. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

89. A. S. P. P., Vol. X ; Ep. Ind., IV, p. 326.

90. Major, Conti, pp. 28-29, 89.

lasts nine days they set up in all high ways, large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams, is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits all which they bear most patiently"⁹¹.

It is difficult to say what these festivals were. The festival of lamps which he refers to as the second one, seems to be the *deepāvalī* festival that occurs on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvīja. However, we come to know some more festivals which were then in vogue from inscriptions and literature. It is needless to say that the new year's day was one of the chief festivals of the Andhras, even though it does not find mention in the records of the period. There were three chief *pūrṇimas* (*purnami* days, full moon days) which were regarded as festive occasions, namely *Davana-Purnama*, the full moon day or the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Caitra, *Nūli-Purnama*, the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Srāvaṇa, and *Kārtika-Purnama*, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika. *Davana-Purnama* seems to have been associated with the festival of *Dolōtsava*⁹². The spring festivities probably came to a close with this *Davana-Purnama*. It seems to have been the custom, particularly among *vēśyas*, or courtesans in the Telugu country to revere their gurus or teachers of Arts on this day, and offer them *kaṇams*,⁹³ that is, fees or presents. The *Panditārādhyacaritra* tells us that a certain *vēśya* paid *kaṇam* to her guru on this day of *Davana Purnama* pledging her chain (*saripeṇa*). The annual festival of god Teluṅgu Rāya of Kakulāṃ Srikā-kuḷam, Kistna district) used to be celebrated on this *Davana Purnama*.⁹⁴ *Nūli Purnama*, Srāvaṇa Purnamī, as it is otherwise called, was another festive occasion. The ceremony of renewing or wearing new sacred thread or *yaṅṅōpavīta* is performed on this day every year; hence, the

91. Ibid.

92. Two inscriptions at Daksharam dated in Ś'aka 1197 and Ś'aka 1209 register grants for *haribhāgyarcana*s to god Bhīmēśvara on the occasion of *Dolōtsava* on *davana Purnama*.— Vide — S. I. I. IV, No. 1373, and No. 1368.

93. “తరితాక్షి ముందటి దవనపున్న నను

నరిపెణ నోయిడి కట్టు మిచ్చె”... Pn .Cr., II, P. 360.

94. “దవన పున్న ను గాకుళాధ్యక్షుడైన

తెలుగురాజుడు దేవతాధీశ్వరుండు

భవనపీఠముగ నుత్సవం భవధరింప

నందు బోయితి మీ పోయినట్టియేడు...” —Kd, Rm., v. 204.

name, *nāli punnāma*. On this day it was the custom to give a feast to boy devotees⁹⁵ (*bāla bhaktas*) and young *brahmacārins*. *Kārtika pūrṇimā* is a day sacred to god Śiva. We are told in the *Bhimeśvara Purāṇam* that the sage, Agastya, with his wife entered the fire arch *jvālā* (*tōrāṇa*) on the full moon day of the month of Kārtika at Dakshāram.⁹⁶ This act is believed to wash off all sins.

Śrījayanti, a popular festival, even to-day, is referred to in a record⁹⁷ at Mādala in the Guntur district. *Lakṣmī-utsavamulu*, or *Mahālakṣmī paṇḍugulu* as they are also called, constituted the autumnal festival, the counter-part of the spring festival. This festival comes in Śarat, the fourth of the six seasons of the luni-solar year, and lasts for nine days like the spring festival. Hence, these days of festivity are called *Śaran-navarātras*. This festival also had the same cultural value as the spring one; for, it is said that, on occasions like this, kings and nobles of the country used to reward poets, spiritual preceptors, musicians, and dancers.⁹⁸ Besides these, there were the Gautamī and the Kṛṣṇa *puskaram* festivals which come once in every twelve years, when Brhaspati (Jupiter) enters the two signs of Zodiac, the Simha (Leo), and the Kanyā (Virgo) respectively. The period of *puskaram* is a sacred occasion, when people from different parts of the country make a pilgrimage to the nearest *tīrtha* or holy place situated on their banks, to have a bath in the holy waters and acquire merit. The festival of Gautamī *puskaram* is referred to in an inscription⁹⁹ at Palivela (East Godavari district) dated in Śaka 1345, and in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* also. Similarly, the festival of the Kṛṣṇa-*puskaram* is alluded to in a record¹⁰⁰ at Kētavaram (Guntur district). In addition to these, there were other sacred occasions, like the *Arthodaya-puṇyakāla* and the *Mahodaya-puṇyakāla*, on which a bath in the sea or in a river was considered to be meritorious.

95. "నాళిపున్న స నాడు నూపురం బమ్మి
బాలభక్తుల కొప్పు బండుచేసే..." —Pn. Cr., II. P. 861.

96. "కార్తిక శర భిషకంకరుని నగర
వింధ్యసంస్తంభయిరి దూతె విమలబాధి
తొయ్యలియుఁ దాను జన్మజన్మోరణంబు
కలువసంహరి సహార కారణంబు..." —Ks. Kh., III, v, 24.

97. Ep. Coll., No. 312 of 1932-33; Ep. Rep., 1918, 77, Para 57.

98. "అవని నవంతి భూవరుఁ దాదిగఁ బాడిపు లెల్ల లక్ష్మీయు
త్సవములుమున్న గాఁ గనుఁ బ్రశస్తములై సమయంబులందు స
త్కృతులను బాతకొత్త మఱ గాయకుల న్నటుల నిర్వహింప
భవముఁ దప్పఁజొచ్చిరి ప్రభావసమృద్ధుల నిందుపుట్టగ..." —Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 93.

99. S.I.I. Vol. V. No. 114.

100. Ep. Coll., No. 290 of 1934-35.

CHAPTER V.

AGRICULTURE

Andhra was predominantly an agricultural country, as it is even to-day, and a great majority of the people was engaged in agriculture. It was the profession mainly of the vaiśyas and Sūdras, the last two classes of the Hindu Social Order. Though some of the members of these two *varṇas* took to other walks of life, the majority of them was in agriculture. Brāhmins were precluded from taking to agriculture by the Dharma Śāstras. Hence, *agrahāras* granted to them were generally cultivated by members of the fourth caste, who resided in small hamlets attached to *agrahāras*, called *pūṇḍis*, *grāmatikas* and *grāma-grāsapu pallis*. Instances are not wanting to show that some brāhmins of the age actually tilled the soil.

Extent of Arable Land:

There was an extensive fallow land in every village. We come to know from the Muslim histories, inscriptions, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and the *Local Records*, that great stretches of land were covered with scrub or jungle, and the extent of arable land was much less than what it is today. The clearing of forests to the east of Srīsaīlam in the Kurnool district, and the building of villages thereabout, is attributed by inscriptions and the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* to Trilōcana Pallava, alias Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi of the Pallava dynasty, and to Kakati Pratāparudra. Each and every local dynasty brought great patches of land under cultivation and increased the extent of arable land. Even during the period under review, there were great forests both in the coastal plain and in the mountainous regions. The tract of country, on either side of the river Pāmpā around Mummaḍiviḍu (the present Mummaḍivaram in Amalapuram taluk) of the East Godavari district, was a great jungle. There were great *bilva* forests on the banks of the river Tulyabhāga, which runs through the present Rāmachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari district. In fact, there were many *vana dugrgas*, forts protected by great forests, which were captured by kings of this age. Agriculture was therefore limited in extent and confined to the regions devoid of forests.

Soil :

It is unnecessary to deal with the physical features of the coastal region. As a rule, the upland and hilly tracts are formed by hard clay and rocky soils, and the low-lying plains by soft alluvial clay, loam and

sandy ones. The Telugu poet, Srinatha, in one of his *cāṭus*, leaves behind him a description of the upland Palnāḍu country, which was separated from coastal plain by hills and jungles. He says that the villages in the Palnāḍi *sīma* were characterised by small rocks and minor deities, *nāpa* slabs, waters of the Nāgulōḡu, serpents and scorpions, and *saṣṣa* and *ṣanna* meals.¹ The above description gives us a general idea of the nature of the great upland provinces comprising the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Classification of Lands :

For purposes of taxation, arable land was classified under three categories, namely, dry, wet, and garden land. Dry land was called '*velipolamu*' or '*velicēnu*', wet, as '*nīrunela*' or '*māgāṇi*', and garden land, as '*tōṭabhūmi*'. Lands were assessed in accordance with this classification. The assessment on the last two kinds of land was naturally higher than on the first.

Land Survey and Land Measures :

All arable land was surveyed by means of a pole, or a measuring rod. We do not know if this survey was periodical. It is stated in the text-books on *Gaṇita* current in the time of the last Kākatiya monarch, that there were different kinds of poles of varying measurement in use in different countries and localities, and that the land measured with a single pole lengthwise and breadthwise, was one *kunṭa* in extent.² This statement is corroborated by inscriptions which allude to different poles, as settled by surveyors in different localities. From the records of the Redḍi period *Kēsariṇṇāṭi-gaḍa*, or pole appears to have been the

1. చిన్న చిన్న రాళ్ళు చిల్లర దేవుళ్ళు
నాగు లేటి నీళ్ళు నాపరాళ్ళు
సజ్జాన్న కూళ్ళు పర్వంబులును దేళ్ళు
పల్లె నాటి నీమ పల్లెటూళ్ళు.
2. నానాదేశములందును
నానావిధమైన గడలు నగడమైన
దాన నలుదిక్కు లొక సరి
గా నుండిన చేయి కంట గణితివిధిజ్ఞా.
నిదుపు వెడల్పును నొక్కొక
గడయైనం గు టయగును గణుతింపం గా
గడచే గుంటలు కూడుము
తిడయక వెలిచేయి కొలిచి తధ్యము కాగె.

standard rod in measuring lands in the coastal region. It was in use at least from the time of Kakati Pratāparudra, if not earlier. The text-books on Ganita of the Kakatiya period give the lineal measure of land according to 'Kesaripāṇi-gaḍa'. In settling the length of the pole the *aṅguḷa* was taken as the unit. According to the Ganita texts, *aṅguḷa* was half of the circumference of the thumb, the length of three *yava* seeds, or half the length of the middle finger. Twelve such *aṅguḷas* make one *jena*, and thirty two such *jenas* make one *gaḍa* or pole.³ Generally, the thumb of a person, approved by the king or other chief officers of State, is taken for settling the standard unit of *aṅguḷa*. When once it was determined, the pole was measured in accordance with it, and it was the custom of the country to sketch a portion of its length on a stone pillar in a temple for the guidance of future generations. Such representations of poles or measuring rods of fields are found on pillars in temples in the villages of Penumūli,⁴ Prattipāḍu,⁵ Mōpaṅṅu⁶ and Komūru⁷ in the Guntur district. The sketch of the standard measure on the

3. అంగుష్ఠపు కలయార్ధం

అంగుళ మగు; మాఁడపాడవు యవ లెన్నంగా

నంగుళ మగు; మరియును మ

ధ్యంగుళ నాధ్యపదేశ మంగుళ మయ్యెక్క.

పెండియు నయ్యంగుళములు

పండ్రిం దొకజేస యయ్యెక్క బరికింపంగా

అండిత జేసలు ముప్పది

రెండొక గడమానమై ధరిత్రని వెలయున్.

అంగుష్ఠనిర్ణయం 2వనికేపరిపాటి.

గడ ప్రమాణమును గడ యొసంగు

కుంటలక్షణము రాగుగ తలపోతలు (?)

గడలవార్గము శ్రేత్రకమలయందు

జేపుగాఁ జల్లిన నీజావలికినెల్ల

పరిమాణ మెఱుంగుట కరుగతోడ

గోచర్యధూమల కొలఁదులు గాంచుట

ప్రతులుకూడుట దిశాపలిఁ గనుట

మఱియు లోకును లాదిగాఁ బరగుచున్న

వేలు మహిమను గొల్చి ప్రసిద్ధియైన

శ్రేత్రగణితంబుఁ జెప్పెన సూత్రతత్తవగ. — Kṣētra Gaṇita, A.S.P.L., No. 1089.

4. Ep. Coll., No. 181 of 1917.

5. Ep. Coll., No. 145 of 1917.

6. Ep. Coll., No. 659 of 1920.

7. Ep. Coll., No. 825 of 1922.

temple pillar at Penumūli was drawn in Śaka 1236, that is, in 1314 A.D., during the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra. At Mopaggu, a Sanskrit śloka, defining the lengths of the linear measures of *aṅgula*, *vitasti* (*jēna*), and *daṇḍaka* (*gaḍa*), and a Telugu passage, was also inscribed above the sketch of the pole given thereon, and these strictly conform to the definitions of the same, given in the Gaṇita texts of the time of Pratāparudra. "Half of the circumference of a thumb is an *aṅgula*. Twelve *aṅgulas* make one *vitasti*, and thirty two *vitastis* make one *daṇḍaka*." The Telugu passage states that the *Kesaripāṭi-gaḍa* is equivalent to the *daṇḍaka*. The sketch of a *jēna*, drawn on one of the square sides of a pillar in the *Daṇḍavarasvāmi* temple at Prattipāḍu, measures exactly one and a half foot or eighteen inches with a foot-rule. According to the inscription, thirty two *jēnas* with this standard *jēna* make one *gaḍa*, and one hundred and twelve and a half *kunṭas*, measured with this pole, make one '*Kesaripāṭi tūmu*.' It is said that this standard pole was determined by Puruṣōttamayya, the *vāyasaṁ* of Rāyapa Nāyaka. The inscription at Kommūru also gives the length of the measuring rod in terms of *vitastis* as determined by the same Puruṣōttamayya, and defines the *Kesaripāṭi tūmu*. The undated inscription ⁸ at Nandivelugu (Tenali taluk, Guntur district) refers to the grain measure which is also called *Kesaripāṭi tūmu*. Evidently the same measure was used for measuring area as well as cubic contents. According to the texts on Gaṇita, a *Kesaripāṭi tūmu* consisted of two *śrasas* or four *kunṭas* ⁹. One putti, whether of land or of

8. This is the text of the inscription :

“ రాయపనాయని వారి రాయపం పురుషోత్తమయ్య నిష్కణ్డము
పరచిన ఘటప్రమాణం యీ చానలు 3౨ ఘట [పొడు] న
౧౧౨౪కుంటలు కేసరిపాటి తూము. ”

I went to Prattipāḍu and took the measurement of the sketch given on the right side of the inscription. It measures exactly one and a half foot with a foot rule.

9. “ ప్రకటింతు కేసరిపాటి శ్రేత్రంబుల

నలరిన దీజసంఖ్యత మదియు
నూటపల్లెండర పాటిగా నొకతూము
ఏబడాలుంబాతి కిరస యయ్యె
ఇరవదెన్నిదిపర కేర్పడఁ గుంచెడు
పదునాల్గవీసము పరగు నడ్డ
ఏడొక యరవీస మేవార మానిక
మాఁటిపై నొకాని మున్న (1) తవ్వ

grain, consisted of twenty *Kesariṇṇāṭi tūmus*, that is to say, eighty *kuñcas* of grain make one *putti*. It may not be out of place to refer here to the grain measure *putti* of eighty *kuñcas*, called *Palle putti*, which is still in use in some localities in the East Godavari district. This *Palle putti* was formerly in use in the coastal tracts until its supersession by the *Malaka putti*, probably introduced by Malakas or Mussalmans, either the Bahmanis, the Kutub Shahis of Golkonda, or the Asafjahis of Hyderabad¹⁰. The texts on Gaṇita enjoin on surveyors of land to leave out, while measuring, as much space as that of a cow's foot ('*gōṣpādā*') for each pole.¹¹

Just as there was difference in assesment between the dry and wet lands, there was difference also in their standard measures. It was an ancient custom to give the extent of dry land, *velipolamu*, or *velicenu* in *khaṇḍikas* or *khaṇḍuvus*, and that of the wet land, in *maruturu*. The term *marutu* or *martu* finds mention in the early Telugu and Canarese inscriptions. *Marturu*, the plural of *martu*, changed later on into *matṭar* in Canarese. Just as the area of dry land was expressed in *Kesariṇṇāṭi tūmu*, that of wet land was given in *martu*. That a *martu* was equal to, or corresponded to a Sanskrit *nivartana*, is known from the Pākhāl inscription¹² of Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatiya dynasty. The land granted to the 'Kavicakravarti', the composer of that inscription, is stated to be five *nivartanas* in the Sanskrit portion, and five *martus* in the Telugu portion, of the record. An inscription¹³ of the thirteenth

ఒకటి ముప్పాతికయుఁ జూడ నొక్క-సోల
ఏడువఁకలు దా నొనఁగూడెనేని
పరక నరసోల ఎఱుంగుడీ వరుసతోడ
గణితపండిత, విను మిది గణితమతము”.

I have quoted the verse without correcting the mistakes.

10. It is not known why that measure is called *Palle putti*, which is really the *Kesariṇṇāṭi-putti* itself. The term *Palle* in *Palle putti* appears to have some connection with, or to have been the corrupt form of Pallava. If this surmise is correct, we may be perhaps justified in thinking that this grain measure was in vogue from the time of Pallava kings who held sway in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛṣṇa, prior to the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi.

11. “కొలుచునోట గడకు గోప్పరమంతేసి

యడము(?) విడువకున్న యశము తఱుంగు

గాన కాలఁ బారెఁ గ్రాకక మీ రిట్లు

భర్త మాచరించి తనరుడయ్యు.”

12. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 4, verse, 41.

13. N. D., I. I., C. P., No. 17, v. 28, p. 147.

*Dasā-hastēna-danḍēna trīṇśad-danḍa nivartanam
tan-yaiva dasa gōcarma tad-danḍad-Acūyutaṁ phalam.*

century from the Nellore district gives the extent of a *nivartana*, as follows, while defining the land measure called *gōcarma*. Ten *hastas* make one *daṇḍa*; thirty (*trīṃśati*) *daṇḍas* make one *nivartana*; ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*. But Hēmādri, minister of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, defines a *nivartana*, in his great work *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, as equal to twenty *daṇḍas* or 200 *hastas*, or 40,000 *hasas* square. *Hasta* is a measure of length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, and equals to twenty four *aṅgulas*. From this it is evident that two *vitastis* make one *hasta*. In view of Hēmādri's statement, the reading *trīṃśati* (thirty), given in the Nellore record quoted above, seems to be a mistake for '*viṃśati*', which means twenty." Since Hēmādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* was very popular in the Andhra coastal area during the period under review, *nivartana* as given by him, may be taken to have been in vogue then.

Paddy Seasons :

Cultivation of chief crops in different localities in the Andhra country was determined chiefly by the character of the soil besides rainfall and other climatic conditions. Rice and millet were the staple crops. A perusal of inscriptions of the Kākatiya period and a few of the Reḍḍi period¹⁴ discloses the fact that there were generally two harvests, one in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May), and the other in the month of Kārtika (October-November). This shows that paddy had two main seasons, known as *Vaiśākham* and *Kārtikam*, the two months in which the harvest was gathered. It might be, because of these seasons, that the tax in kind due to the State from the agriculturist, was collected in the months referred to above. The tax the cultivator had to pay in kind was called *kōru*, or *kōru-pālu* (king's share), and the cultivator's share of the produce was called *meḍi-pālu* (the ryot's share). In almost all big villages the king had *rāca-gādelu* (royal granaries) to store the king's share of grain. Of these two harvests, that which comes in the month of Kārtika appears to be the principal one; for, whenever the two are referred to, *Kārtikam* is mentioned first as a rule, and *Vaiśākham* next. It is but proper to mention it first, since it comes after the close of the period of the South-West monsoon which brings rain to the coastal tracts of the Andhra country.

14. The texts in the inscriptions of the Nellore district are full of mistakes. The readings are very faulty. It is very necessary to correct, re-edit it and publish those inscriptions. It is no wonder if the word '*viṃśati*' was wrongly read as '*trīṃśati*' by the authors. According to the *Lilavatigaṇita* also one *nivartana*, *niraṅga* as it was also called, was equal to twenty *vaṃsas* (bamboo poles) or *daṇḍakas*, and the length of each *vaṃsa* corresponded to ten *hastas*.

15. Ep. Coll. 380 of 1926.

Agricultural Implements :

The tillage implements were, as they still are, very few and simple, and they were prepared by the village blacksmith, who was one of the twelve servants of the village. His services were remunerated by *ināms*, called *vṛtti-mānyams*.

Irrigation :

The soil of the country being generally dry, artificial irrigation was necessary. Irrigation works consisted of three principal types, namely, wells including *doruvu* wells on the river banks, river-channels, and tanks or reservoirs formed by constructing embankments across two hills, and rivulets or streams.¹⁶ The Telugu work *Sinhāsanadvā-trimśika* gives a list of sources of irrigation and appliances to lift water from a lower to a higher level, such as *kālvalu* (canals), *pāyalu* (branches of rivers), *kōḷḷu* (artificial canals or marshes), and *rāṭṇamulu* (appliances to draw water or water-wheels worked with feet).¹⁷ In the regions of black soil where its depth is moderate, and the sub-layer is porous, well-irrigation was in vogue.

Water was drawn from wells, and if the fields were on a higher level, from channels, canals, and watery marshes etc., by means of lifts, like *etam* (picottah), and *kapila* (*moṭṭa*). There were *diguḍu bāvis* (wells having steps to descend into) besides the ordinary wells. Irrigation from wells was rare in upland regions and common in plains, especially in the regions in the neighbourhood of rivers. It is only in the Nagaram and the Amalāpuram taluks in the East Godavari district that wells which are stated to have been dug during the Reddi period are found today. "They are very large, from eighteen to twenty four feet deep, hold from six to twelve feet of water, are rivetted with bricks and are said to be very ancient. They are some times called 'Jain' wells, and are supposed to date from the days when the Jain faith prevailed in the country; in Amalāpuram they are sometimes called

16. ".....పల్లములు చిక్కని కొయ్యలఁ దవ్వి విత్తుదుర్
గోరిక యారటంబులఁగఁ గొండల కాలువలడ్డకట్టుదుర్
నీరికి....." —Hr. Vm., II, ix, p. 233.

17. "ఈయెడఁ గర్మభూమియగు దెవ్వరికైనను బుద్ధి నేర్చునన్
తేయఁగలేదు కాల మెడఁజేసిన నేతములెల్లి కల్గెలుం
బాయలఁ గోళ్ళు నూతులును బావులు రాట్లనులన్ జలార్థమై
చేయఁగ నాయొక గాక మఱి చేయనినాఁ డని కామె పుట్టునే." "

'Reddis' wells'. They are largely used for the irrigation of areca and coconut plantations, and the supply in them is said to be practically perennial."¹⁸

Natural River Channels, Ponds and Canals :

There were natural spring and river channels and creeks which helped the cultivator to irrigate his fields. Land irrigated by water from such channels, yielded two (and probably three) crops of rice.¹⁹ Besides these water-logged low lands, natural ponds, swamps, and marshes, called *paḍiyas*, *pāḍes*²⁰ or *pāḍavas* (*bāḍavas*), were also utilised for irrigation purposes.

Canals were dug for carrying water from the sandy beds of rivers and rivulets. Nāmaya Nāyaka is said to have ruled the country watered by the river Ēlā (*Ēlānadimāṭṛkū*).²¹ This statement suggests that the land in his kingdom was irrigated by canals dug out from the river Ēlā (*Elēru*). Such irrigation canals are referred to in the *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*.²² Irrigation by canals wherever possible was a special feature of the low-lying tracts. Many *agrahāras* were irrigated by such artificial canals.²³ These artificial canals were called '*kroppum-gāliyalu*' (*kroccu* to dig; *kroppum-gāliya*, a dug-out canal). Such canals as these were also dug by private individuals for acquiring merit for themselves, or for their near relatives.²⁴

Irrigation Tanks :

Irrigation by tanks was one of the chief features of the ancient Andhra country, mainly to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. A large number

18. Dg. Gd., Vol. I. p. 89.

19. " ఏలేలు విరిసేలు నిరు గారును బండు

బ్రాహ్మణులచేల పనిడిచాయ" — Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.

20. The term '*paḍe*' means a marsh; it was larger than a '*paḍiyya*', a small pond. *Paḍava*, the modern *bāḍava*, is another form of *paḍe*. *Paḍe* does not mean a waste as is understood by some scholars.

"వడ్డపాడవ" — S. I. I. Vol, No 46.

21. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 357, and p. 369, l. 28.

బ్రాహ్మణులచేల పనిడిచాయ" — Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.

22. " ఏలేటి మేటి గాలులవలన నదీమార్గకలులగు పంటలంటి".....

—Bh. Pr., II, Pr. 55.

23. ".....అరేడు సారటి

సలిల వివర్ధమాన బహువిధ్య సమాకుల మగ్రహారమై....." — Bh. Pr., I, v. 49.

24. S. I. I. V. No. 37.

of good-sized tanks, found in the Guntur, Nellore, and Kurnool districts, were almost all constructed during the Hindu period, some at the expense of the State, and others by private individuals, as a meritorious act for the continuance of their name for ever. The construction of a tank is classed among the *Sapta-santānas* or seven kinds of progeny that keep on one's name for ever.²⁵ Though tanks are generally dug or excavated in the areas of soft clay soil, they are as a rule constructed in the catchment areas in the upland regions of hard soil, and land below such tanks was utilised for growing rice and garden crops.

The Pōrumāmiḷḷa tank inscription, dated in Śaka 1291, of the Vijayanagar prince Bhāskara Bhavadūra, the governor of Udayagiri, is a remarkable record of this period giving details and specification of sites for tanks and their construction. The inscription enumerates the twelve essentials (*aṅgas* or *sādhanas*) for the construction of a good tank as specified in the Śāstras, namely,

“(i) A king (who undertakes this work) endowed with righteousness, rich, happy and desirous of acquiring the permanent wealth of fame;

“(ii) A brāhmaṇa learned in Hydrology or the science of water (*pāṭhas-Śāstra*);

“(iii) A ground of hard soil;

“(iv) A river conveying sweet water from a distance of three *yōjanas*;

“(v) Two projected portions of hills in contact with it (the site of the tank);

“(vi) An embankment or a dam of stone wall, not too long but firm between the projected portions of the hills;

“(vii) The two extremities of hills devoid of fruit-giving land (*phala-sthīrā*);

“(viii) The bed of the tank extensive and deep;

“(ix) A quarry containing straight and long stones;

“(x) A fertile low land in the neighbourhood;

25. “నందనుఁడు వనమ్ము న ల్లిలు నిధి మర

గృహము చెఱువు మేలికృతి యనంగ

జగతి వెలయు సప్త సంతానములు వినఁ

బుణ్యములు యశంబుఁ బొందవచ్చు” —Kb. Cr., I. v. 8.

“(xi) A water course having strong eddies in the mountain region ;

“(xii) A gang of men skilled in the art of tank construction. ”

The six *dōṣas* or faults to be avoided also are given :— They are (1) water oozing from the dam, (2) saline soil ; (3) site at the boundary of two kingdoms; (4) a tank bed with an elevation in the middle ; (5) scanty supply of water and extensive stretch of land to be irrigated ; (6) too little land irrigated and excess or over-supply of water. ” The Pōrumāmilla tank ” in the Badvel taluk of the Cuddapah district was constructed in accordance with the *lakṣaṇas* given above. This inscription gives us an idea of how tanks in the hard clay soil in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were constructed during the post-Kakatiya period. These were all rain-fed tanks, and depended for their water-supply on rainfall. Because of their large size these tanks were and

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV. p. 103. verses 37, 38 and 39.

धर्माढ्यो धनवान् सुखी स्थिरयशो द्रव्याभिलाषीनृपः

पाथःशास्त्रविदग्रजश्च दृढमृत्संशोभिताचोर्वरा

मायुर्याम्बुवहतियोजननदी तद्योगखण्डोगिनि

स्सेतुस्तत्र विनिर्मितो घनशिनाभित्यल्पदीर्घास्थिरः ॥ v. 37.

शृङ्गो बाह्यफलस्थिरा परिहृतो विस्तीर्णनिम्नोदरम्

(रुज्वायामर) मृज्वायामदृक्खनिश्च निकटक्षेत्रं फलाढ्यं समम्

अद्रिस्थानदृढभ्रमाजलगतिस्तत्कर्ममर्त्यव्रज

श्वेदमृदादशसाधनैश्च मुलभः श्रेष्ठस्तटाको भुविः ॥ v. 38.

सेतोश्च जालं जलमूषरोर्वी

द्विराज(शि) सन्धावथमध्यकूर्मम्

अल्पाम्बुभूविस्तरमल्पभूमि

स्तोयाधिकं चातहि दोषषट्कम् ॥ v. 39.

27. It is stated in the inscription that “for two years, 1000 labourers were working daily on the tank and the dam; and 100 carts were engaged in getting stones for walls which formed a part of the masonry work.” We are told that the dam was 5000 *rekhadainḍas* wide and seven high. The length and breadth of that tank at the present day is seven miles and two and a half mile respectively. The details of this tank are given here in order to give the reader an idea of the size of these artificial reservoirs.

are called *Sāgaras* or *Samudras* (seas). Ruins of such tanks as these and their embankments can be seen even to-day in the Guntur district; for instance, an embankment to the north of the village of Donḍapāḍu in the Vinukonda taluk connected formerly two hills to form a tank which irrigated the country as far as Vinukonda.²⁸ Near the village of Kollūru in the Sattenapalli taluk are found traces of two bunds of ruined tanks, 'originally intended to collect the water from the hills on the east.'²⁹ *San'ānasāgara* was one such tank constructed during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma by his wife Sūrāmbikā. This fact is known to us from an inscription³⁰ in the Vīrabhadrasvāmi temple in the village of Phirangipuram in the Sattenapalli taluk, dated in Śaka 1331.

The Nāgulēgu, which runs through Palnāḍu, had "a massive embankment which once dammed up its waters between the hills of Kārempūḍi and that of the Singaruṭṭa *agrahāram*. At Dacēpalli, Gāmālapāḍu and Saṅkarapuram were huge stone dams, called *kuṭṭuvvas*, whence small irrigation channels led to some garden lands."³¹ Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son Rāca Vēma, the last Redḍi monarch that sat on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, had a channel, called *Jagamobbagaṇḍa kālūva*, dug, in Śaka 1337, as a feeder to the tank *San'ānasāgara*, constructed by his mother.

Besides the wells and tanks of the type described above, there were others which were also used for irrigational purposes, either dug or excavated at the bidding of the village community, or of the officers of the State, or of private individuals. One-tenth of the land irrigated by the water below such wells and tanks was given to those who were put in charge of their construction, repairs and maintenance. Such land was termed as the *daśabandham-māṇyam*. Baden Powell, while enumerating the nine kinds of *īnāms* classified according to their object,

28. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 201.

29. *Ibid*, pp. 170-171.

30. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 319, and p. 326.

The Phirangipuram inscription contains some beautiful Telugu verses, written by Śrīnātha, the court-poet of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, eulogising the *Santāna sāgara* in hyperbolic terms comparing it with the ocean. Many other poets followed Śrīnātha's example in later times, and composed verses, probably at the bidding of their patrons, on the tanks constructed by them. We have thus a number of verses of this type in inscriptions which are in no way inferior to the verses in the classical Telugu *prabandhas*. This epigraphical literature may be properly called Tank-literature (తాంక వాక్యము— Vide my paper on this subject in *An. An.*, for 1922).

31. *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 155.

or purpose, defines *daśabandham* as an *inām* given for the construction, maintenance, and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot, and Salem. Some of the Vijayanagar records of this period discovered in the coastal region are *daśabandham* deeds of an interesting nature.

Cultivation :

It seems to have been the universal practice throughout the coastal region to sow the seed broad-cast; but some were sown seed by seed in a furrow as is the custom to-day. Sowing the seed broad-cast had been the custom followed from some centuries past. It was probably due to this custom that the extent of land was measured in terms of the grain seeds required to sow over that particular area. As such, we come across, in the copper-plate charters of the early dynasties, like the Eastern Caḷukyas of Vēṅgī, passages like '*dvādaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdrav-āvāpa kṣētram*', '*dvādaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdrava-bījāvāpakṣētram*', '*Vimsati-khaṇḍikā-vrihībījapuripramāṇam-kṣētram*' etc. These passages clearly show that sowing the seed broad-cast was the original method of raising crops, as there was no regular irrigation system of canals and tanks. After ploughing the field, the seed was sown at the fall of early showers (*tolukari*). All dry crops were grown as at the present day.

Varieties of Paddy :

Kōdrava and *vrihi* are the only varieties of paddy mentioned in inscriptions of the early dynasties in the coastal Andhra country. *Ādi*, mentioned in some of the records of the Eastern Caḷukyas, is also a variety of grain. It is probable that there were many other varieties that do not find mention in records. The Telugu literature of the period under review furnishes the names of some varieties. Srinātha mentions in his works *Haravilāsam* and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*, some of the varieties of paddy, like *kalama*, *śāli*, *sirāmulka*, *śaṣṭika*, *patanṅa*, and *hāyana*.³² Of these varieties, *śaṣṭika* is said to be a two-month crop. Varieties of *prāsaṅgu* (*prasangi*) and *rājanam* seem to be common. They are referred to in other Telugu works also of the period. Another good variety of rice is *kuppurabṛṅgam*.³³ Richer classes consumed good varieties of rice. Low class people and people in the interior, generally subsisted on *rāgi* and *cōḷam*. It was the custom, as it is even to-day in many

32. Baden Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, page 81.

33 "కంపారంగిలో నదీమాతృకామనాన విశ్వంధరాధీత కలమ, శాలి, సిరామగు పాష్టిక, పరింక మాయనప్రమాణు లమచిధ (వీసీ) థేద సంపత్సంపన్నంబును....."

of the villages, to set up a scare-crow to scare away birds, and to ward off the evil eye. Regular watchmen, called *kāvāli-kāṇḍru*³⁴ or *kāvatikāru* (plural of *kāvāli-kāḍu*), were employed to watch and protect crops.

Transplantation:

In lands under wet cultivation, paddy was transplanted from seed beds. These fields for growing seedlings was and is still called 'ākumaḍi-paṭṭu' in Telugu. 'Ākumaḷla-paṭṭu' are mentioned in inscriptions of this period³⁵.

Dry Crops:

We find all dry crops of the present day mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature with the exception of *mirepa* (chillis) which, of course, was unknown in that period. Cotton was grown in the interior country of black soil, especially, in the Palnāḍu, Vinukonda and other *sīmas* in the Guntur District.

Garden Crops:

Besides paddy, there were other irrigated crops known as garden crops. Chief of these were sugarcane, betel-vine, and plantain. Arecanut and cocoanut palms were also raised, and probably occasionally irrigated. Mango and jack plantations were widely grown, as they are even now, in the Kōnamaṇḍala (Amalapuram and Rajole taluks of the East Godavari district), the garden of the Andhra country. Vilasa in the Kōnadēsa, granted to brāhmins by Prōlaya Nāyaka

“పథిక నాసాపుటీ కుటీరంబులకుఁ గుటుంబకములగు కమ్మదనంబులీని పాలు కుడిచి
సుంకీప్రాయంబున నాము వలచునవియును, ఒదియాఱునన్నె కుందనంపుఁ దగడుఁ
చెగడుచుఁ బండి యుద్దండకేదారవలయు కుముదపండింబు లాప్రమాణింపనంబోలే నై
వ్రాలునవియునై కమల శాలి శారదామఖాది ప్రీహిసస్యంబులనను.....”

—Bh. Pr., II. Pr. 55.

It is not known if *Saradamukha* is another name for *Siramukha* or altogether a different variety.

“ఏరుఁబ్రాల కల మాహారంబు” —Bh. Pr., II, v. 141.

“ఏరుఁబ్రాల తెల్లప్పురబోగి వంటకము.....” —Ibid, v. 139.

“ప్రాసంగు వరిచేల పసిడిచాయ.....” —Ibid, v. 54.

“చెరకును రాజనంబు కృషిచేయుచునుండెడు నేర్పు కల్పియున్.” —Vk. Cr., I, v. 76

“రాతెల్లెను నత్తలును, చేతెల్లను రాజనంబు ..” —Rk. Cr., I, v. 7.

34. “చేల కావలిసారిఁ జించి చిగఱరెఁగి

పండిన సస్యముల్ పరుమచేరి.....” —Rk. Cr., III, v. 10.

35. S. I. L., V. No. 28.

shone with very fertile fields fit for rice and sugarcane cultivation and with gardens of betel-wine, plaintain, mango, arecanut, jack etc.³⁶ The country in the neighbourhood of the Tulyabhāgā is said to have been abounding in crops (*bahusasyasam = ujjevalataram Tulyabhāgātātā*).³⁷ We are told that the village of Vēmavaram granted by Allaya Vēma, was full of groves of cocoanut palm, arecanut, jack, mango, and plantain, and was abundant in crops, such as sugarcane, paddy, sesame, chick-pea and kidney-bean.³⁸ From the descriptions of villages in Kōnamāṇḍala, and those on the banks of the Tulyabhāga, it may be gathered that land in the neighbourhood of rivers was generally very fertile and yielded good crops.

Yield of Land:

The land was considered very fertile and the crop a bumper one, if one *tāmu* of paddy sown yielded in return ninety *puttis*,³⁹ but this seems to be a gross exaggeration.

'Pōḍu' Cultivation:

The Telugu work '*Bhōjarājīyam*' written by Anantāmātya of this period, mentions the term '*pōḍu-cēnu*' in a particular context. A brāhman who lost his way while going to a town called Hēmavaṭapura, meets a *vanacara*, a forester in a forest, and asks him to show the way, when the latter takes the former to his *pōḍu-cēnu* (*pōḍu* field.)⁴⁰ This Telugu work, by using this special term *pōḍu* in connection with the field of a member of the forest tribe, enables us to know another

36. *Forgotten Chapter* chapter, Appendix, No. 1. v. 67.

విభాంతి యస్యాతి పశ్చేఱిమాని

క్షేత్రాణి శాలీన్రువనోచితాని

ఆరారామభాగశ్చ ముజంగవల్లి

రమ్భామ్రపూగీపనసాదిగ్మ్యః ||

37. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 243, ll. 53-54.

38. Ibid., V. 27, 55-56.

39. "తూ మెం డల్కి నను బుట్టు తొంబడి (? తొమ్మిది) పండుం

గా మెలయు పొలముగల స

ద్రానుంబులు....." —Sm. Dev., II, ii, v, 101.

40. "అని తనపొడుచేసికడ కాతనిఁ దోకొని బోయ యిట్లను నిజ

పొట్టి కందులును నన్నులు నున్నవి క్రొత్తకుండ లేదనఁకు

యుపాయమెద్ది?....." —Bh. Rj., VI; v. 242.

method of cultivating lands in the hilly jungle tracts which was in vogue then. This method is still in use in the upland forest regions in both the Godavari and Vizagapatam districts. The reference to it in the above work shows that this method was followed in the hilly forest tracts in the coastal region of the Andhra country for the past many centuries. The Gazetteers of the Godavari and the Vizagapatam districts furnish the following interesting account regarding this method of cultivation.

"The majority of the hill Reddis and the Kōyas in the Agency carry on shifting cultivation, called '*pōḍu*', by burning clearings in the forests..... Two methods prevail: the ordinary (or *calaka*) *pōḍu*, and the hill (or *koṇḍa*) *pōḍu*. The former consists in cultivating certain recognised clearings for a year or two at a time, allowing the forest to grow again for a few years, and then again burning and cultivating them; while under the latter, the clearing is not returned to for a much longer period and is some times deserted for ever. The latter is in fashion in the more hilly and wilder parts, while the former is a step towards civilisation.

"In February or March the jungle trees and bushes are cut down and spread evenly over the portion to be cultivated, and when the hot weather comes on, they are burnt. The ashes serve as manure, and the cultivators, also think that the mere heat of the burning makes the ground productive. The land is ploughed once or twice in *calaka pōḍu* before and after sowing, but not at all in *koṇḍa-pōḍu*. The seed is sown in June in the *Mṛgaśīrakārti*. Hill *cōlam* and *sāma* are the commonest crops. The former is dibbled into the ground."⁴¹

"This (*koṇḍa-pōḍu* or *pōḍu* system, consists in cutting a part of jungle, burning the felled trees and under growth, sowing dry grain broad-cast in the ashes (without any kind of tilling) for two years in succession, and then abandoning the plot for another else-where.The crops grown in *pōḍu* cultivation are usually dry grains like *sāmai*, hill *chōlam* and the like."⁴²

From a verse in the above-mentioned work *Bhōjarājīyam* we understand that dry grain, like *poṭṭi kandulu* (short variety of red gram) and *anumulu* (beans), were also grown.

41. DG. Gd., I, Ch. IV, pp. 78-79.

42. DG. Vj., I, pp. 111 and 103.

Cattle :

Allied to agriculture there was cattle raising and dairy farming. Inscriptions recording donations to temples inform us that *lōyas* were generally in charge of cattle. In the early mediaeval period when *akṣaṇḍatīpa* was the greatest act of merit, every temple had its own *kīlāra* or cow-pen for herds of cattle. During this period the kings and nobles and the rich had their own cattle-herds. Cattle was their wealth.

The ox was held in great reverence by people. Friars Odoric (C. 1321-22 A.D.), and Jordanus (1323-1330 A.D.) attest to this fact. "All the people of this country worship the ox for their god", writes Odoric, " [and they eat not his flesh]; for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold and silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead, secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified [for the day]. Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise". "The Indians, both of this India and of the other Indies, never kill an ox", writes Jordnus, "but rather honour him like father; and some, even perhaps the majority, worship him. They will more readily spare him who has slain five men than him who has slain one ox, saying that it is no more lawful to kill an ox than to kill one's father. This is because oxen do all their services, and moreover furnish them with milk and butter, and all sorts of good things. The great lords among the idolators, every morning when they rise, and before they go any whither, make the fattest cows come before them, and lay their hands upon them, and then rub their own faces, believing that after this they can have no ailment." "43

'Jaṭṭi' System :

Like *pōḍu* the term *jaṭṭi-gonu*, used rhetorically in the Telugu work *Simhāsanadvātrimśika* written by Koravi Gōparaja, enlightens us about an aspect of disposing of the agricultural produce. This term

43. *Foreign Notices.*, p. 205.

occurs in the *Bhōjarājīyam* and *Harivamśam* also. *Jaṭṭi* is a commercial term denoting a system of purchase that is in vogue even to-day. The Gazetteer of the Godavari district has an interesting note about this system. "Loans are often made", says the note, "on the security of standing crops on the condition that they shall be sold to the sowcar at less than the market price, an arrangement which is known as the *jaṭṭi* system." "

Value of Land :

It is difficult to ascertain the value of land in the period under review in general. But from the inscriptions found at Sarpavaram we come know that one *khaṇḍika* or *puṭṭi* of land was valued at twenty *ṭaṅkas*. Evidence is lacking, if this was the general rate of the price of land prevailing throughout the country, and if the wet land also was of the same rate. Moreover, it is unknown whether this *ṭaṅka* was a gold or silver one. Inscriptions of this period refer to silver *ṭaṅkas*⁴⁴ and *māḍas*. *Māḍa*, also known as *gadde gadya*, *gadyāṇa* and *niṣka* seems to have been a gold coin. It should; however, be mentioned here that there were *veṇḍi ṭaṅkas* and *dināra ṭaṅkas* in this period. The Gaṇita texts state that ten *cinnas* make one *māḍa*. According to tradition current in the country, four *ṭaṅkas* make one *rūka*, two *rūkas* make one *māḍa* and two *māḍas* make one pagoda or *varāha*. It cannot be asserted with any certainty that this same was the value of the *ṭaṅka* in the period under review also. Whatever might be the value, the price of one *Kesaripāṭi tṃmu* of land was one *ṭaṅka*, though it is not possible, with the evidence at our disposal, to indicate its value in terms of the present-day currency.

Labour:

The condition of the husbandmen and labourers cannot be definitely ascertained for want of evidence. The *jaṭṭi* system might have been, in those days of the domination of the higher castes, more rigorous than it is to-day. It appears likely that the needy cultivator was exploited by the influential and rich merchants, who gave advances to him in kind or coin to serve his needs even prior to the harvest, and made him undersell his produce.

The condition of agricultural labour is best indicated by the term *veṭṭi*, met with in the Telugu works of this period. *Veṭṭi* meaning free or unpaid labour was an old institution, as old as the work *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya treats this as a kind of tax in his work.

44. Gz. Gd., Vol I, p. 91.

45. S. I. I. VI, No. 798.

The Telugu works of this period refer to *muṣṣeṭṭi*,⁴⁶ that is three kinds of *veṭṭi*; but what these three kinds were is not stated therein. However, *rācu-veṭṭi*, free or unpaid labour to the ruler of the land, was one of them. The other two might have been *grāma-veṭṭi*, free labour in works relating to the village-common, and *kula-veṭṭi*, free service in works done for the benefit of one's own community. In those days of absolute monarchy *rācu-veṭṭi* must have been very exacting. It was almost a tax paid to the king in the form of manual labour. *Veṭṭi-vari* is mentioned in South Indian Inscriptions as a tax. Therefore, it may be said to have been obligatory on every labourer to pay this 'tax' to the king whenever required.

Friar Jordanus (1323-1330 A. D.), describes the Telugu country (Telenc) in his work '*The Wonders of the East*' as given below :

"There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc (Tiling), who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telenc abounds in corn rice, sugar, wax, honey and honeycomb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffaloes, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of diverse kinds and in many excellent fruits, more than any other part of the Indies."

46. బలువిడి శివశరణుల మర్వ సొచ్చి
తలఁచు మొక్క-వేల్పుల నెల్లఁ గాచి
యనయము మువ్వట్టి గొనుచు బడుగు
పనులు కంపఁగ జేసి బ్రదుకుద మనుచు.....—Bs. Pr, IV, p. 112.

47. *Foreign Notices*, p. 212.

CHAPTER VI.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

INDUSTRY

Evidence for a survey of industries in the Reddi period is extremely meagre. Inscriptions of this period do not throw any light on the subject, though the Telugu works contain some words denoting costly articles of high class furniture and of luxury then in vogue. Industries indicated by such terms may be taken to have flourished in those times. Accounts of foreign travellers also furnish a little information regarding some industries.

Since the wants of the people of those times were very limited, and the community was predominantly an agricultural one, there was little scope for the development of industries on a large scale. The agricultural operations occupied a few busy months. As there was much leisure, every handicraft became a cottage industry and every craftsman an artist. The industrial workshop was a simple affair with simple apparatus. There are references to furnaces and big bellows ¹ made of buffalo hide, fitted with iron tubes.

As in many other cases the base of industrial activity was the village. The village community had its own artisans to supply to it all the necessities and luxuries of life, from the pot to the elaborate jewellery, from the top to the cot, and from the cattle-shed to the temple. The goldsmith, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason (stone cutter), the brazier, the potter, the weaver and the dyer, all these constituted members of the industrial class. Of these the first five classes of people, worked in metal, who were generally called *Pañcānamvāru*, a corruption of *Pañcānanamvāru*. These claim to be the descendants of the five sons of Viśvakarma, and hence their community is known as Viśvakarmakula. There is reason to believe that this community also was divided, in ancient times, into sects based on territorial divisions, just as in the brāhman and other castes. An early inscription ^{1a} of the

1. Nv, Cr., V, p. 235.

1a. Ep. Coll., No. 391 of 1936-37.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy (Southern Circle). in his *Annual Report* for 1936-37, has taken Kalgarabharanacārya to be "of the fourth caste", because of the mention of "Kammakula" in the inscription from Aiyangāripālem. This

seventh century in Caḷukyan characters, at Aiyangaripalem near Pulipāḍu in the Palnad taluk, Guntur district, refers to the architect Maindarāma who built the temple of Jalpēsvara and to Kalgarābharanācārya belonging to Kammakula. It is not clear, from what is given in the report on Epigraphy, if Maindarāma and Kalagarābharanācārya were identical. It is not necessary for our present purpose to find out if they were identical or two different persons. What we have to take note of is the fact that Kalgarābharanācārya belonged to Kammakula. Kammakula does not mean the Kamma community of the fourth caste, as has been interpreted by some scholars. It was only a sub-division of the Viśvakarma community, and means the Kammanāṭi sect of the Viśvakarma caste. We do not know if there were other sub-divisions also in that community, based on other territorial divisions. This Kammakula of the Viśvakarma community, also lost its significance in course of time, and the communal distinctions in that community, disappeared with the progress of time, just as in the Vaiśya caste. *Āsāri* (corrupt form of *ācāri*) and *ōju* (*vikṛiti* of *ojja* or *upādhyāya*) are titles added as suffixes to their names by the members of the Viśvakarma community. An inscription at Macherla (Guntur district), dated in the twelfth century A. D., extols some of the *ācāryas* of this community as having been "experts in cutting *lingas* (of Śiva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*), and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping

interpretation, as stated above, is wrong. Basing probably on the *Annual Report*, Sri N.P. Chakravarti writes thus about this inscription, specially in his *Annual Report on Archaeology* for 1936-37 :

"The next important inscription from the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district which is engraved in the Caḷukyan characters of the seventh century, A.D., furnishes the interesting information that the temple of Jalpēs'a was constructed by the architect Maindarāma (Mahēndrarāma), who was otherwise called Kalgarābharanācārya and belonged to "Kammakula" of the fourth caste. This is one of the earliest references to "Kammakula".

There are two more inscriptions at Pondugula in the same Palnad taluk that refer to the shrine of Jalpēsvara and Kalgarābharanācārya. Of these one (Ep. Coll. No. 35 of 1929-30), according to the *Report on Epigraphy*, "records the construction of the shrine of Jalpēs'a by a certain Maindarāma and mentions the master architect Kalgarābharanācārya". The other inscription (*Ibid*, 36 of 1936-37) is damaged. According to the *Report* it "mentions god Jalpēsvara and Kalgarābharanācārya of the Viśvakarmakula," Kalgarābharanācārya of these inscriptions is, no doubt, one and the same individual, as his name is invariably connected with the shrine of Jalpēsvara. So, from the damaged Pondugula record, it is evident that Kalgarābharanācārya was a member of the Viśvakarmakula. If, in the Aiyangaripalem inscription, he is said to belong to "Kammakula," then we have no other option except to interpret that he belonged to the Viśvakarmakula inhabiting Kammanāḍu.

the geometry (*keśetra*) involved in the study of the *Vāstu Śāstra*, and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession.² These five classes of people of the Viśvakarmakula formed the main industrial community, and were organised into a guild of their own. Like the trade and agricultural guilds of those times, the *Pañcāṇam* guild was a seventy-four³ community. These five classes of people were specialists in metallurgical arts, wood and stone work. The weaver and the dyer were connected with the textile industry, and the potter with pottery.

The most important industry of those times was jewellery. The great number of ornaments which were in use in the Reddi period bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and creative faculty of the goldsmiths of those times. Goldsmiths were experts in jewel making, and in preparing spittoons, toys, vases, cups, plates, and other articles of gold and silver, of different shapes and varieties required for domestic use, and things for temple use. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, commander of the army of Allaya Vēmā Reddi, made a gift of a golden *prabha*⁴ (*pasiṇḍi-prabha*) to god Rāmēśvara of Kṣīrārāma (Pālakollu).

Closely connected with jewellery was the art of inlaying precious stones. While writing about the throne on which the king of Vijayanagar sat, the Persian ambassador Abdur Razak says, "The throne which was of an extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value; the whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable that in all the kingdoms of the world, the art of inlaying precious stones is nowhere better understood than in this country⁵." It was not only in Vijayanagar but also in other kingdoms in the Telugu country that there were such expert workmen in inlaying precious stones. The Muslim historian Ferishta bears evidence to this statement. He tells us that, after the conclusion of a treaty with Muhammad Shāh I, the second Bahmani Sultān of Gulbarga, Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka (mistake for Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family)

2. Ep. coll., No. 575 of 1909; Ep. Rep., para 60.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 804 of 1917; This inscription refers "to certain privileges granted formerly to the seventy-four sub-divisions of the Pañcālas (Smiths) by Harihara. Mahāraya, for their having made the entrance-throne (*hajara-simhasana*) of the palace." — (Ep. Rep. 1918, para 85)

"పృథ్వి దేవ్యునాఁగు ఆహారాలు మొదలయిన పంచదారానాదు..."

—N. D. I., III, v. 21, p. 1362.

4. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 124.

5. Major, Abdur Razak, p. 38.

"presented to him a throne set with valuable jewels, originally prepared for himself to be given as a present to Muhammad Tughlaq, king of Delhi", and that the recipient caused it to be called *Takht-i-Ferōza* or cerulean (deep blue) throne. "I have heard old persons," writes Ferishta, "who saw the *Takht-i-Ferōza* in the reign of Sultān Mahmood Shah Bahmany, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad; the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmany dynasty added some rich jewels, so that in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore of hoons. I learned also that it was called *Ferōza*, from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments". Such was the exquisite workmanship of the smiths of the period under review. One of the ancestors of Avaci Tippaya Setṭi is said to have got a ruby *padmarāga* called *bālārka*, fixed in the navel of god Kāñci Nāyaka (*Varadarāja*)⁷. Vessels made of precious stones⁸ (*māṇikyā pātralu*; *harinīla-śilāmaya-pātralu*), and round cups made of crystal⁹, find mention in the Telugu works of the period. Māmiḍi Singaya Pregaḍa, minister of king Peda Kōṁaṭi Vēma Redḍi of Kōṇḍaviḍu, is stated to have made the lord of the goddess of Dākṣaṇyā pleased by the gift of a brilliant *liṅga* (or *liṅgas*) made of the nine precious stones¹⁰. Gilding of *viṇas* and other musical instruments, weapons and other articles, was common.

Copper, bronze, brass, and iron industries were in a flourishing state. Mention is made of copper vessels and bronze bells, lampstands, statues and cymbals, in literature and inscriptions. Anavōtā Redḍi, son of Vēma Redḍi, made a gift of a bell (*gaja-pañca ghaṇṭā*)¹¹ to god Bhīmēs'vara of Dakṣhāram in Śaka 1278. The bell that was presented is described as *dvipa-kara-caraṇa-saṅginah pañca ghaṇṭāḥ*. He presented such bronze bells to god Śiva of other *ārāmas* also. His brother Anavēma also made a gift of *gaja-ghaṇṭas* to the chief Śiva temples in the

6. Brigg's Ferishta. Vol. II, p. 307.

"One crore of hoons = Four million sterling."

7. "బాలార్క మనియేడి పద్మరాగము దాచె

నొకతాత కంచి నాయకునినాభి....." — Hr. VI., I, v. 10.

8. Hr. VI., IV, v. 41; Nr. Pr., III, v. 96; Hr. VI., IV, v. 41.

9. Rk. Cr., III, v. 228, V. Pr. 190.

10. "నవరత్నోపల దివ్యలింగవరదానప్రీత దాక్షయణి

ధవ....." — S'r. Nd. II, v. 144.

11. S. I. I. Vol. IV., No. 1389.

Pañcāramas. Mañcella Narahari Nēdu, commander of Allayavēma Reddi, gave a gift of a statued bronze lampstand to god Bhīmēs'vara of Dākshāram.¹² Images of deities and saints for worship in temples were cast either in bronze, copper or brass. With the development of elaborate temple planning, separate niches and chambers were specially constructed for placing statues of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, like the twelve Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs and the sixty three Śaiva Nāyanārs and other *parivāra-dēvatas*. Vēma Reddi, son of Allāḍa Reddi, made a present of a bronze (*kāmsya*) bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas*¹³ to god Mārkaṇḍēyēs'vara of Rājamahēndravaram.

Wood-carving and other wood-work, the trade of the carpenter, was in a very flourishing condition. Cabinet making developed into a fine industrial art. Different sorts of drawing-room and bed-room furniture were made to order. Different kinds of cots and couches, like *paṭṭe-mañcamu*, *sakināla-mañcamu*, *dōmatēra-mañcamu* and *pañju-mañcamu*, and swings, like *ūyēla-paṭṭe-mañcamu* and *gaṇṭāla-ūyāla*, find mention in literature.¹⁴ *Paṭṭe-mañcamu* is a cot, the bottom of which is interlaced with broad tape. *Sakināla-mañcamu* may be interpreted in two ways. The term *sakina* means the figure of a bird; so, *Sakināla-mañcamu* might mean a cot elaborately worked out with figures of birds on it, or it might mean "a bedding formed on a frame of wood, having orifices covered with perforated brass buttons that make a whistling or squeaking sound." *Dōmatēra - mañcamu* is a cot fitted with mosquito curtains. *Pañju-mañcamu* is a variety of cot, the exact definition of which is not known. *Ūyēla-paṭṭe-mañcamu* is a swing cot with tape-woven bottom. *Gaṇṭāla-ūyāla* is a swing adorned with bells which,

12. S. I. I, Vol. IV, No. 1378.

13. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242.

द्वादशसहस्रपलिकाप्रमाणसुकांस्यनिर्मितामसमान्

प्रादाद्वलय वेमो मार्कण्डेयेश्वरायवरघटाम् ॥— v. 19.

A palm-leaf manuscript (No 13-7-5) in the Government Or. Mss. Lib., Madras, contains a date (probably of the gift) incised on a bell, which is stated to have been presented to the feeding house (*annasatram*) attached to the temple of Bhīmēs'vara at Dākshāram by Virā Reddi, Vēma Reddi and Dōḍḍa Reddi, sons of Allāḍa Reddi. The date is wednesday, the 13th tithi of the dark half of the month of Vaisākha, in the cyclic year Ānanda, corresponding to the Ś'aka year 1356. The date is irregular. It is Friday 7th May, 1434 A. D. The 13th tithi falls on Friday and not on Wednesday according to the *Indian Ephemeris*. If it was the bright half instead of the dark half, then the 13th falls on Wednesday. Its English equivalent then is Wednesday, 21st April, 1444 A. D. The bell referred to in the palm-leaf manuscript seems to be another bell which is different from the one presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēs'vara.

14. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85 v. 104; V, v. 64; Sk. Cr., II, v. 145.

when the swing moved to and fro, made a clinking noise. These varieties of cots particularly adorned the houses of courtesans. Full length mirrors (*nīluvuṭṭadamulu*)¹⁵, winged glass doors (*gājurekkala-talupulu*)¹⁶, and glass halls (*gājuṭṭavarulu*)¹⁷ are also referred to in Telugu works. The making of wooden temple-cars for annual *kalyāṇōtsavas* and *vasantōtsavas* of local gods formed one of the important works for skilled craftsmen in wood. Boxes of different shapes and sizes, like *pattucanduvalu*, *mandasamulu*, *ballānipetṭelu*,¹⁸ were made for ordinary use and on special orders.

Ivory work also was not uncommon.¹⁹

There is reason to believe that iron smelting was done in a crude fashion to some extent and agricultural implements, iron tyres,²⁰ and some of the weapons used in warfare, like spears, swords and arrow heads, were made locally to meet local requirements. Iron was found in many parts of the Guntur district. It is reported that, to the west of the Sattenapalli taluk (Guntur district) in three villages, blast furnaces continued to be working till almost the middle of the nineteenth century.²¹

Diamond mining was another industry. It was of great antiquity in the coastal country. The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who visited the Andhra country in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, A.D., says that diamonds were procured in the kingdom of Mōṭupalli in the beds of torrents among mountains. He repeats the myth told by Sindbad about the method of procuring diamonds, by throwing pieces of flesh into the valleys.²² A similar account is given by Nicolo de Conti. His interesting account is as follows :

“At fifteen days’ journey beyond Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) towards the North, there is a mountain called Albenigaras, surrounded by pools of water which swarm with venomous animals, and the mountain itself is infested with serpents. This mountain produces diamonds.

15. Sk. Cr., II, v. 145; Vk. Cr., IV, v. 148; v. 219.

16. Hr. VI., VII. v. 137.

17. Sr. Mh., II, v. 368.

18. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85; Pv. Cr., p. 4.

19. Rk. Cr., III, v. 6.

20. “వయ్యంబికి నాచి కప్పురి
చయ్యనఁ బదనిచ్చు నుప్పు-చక్రము.....” — Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 95.

21. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 244.

22. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 174-175.

The ingenuity of man, not having been able to find any mode of approaching the mountain, has, however, discovered a way of getting at the diamonds produced on it. There is another mountain near it, a little higher. Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit of the other mountain, by means of machines which they construct for that purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and eagles flying to the spot, which, seizing the meat for their food, fly away with it to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh. Other stones, which are considered precious, are procured with less difficulty. They dig holes near sandy mountains in places where the stones are found, and continue their excavations until they come to sand mixed with water. This sand they collect and wash with water, through sieves made for the purpose. The sand passes away through the sieve, and the stones, if any, are left behind; this mode of digging for stones of this description prevails universally. Great care is exercised by the masters to prevent theft by the workmen or servants, overseers being appointed, who not only shake the clothes of the operators, but even examine every part of their persons. ²³ "

As the seaport Peudifetania on the east coast was at twenty days' journey, and the mountain Albanigaras, at fifteen days' journey from Vijayanagar, the latter also seems to have been in the Konḍaviḍu kingdom." Ancient Andhra was famous for its diamond mines, though the above accounts seem to be incredible.

Textile industry was the most important of the cottage industries in the Andhra country in the period under review. Cotton spinning and cotton weaving reached their perfection. In some of the western *śīmas* of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom, like Vinukonḍa and Palnaḍu, cotton was grown in the areas of black soil. Cotton spinning was the common

23. Major, Conti, pp. 29-30.

24. "There can be little doubt that the Kollūr mines were worked more than a hundred years before Tavernier's date (1605-1689), and may be the mines described by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. There are large numbers of very old abandoned diamond pits in gritty quartzite beds in the jungles east of the Pulichinta range" (K. D. M. p. 247. Also, Ibid, pages. 244-247).

Kollūru (in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district)—"A very important place in years gone by where diamond mines were worked..... It seems probable that these were diamond mines visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century and by Nicolo Conti, and possibly these hills are the scene of the marvellous legends of Sindbad the Sailor." - Ibid, p. 71.

avocation in leisure time, during the day, of the adult members in every family. This vocation was followed so extensively, specially in the *Palnāṭi śima* by the high and the low, that poet *Srinātha*, while deriding that uncouth country, stigmatized it in a *cāṭu* verse as one in which even the *deva-veśya* *Rambhā* spins cotton, and even *Manmatha*, the god of Love, eats millet food.²⁵ The fine cotton fabrics produced in this kingdom were a marvel that excited the admiration of foreign travellers of the mediaeval period. *Marco Polo* writes, "In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams and those of the highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them."²⁶

From references in contemporary literature we come to know that the coastal region maintained its reputation for such fine quality of cotton fabrics long after *Marco Polo*'s time, even during the *Redḍi* period. *Maḍiki Singana* states that his patron king *Muppa*, wore white clothes, which were like unto the foam of moon light." The *Telugu* poets, *Jakkana*²⁸ and *Srinātha*,²⁹ also refer to coloured and white muslins in connection with the description of dress in their works.

Dyeing was an allied industry to weaving. There were many varieties of dyed and printed cloths. Red colour³⁰ in its different shades and varieties was the fashion in vogue. Many varieties of borders, both dyed and printed, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Borders adorned with designs of peacock tails, royal swans, rows of parrots, deer, horses, elephants, lions, doves, and other different figures, black borders, and of many other types were in use. Some of the varieties of cloth were called after the places where they were produced: for instance, *Sāravarams*, and *Kāmavarams* were the names given to cloths

25. "రిసికుడు చోవకు పల నా

డెసఁగంగా రఁభయెన నేకులె వడకున

వసుధేశుడైన దున్ను ను

కుసుమాన్తుడైన జొన్న కూడే కుదురున్". —

26. *Foreign Notices*, p. 175.

27. "పరపైన వెన్నెల నురువులచొలిక

దఁరారు ధవళవస్త్రములు గట్టి....." — *Vs. Rm.*, I. v. 38.

28. *Vk. Cr.*, IV, v. 160.

29. *Bh. Pr.*, V, v. 108.

30. *Candanakavulu*, *Pottēḍakavulu*, *Ceigavulu*, *Kadanibakavulu* were some of the varieties of red cloth.

manufactured in Sūravaram and Kāmavaram, two famous villages in the coastal region.³⁰ There were fine beautiful cloths with gold borders also.

Silk also was in great use among the nobles and the rich. There were many varieties of silk also, like *veli-pattu*, *nili-pattu*, *horn-battu*, *Puligōru-pattu*, *udayarāgapu pattu*, *netra-pattu* and *vajra-pattu*; besides these there were coloured silks like black, yellow and red.³¹ It is however not known if these silk cloths were woven in the coastal region during this period.

Salt manufacture

From early times salt was manufactured from sea-water in coastal villages, and from saline soils in inland villages in the Andhra country. The salt-pans (*uppalamulu*) of Peda Gañjām, Pina Gañjām, Kaḍakudūru, Kuravāḍa, Pērali, Uppuṅgonḍūru, Pāyundoggu, Upparaṭla all in the Guntur district, were some of the important ancient centres of salt manufacture.³² *Pettipōli*³³ (present Nizāmpatnam in the

30. "...చందన కావులును, బట్టెడ కావులును, జెం గావులును, గదంబ కావులును, గరకంచులును, బొమ్మంచులును, ముడుగుబొమ్మంచులును, ముయ్యంచులును, జీలక చాళ్లును, వేటచాళ్లును, నిండువన్నెలును, నుజులచాణలవన్నెలును, గంటకీవన్నెలును, బుప్పజీవన్నెలును, రుద్రాక్షవన్నెలును, నాగబంధంబులును, బూజాబంధంబులును, జలపంజరంబులును, గానువరంబులును, సూరవరంబులును, దారానుండంబులును, హంసావళులును, హరిణావళులును, దుర్రకావళులును, గజావళులును, సింహావళులును, బ్రహ్మదీప్త్యంబులును, లక్ష్మీవిలాసంబులును, మదనవిలాసంబులును, వసంతవిలాసంబులును, రత్నకీర్తింబులును, రాయశృంగారంబులును, గనకదండెలును, గచ్చిలంబులును, గర్భారగంధులును, బాహువంశగంధులును, క్రితాంశులును, క్రితానుశోకంబులును, క్రిత్యష్టవిలాసంబులును, జీబులును, ముగిపట్టంబులును, సన్నవలిపంబులును....." — Sm. Dv., I, Pr. 88, page, 74.

"దొడ్డుగజ్జలచీర దూగుబయ్యెదయు....." — Pa. Cr., I, p. 133.

"కణిమండలంబున గరకంచుబుట్టంబు....." — Hr. VI., II, v. 93.

"దాయంచయంచు జీరకుజోకయగుంకక....." — Ibid, IV, v. 28.

"గరువిందపేరులు గుబ్బచన్నుల దాల్చి

నెమిలిపించంపుంబుట్టములు గట్టి....." — Ibid, V. v. 88.

31. Sm. Dv., I, iii, Pr. 183, p. 74.

Ibid, II, ix, v. 67.

32. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 606 and 635.

33. Pettipoli is the corrupt form of Peddapalli.

Guntur district) also seems to have been another important centre.⁸⁴ Earth salt was manufactured from saline soils in Tripurāntakam⁸⁵ (Kurnool district) and other inland places. Like some of the trades which fetch much revenue to the State, salt also was farmed out to the highest bidder.

TRADE

The physical features of the country and the nature of communication and transport are the prime factors that determine the character of trade and its progress during any period. In the period under review, the Andhra country for a great part was overgrown with scrub and jungle. The Eastern Ghats clad with thick forests, divided the country into two well-defined regions, the low lying coastal plain, and the upland plateau, and placed limitations on the nature of transport and the volume of trade. The forest ways were generally infested with thieves and wild beasts. The mountain passes, *kanumalu* as they are called in Telugu, however, served as main routes both for travel and trade between the two regions.

Internal communication also was difficult owing to the presence of many local mountain streams and to the absence of good roads and bridges across the rivers, the Gōdāvari, Kṛṣṇā and Brahmakunḍi (Guṇḍlakamma). The dry season was usually the busiest period for trade when almost all mountain streams were generally dry during summer.

Means of communication :

Though the means of communication were not quite adequate and good in quality, yet those available were fully used, and trade was developed as far as it was possible under the circumstances. Important provincial capitals and forts seem, however, to have been connected with one another by broad ways fit for cart traffic. Such main routes are referred to, though rarely, in the material available

84. Thomas Bowrey writes, "Great abundance of white salt is made in the valleys of Pettipolee, with very little industry, only fencing in the lowest of soile which is soe brackish that the Sun doth cause the water which lyeth there not above one foot deepe to harden into a perfect good and cleare salt. It is afterwards laid in great heaps. and vended all the kingdom over. Noe merchant is admitted to deal in this commoditie, being the king's commoditie as is bees' wax alsoe, I have heard it by severall eminent persons affirmed that this very commoditie salt draweth into the king's exchequer two millions of gold pagodas yearly."—*Travels of Thomas Bowrey*, p. 56. The value of the old pagoda is given as 12 shillings.

85. Ep. Coll., No. 221 of 1905. Bāpaṭṭa (Guntur district) also was once a very important salt manufacturing centre (Ep. Coll., No. 207 of 1897).

to us. The Telugu poet Kētana of the thirteenth century indicates, in a verse¹ in his *Andhrabhāṣabhāṣaṇam*, a treatise on grammar in Telugu verse, that the main route to Ayōdhya from Kāñcī passed through Nellore and Ōrugallu (Warāṅgal). This seems to have been the chief inland route from North to South, connecting the towns of Nellore and Warāṅgal with Ayōdhya. Muhammad bin Tughlaq also took the same route and came as far as Warāṅgal, while proceeding to Madura to put down the rebellion there in person. All important coastal towns must have been connected with Warāṅgal, the capital of the Kakatiya monarchs. Similarly, Nicolo de Conti speaks of another inland route from Vijayanagar to Udayagiri on the east coast which passed through Candragiri² (in the present Chittoor district). It is likely that this route connected Penukōṇḍa also, another very important fort in the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Kandukūru, Addaṅki, and Koṇḍaviḍu and other important towns in the Reddi kingdom must have been connected with one another by broad ways. It is probable that there were other such inland roads. These were the main routes of trade and travel. Besides these broad ways fit for cart traffic, connecting important towns and local holy places or *tirthas* of repute, there were other narrow pedestrian tracks leading to each and every village. The broad way, termed as *baṇḍi trōva*, finds occasional mention in the copper-plate grants of the period, in the course of enumerating the boundaries of villages granted to brāhmins or gods. These village tracks and cart-ways constituted the most important means of communication on land.

Generally, trade routes also were the pilgrim routes and pilgrims followed the trade routes. Śrīśailam, Abōbalam, Tripurāntakam and other places were famous centres of worship, and attracted pilgrims from all quarters of the country for many centuries before the Reddi rule. It is likely that traders followed these pilgrim routes for carrying on trade and commerce. The insecurity prevailing in those days made it imperative for the pilgrims, pedestrians, and traders to unite together and to follow generally the same route in order to be able to offer resistance effectively to thieves as well as to wild beasts when attacked.

There was very little communication on inland waters though not wholly absent. It was only a limited number of inland places that

1. “కంచి నెల్లూరు మఱి మోరుగ ల్లయోధ్య
యను పురంబులపై గంగ కరుగు మనిన
పని నొకత్రోక జూపెన.....” — An. Bh., p. 4, v. 12.
2. Major, Conti. p. 7.

could be reached by water, as great rivers were not navigable for a long distance inland. Water transport in the inland country was by means of small country craft that plied to a limited distance up and down the river in the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the two big rivers of the Telugu country, which do not dry up even in summer. Even these rivers were totally un-navigable when they were in freshes. Small country boats plied even along the sea coast.

Great rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā were crossed by means of a kind of circular basket boats, called *puṭṭis*, *puṭis* or *puṭikas* in Telugu. *Puṭṭi* which was in use during the Redḍi period, is referred to in an inscription³ at Anantagiri in the Guntur district in connection with the levy of tolls. This variety of basket boat was in use almost throughout the Telugu country, both in the Koṇḍaviḍu and the Vijayanagar kingdoms. The accounts of European travellers reveal the fact that they were in use in this country not only during the mediaeval period, but very late till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Muslim historian, Ferishta, refers to these boats as *sabads* (baskets) "which in the idiom of the people of the Deccan were called *naukras*, covered with cow-hides"⁴. Paes who visited Vijayanagar in the reign of Kṛṣṇādēvarāya informs us that they were used in crossing the Tungabhadra near the city of Vijayanagar. What these were like, can be gathered from an interesting description of these boats which he gives. "People cross to this place", writes Paes, "by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these."⁵ Wilks also in his *History of Mysore* adverts to these boats. He writes that they are "of a simple but excellent construction for military purposes, made of bamboo wicker work, constructed exactly in the manner of a common circular clothes-basket, covered, and rendered water-tight by green hides, and from eight to twelve feet

3. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.

4. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 30, f. n. 2.

In one of the campaigns of Firūz Shāh against Vijayanagar, we are told that some of his officers and men crossed the river Kṛṣṇā in such boats.

Col. Briggs who translated *Ferishata*, calls them baskets. He says in a note (Vol. II, page 371) that "the same sort of basket-boats, used in the Tigris, in the time of Herodotus, are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage boats known in the Indian Peninsula, at this day, to the natives of the country."

4a. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 259.

diameter."⁵ These were the only type of ferry boats that were in use in the period both for military and other purposes for crossing wide rivers.

Inland transport was done by means of pack animals and carts. Horses do not appear to have been used for land transport in great numbers; for, they had to be imported from other countries in Western Asia. The Russian traveller Nikitin says, "Horses are not born in that country (India), but oxen and buffaloes; and these are used for riding, and conveying goods, and every other purpose."⁶ Nicolo de Conti says, "The Indians use the ox as a beast of burthen which they consider it a crime to kill or eat, as being of all the most useful to man".⁷ The ox, the mule, and the buffalo were the chief conveyers of goods and other commodities. These drew carts, and carried goods on their backs.

Inland Trade :

Traders carried their wares in large bags or sacks which open in the middle. Each end of these bags was filled with grain or other commodity, and laid across the back of the animal. These sacks were called *perikes* in Telugu. Those who carried on trade in this manner were called *perike setlu*, bag-men or sack-traders. Some of the inscriptions of the Kakatiya period make mention of *perikes* of different commodities, like vegetable, fruit, and all sorts of grain. All these were conveyed generally on pack animals and in carts. It appears that, in course of time, some of these merchants, who carried their wares in *perikes*, formed into a separate group of their own, which, later on, crystallised into an endogamous sect; for, we come to know of a community in the *caturthakula*, called *Perikes*. Thurston says, "Gunny bag is the popular and trading name of the coarse sacking and sacks from the fibre of jute, much used in Indian trade." He further writes, "The Perikes claim to be a separate caste, but they seem to be in reality a sub-division, and not a very exalted sub-division, of Balijas being in fact identical with the uppu (salt) Balijas. Their hereditary occupation is carrying salt, grain, etc., on bullocks and donkeys on *perikes* or packs."⁸ It cannot however be definitely said that this sect or community had thus crystallized in the Reddi period.

5. Wilks, *History of Mysore* Vol. I, p. 417.

6. Major Nikitin, p. 10.

7. Ibid, Conti, p. 25.

8. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, 191-192, quoted from the *Madras Census Report*, for 1891.

Andhra, as it is even at the present day, was purely an agricultural country, and most of the agricultural products were exclusively used for local and domestic consumption. Each village provided for its own requirements to a great extent. However, owing to difficulties in transport and communications, it was not able to store any commodity largely and replenish the stock. This want was relieved by fairs which were held on a fixed day of the week in all the big villages. The surplus produce of the surrounding country and other products were brought to the weekly fair. Wholesale and retail merchants from far and near used to assemble there and transact business.

Want of proper means of communication to convey goods and to exchange the various products of villages was responsible for the inequality in prices. If the yield of the crop was good and the price of different food-stuffs was cheap in some parts of the country, it was very dear in other parts where the crops failed. Owing to the inadequacy or the absence of means of communication, paddy and other grains could not be conveyed and distributed to the deficient and distressed parts of the country. The result was that, while famine devastated some parts of the country, others remained unaffected and lived in plenty in their wholesome isolation.

Religious festivals gave enormous impetus to trade. The *kalyāṇōtsavas*, the *Vasantōtsava*, the annual festivals of village goddesses in some important villages, and the pilgrimages to holy shrines, were generally the occasions for crowds of people to gather from far and near. On such occasions certain articles which were generally difficult to procure in the weekly fairs and local markets, could be obtained, and business was transacted both wholesale and retail.

Trade Unions :

The insecurity of trade routes and the absence of proper communications were also responsible for another important factor, namely, the unity found among the people of the trading classes of the country, and the corporate activity evinced by them for purposes of trade and industry. From the earliest times those who carried on trade in a particular commodity formed into a group or corporate body of their own, which, with the progress of time, crystallized into a separate community, either endogamous or exogamous. Such corporate bodies or trading guilds have been a regular feature of Indian economic life from the time of the Andhra Śātavāhanas. The records⁹ of the

⁹ Luders' *List of Brahmi inscriptions*, No. 1197; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 166. *Mālika sreni*, or the guild of the gardeners, is mentioned in the Cintra prasasti of the reign of king Śārngadēva-vidē. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 277, v. 50. This shows that every

Sātavāhanas and Śakas found in the caves of Western India, bring to light a number of such guilds, like the *Odayantrikas* (workers fabricating hydraulic engines), weavers, and *kularikas* (potters). A study of those records reveals the fact that these guilds or corporate bodies served as local banks¹⁰ also. The early *smṛtikartas* or the latter *Dharma Śāstrakartas* recognised these corporate bodies,¹¹ *śreṇis*, or *saṁayas* as they were called, which had an independent organisation of their own, with rules and regulations to carry on their work. The conventional number of such *saṁayas* is eighteen. The number of communities grew gradually with the growth or multiplication of professions and trades.

Of such corporate bodies or trading communities, particular mention should be made of the Teliki and the Vīra Balañjya which were very active, influential and prosperous in this period. These bodies left behind them some records, generally registering their gifts, and sometimes recording their transactions. The information furnished by such records is very meagre, and does not enlighten us much regarding the working of these organisations, their rules and regulations, or their mode of transacting business.

The Teliki Community :

The Telikis, that is, oil millers or oilmongers, seem to have formed into a corporate body even from the time of the Sātavāhana emperors. *Tilapiṣakas*¹² were one of the several guilds mentioned in their records. We do not hear about them any more until the time of the Cālukya-Cōla emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I, of the eleventh century A. D. The Tōki plates¹³ of his son Raja Raja Cōḍa Gaṅga, the viceroy of Vēṅgi, dated in Śaka 1006 (1084 A. D.), throw interesting light on the Teliki community. These plates record the grant of certain social privileges to the Telikis, who are said to comprise one thousand families, to have migrated to the South along with Vijayaditya, the lord of Ayōdhya, and the alleged progenitor of the Cālukya race, and to have protected the Cālukya kings, from the beginning of their rule, with their lives, with their courage, and qualities of virtue.

trade and calling in ancient times had its own *śreṇi* or guild. The *Ambaṭṭha Suttanta* of the Buddhists (I, 113) and the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya (XI, 1) refer to *kṣatriya śreṇis*, corporate bodies of warriors.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 82, and p. 89.

11. *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 41 and 42; *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama XI, 20-22.

12. Luders' list, No., 1137.

13. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 394 ff.

The Telikis had a sort of *vakkana* or preamble" which, though historically unimportant, furnishes some details about them.

This corporate body is said to have consisted of one thousand families. The number one thousand is enigmatic, and its full significance, as in the case of the numbers of other bodies, is not known. It might represent either the number of families of the Telikis which originally immigrated to the south, or the total membership of this corporate body consisting of elders, one from each of the thousand families. It appears to have become conventional to call the guild 'the Teliki one thousand'.

Each record of this guild refers to it as *akhila-dēśāla Teliki-vēvuru*, the Teliki one thousand of all countries. It is not known if the guild had any central organisation, consisting of local branches in different districts, towns, and villages. Nor is the nature of the relations, if any, between the central and the local bodies, very clear. Some of the records of the Telikis refer to some items of business they had transacted in the interest of their whole community as one corporate body.

The Vira Balañjya Samaya :

The Vira Balañjya corporation of traders and businessmen is referred to in a few inscriptions of this period. The texts of these records have not yet all been published. What is known of this body

14. S. I. I., IV, Nos. 668 and 774. According to this *vakkana* or *prasasti* in their records the Teliki vēvuru, as they were commonly called, are described as *Brahma-sambhūta-Manuvānīśya-adhinātha-sambhāvalū*, those who sprang from the lords of the progeny of Manu descended from Brahma, *Brahma-sambhāva-Paulastya-kula-kramāyātū-Manuvānīśyōdbhāvalū*, those who were born in the race of Manu, descended gradually from the family of Paulastya, an off-spring of Brahma, *Paulastya-sahasra-sukhānaya-gōtrulū*, the *gotrins* of the one thousand branches of families which sprang from Paulastya, and *Kapilamātha-pratiṣṭhitulū*, those that were established in the Kapila *mātha*. From the epithet *Vijayavāḍa-sāsonulū* given to them in the preamble, Vijayavāḍa appears to have been their first habitat in the Andhra country, probably after their immigration to the south. Their *prasasti* further informs us that they were the recipients of boons from goddess Bhagavati (*Bhagavati-labdhā-varaprasādulū*), the worshippers of the feet of their gurus (*guru-deva-pad-aradhakulū*), adepts in all the Sastras (*Sakala-sastra-vīśaradulū*), and lords of Kanakapura and Gajapura, and the servants of the lords of Ayōdhiya (*Kanakapura-Gajapur-adhināyakulū*, *Ayōdhyapuravarīśvara-bhṛtyulū*). They are further extolled as *yama-niyama-dharma-parāyanulū*, and *Satya-saṁścāra-virājītulū* (those bent upon observing *yama*, *niyama* and *dharma*, and *satya-saṁścāra-virājītulū* those who shone by *satya*, *śauca* and *ācāra*). They are also said to have been the main support of the kingdom of the Calukyas which was obtained by the boon of the great sage Kapila (*Kapilamahāmūnīvara-prasāda-labdhā-Calukya-parājya-mūlāstambhāyamānūlū*). Some of their records state that they were established in the Paulasti-Bhagavati-sthana —(S. I. I., VI, No. 149).

from these inscriptions is very meagre. However, as the Vīra Balañjya corporation was the sole Trade Union which spread its activities over the whole of South India, Ceylon, and some countries and islands in the East, its records are found outside the Andhra country also. Though a study of these records enables us to get a correct and complete idea of the functions and duties of this corporate body, the standards and principles of historical research place limitations on the scope of this account in this work, and what little is given here is gathered mainly from inscriptions found in the coastal region of the Andhra country from early times till the end of the Reddi period. A few records outside the Andhra also are taken into account, only to elucidate some points relating to the organisation.

The different commercial and business bodies that constituted the Vīra Balañjya *samaya* are mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Śaka 1162 (1240 A. D.) discovered at Chintapalli¹⁵ (Guntur district). We come to know from this inscription that the Ubhaya-Nānādēśis, the Gavares, and the Mummuridaṇḍas were some of the bodies constituting the Vīra Balañjya *samaya*, and that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañcaśata vīraśāsmas*) and the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *dharma*. The term Ubhaya-Nānādēśi represents merchants from all quarters and countries consisting of Dēśis, Parādēśis and Nānādēśis (natives, foreigners, and itinerants from all countries). All these terms find mention in the inscriptions of the Andhra country. Śalumūla-samasta-pekkandru, Ebhaiyāṅṅu dēśāla-samasta-pekkandru, denoting all merchants from all quarters of the earth, and the multitude of merchants from the fifty six countries, are some more phrases recorded in the Telugu inscriptions, to denote, merchants from all countries and quarters. The body of Gavares seems to have derived its name from worshipping god Gavarēśvara, one of the gods, referred to in the *praiṣasti* of the Vīra Balañjyas, as having been worshipped by them. Mummuridaṇḍas was another component sect of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya*. This sect of tradesmen is frequently mentioned in the Canarese records of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mummuridaṇḍas is a puzzling term. Probably the Mummuridaṇḍas represented the advance guard of the trading caravan, or those that have borne a staff with three bands, probably as their weapon. In some of the Canarese inscriptions of the twelfth century, they are said to have been Baṇaṇjigas (Vaṇajigas) "the brave of the brave, protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good, and conquerers of powerful enemies."¹⁶ In these inscriptions their warlike spirit is well described.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 277 of 1934-35; Ep. Rep. 1935. pages 67-68, para :

16. S. I. I., Vol. IX. i, Nos. 297 and 296.

The Vīra Balañjyas had a *vakkana* of their own, which is generally found in their inscriptions registering their gifts, or recording their business transactions. From the preamble contained in their inscriptions, we come to know that they belonged to the Manumakula, that they had immigrated from Ahicchatrapura, a town in Northern India, that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañcaśata virāśāsanas*), and that they were the followers and the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *śamaya dharma*. What this *dharma* was, is not defined in any of the records of the Vīra Balañjyas. These were extolled as *raṇarāṅga-Rāmulu* (virtual Rāmas on the field of battle), and *Samgrāma-Bhimulu* (virtual Bhimas on the battle-field) and so on. These titles attest to the warlike spirit of the Vīra Balañjya tradesmen. In fact, the prefix *vīra* is enough to indicate their heroism.

Inscriptions of this period bring to light another body of traders, the Svāmins of Ayyāvalipura (lords of the town of Ayyāvali). An inscription¹⁷ at Appāpuram (Guntur district) dated in Śaka 1327, records the construction of a tank by a certain Kaṭṭuru Vallabhi Seṭṭi of Varidāla *gōtra* and the lord of Ayyāvalipura. A great many records of these lords of the town of Ayyāvali are found scattered over the whole of South India, a great many in the Canarese country, and some in the Tamil and Telugu countries. A perusal of these records shows that they had also a *praiśasti*, not a whit different from, but completely identical with, that of the Vīra Balañjyas. The Ayyāvoles, or lords of Ayyāvalipura, also claim to have been the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *dharma*, to have obtained *pañcaśata virāśāsanas*, evidently the same as those claimed by the Vīra Balañjya union, and to have immigrated from Ahicchatrapura to Ayyāvali,¹⁸ the modern town of Aihole, in the Hangunda taluk, Bijapur district. The Canarese records of these Ayyāvoles also mention a number of mercantile and business bodies, like the Ubhaya-Nānādēsis, the Gavares, and the Mummuridaṇḍas. These facts clearly prove that the tradesmen who called themselves the lords of the town of Aihole, were in fact Vīra Balañjyas and formed one of the bodies, probably the major body, that made up the Vīra Balañjya *śamaya*. Hence, it seems probable that all the Svāmins of Ayyāvole were Vīra Balañjyas, but all the Vīra Balañjyas might not have been Ayyāvoles.

17. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

18. Ayyāpūḷal seems to be the ancient form of Ayyāvale or Ayyāvole which means the town of the Aryās (Ayyas), pūḷal being the corrupt form of the *deśi* term *prōlu* a market town. In fact, this form Ayyāpūḷal and its equivalent Ayyāpōḷal are found in Tamil inscriptions at Kaṭṭūr (Chingleput district) of the time of the Coḷa emperor Rājendra Coḷa I, and at Tirumuruganpūḍi (Coimbatore district) of the time of Vikrama Coḷa (Ep. Coll., Nos. 256 of 1912; 97 of 1915).

Since Ayyavolepura in the Canarese country was the headquarters of this body, styled as the Fivehundred Svāmins of the Ayyāvolepura, the language of this guild was naturally Kannaḍa, since the portion enumerating the various bodies of traders in the Chintapalli record adverted to before, is written in Kannaḍa "with a mixture of Telugu expressions." The Superintendent of Epigraphy opines that the language (of the central chamber of commerce located at Aihole) "was evidently adopted by the subordinate bodies as a mark of affiliation to the central organisation".¹⁹ It may however be pointed out here that all the records of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya* found in the coastal region are in Telugu. If the observation made above is true, it might be that the major sect of the Ayyāvole Svāmins formed the managing body of this Vīra Balañjya *samaya*. However, future researches have to clarify these points.

The expression 'Five hundred' in the *vakkana* of the Vīra Balañjyas or of the Ayyāvoles is unintelligible. The records of the Ayyāvoles lead us to believe that it represents the number of the lords of Ayyāvolepura comprising the guild, who probably managed the affairs of the body. But, according to the inscriptions of the Vīra Balañjyas, it represents the number of *vīrasāsanas* (hero-edicts concerning probably privileges in business and trade obtained from the rulers of the land). However the full significance of the term 'five hundred' is not yet known.

The Canarese records of the Ayyāvoles describe them as "brave men, born to wander for many centuries ever since the beginning of the Kṛtayuga," "experts in the testing of the *navaratnas*, *vāhanas* like horses and elephants," and as "adepts in business." The articles in which they traded were elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, cows, carts, rubies, pearls, coral, emeralds, topazes, diamonds, sapphires, agates, lapislazuli, moonstones, jewels, cloth, cotton, articles for gods, cuscus, civet, camphor, musk, saffron, and other perfumes and drugs, arecanut, salt, grain, flowers, pepper and many others. They carried these articles on oxen, asses or buffaloes, "adorned with red trappings" and "tinkling bells." They sold these articles either wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders²⁰. They further state that they carried on their business in the thirty two sea ports (Vēlānagara or Vēlōma), eighteen cities, sixty four *yḍgapīṭhas* and sixty four *ghaṭikāsthānas*. Those records enable us to know that the guild had a flag of its own. The guild had also the right to confer titles with some honours and

19. Ep. Rep., 1985, para 33, page 68.

20. Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 119.

privileges attached to them, on certain individuals, probably in recognition of their services to it. *Prthiviseṭṭi* (the mayor of the Earth) seems to have been the highest honorary title which the guild conferred in some special cases. From the Chintapalli inscription referred to above we come to know that *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara Cāgi Dōrayarāja* had the title *Prthiviseṭṭi*²². *Dōrayarāja* was not a *Vīra Balañjya*. He was a feudal chief of the *Cāgi* family which appears to have been a *ksatriya* one, since its members are said to have been born of the *bāhus* (shoulders) of *Brahma*²³. *Prthiviseṭṭi*, therefore, seems to have been a title conferred on him by *Vīra Balañjya samaya*. That the term *Prthiviseṭṭi* was a title is definitely known from a Canarese inscription of the *Vīra Balañjyas*, which records the conferring of the title of *Prthiviseṭṭi* on a certain *Muddaya Daṇṇāyaka* (*avarige Prthiviseṭṭitana - koṭṭu*).²⁴ Another Canarese record²⁵ of the time of the Vijayanagar king *Harihara II*, dated in 1379 A. D., details the honours and privileges to which the *Prthiviseṭṭis* were entitled. If the *Prthiviseṭṭis* of any country went to another country, the authorities of that country first presented them with betel leaf, cloths, and allowance of food, and granted them other privileges. The examples cited above clearly prove that *Prthiviseṭṭi* was the greatest title of honour conferred by the *Vīra Balañjya*²⁶ trade union. *Seṭṭi* seems to be the general title of the members of these trade guilds.

22. Ep. Coll., No. 283 of 1924; Ep. Rep., 1924, para 57, p. 116.

23. *Rayanimantri Bhaskara*, another eminent brahman scholar and statesman, had the title *Prthiviseṭṭi* (Ep. Coll., Nos. 377 of 1911, and 18 of 1917; Ep. Rep., 1918, p. 174, para 84.)

24. Ep. Carn., Vol. XIII, Si. 76.

25. In the term *vīra Balañjya vīra* is an honorific term indicating bravery. *Balañjya* or *Balañje* is the real name of the *samaya*. That these *Ayyavoles* and others of the *Vīra Balañjya samaya* are today represented by the *Balajes*, commonly called *Baliyas*, is proved by the following lines in a *caṭu* verse in *Sissa* metre, preserved in a palm leaf manuscript (Mack. Mas., No. 10-16-10) in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It was composed in praise of the *Baliyas* of *Siṃhavikraṇapura* (Nellore).

“శ్రీ మదయాత్రీ సింహ విక్రమపుర

వరుల బల్లిదులైన బలిజనారు

దుష్ట నిగ్రహమున శ్రేష్ఠులై మోక్షకాటి

పట్ట బస్థులయిన బలిజనారు

Some of the passages like *mrōṇkaṭi paṭṭabaddhulu* and *moyiluvale gūḍi maṇcuvale viḍi* are found in the *prasasti* of the *Vīra Balañjyas* recorded in their inscriptions. The verse is full of mistakes,

Nagara :

Another notable guild of the period was the Nagara. It finds mention in the Telugu inscriptions as Nagara or Nakaramu. This seems to have been purely a vaiśya guild. Nagara seems to have been the contracted form of Penugonḍa-nagara (West Godavari district), the habitat of the vaiśyas of the one hundred and two *gōṭras*, and the place where Vāsavikanyā is said to have immolated herself by falling into the fire-pit to save her honour. These vaiśyas of Penugonḍa, Nagaramvāru as they are also called in Telugu inscriptions, seem to have formed into a sub-group in the vaiśya corporation consisting of one thousand *gōṭras* (*sahasragōṭrapavitṛulu*). They styled themselves as *Penugonḍapuravarēśvaras* (lords of Penugonḍapura) and lord-chiefs of Penugonḍa (*Penugonḍa-prabhumukhyas*)²⁶. Their tutelary deity was Vāsavikanyā. They were also the worshippers of Nagarēśvaradēva.²⁷ Members of the Kubēra-varṇśa mentioned in Telugu inscriptions, were also reckoned as vaiśyas. They were extolled in a record at Nādeṇḍla (Guntur district) as having "earned the blessings of the learned (by patronising them)", "practised self denial", and "entertained the maintenance of *dharma* as their chief object."²⁸

The Trading Caravan :

The trading caravan, *Sātu* in Telugu, consisted of a great number of merchants of different sects, dealing in different articles of trade. About these tradesmen Ibn Batūta writes, "One merchant may be accompanied by about hundred men carrying his wares. Every one of these men carries a stout stick fitted with an iron point at the lower end, and a hook of the same metal at the top; when the porter is fatigued and does not find any place for resting himself, he sticks his baton into the ground and suspends his burden on it. After rest, he takes up his charge without any one to assist him and resumes his march."²⁹ While writing about the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh, the Muslim historian. Ferishta, refers to "a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoosthan Bunjaras, who were on their way to Berār with two thousand head of oxen," who were "joined by horse-dealers who were taking with them three hundred horses for sale."³⁰

26. Ep. Coll., Nos. 84 and 85 of 1917; S. I. I., Vol., IV, Nos. 660 and 696; Ep. Coll., No. 448 of 1915.

27. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 660.

28. Ep. Coll., No. 895 of 1915.

29. *Foreign Notices*, page 286.

30. Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 393. Azīz-ullā states that these Bājjaras were cattle-hirers (*mukarian*) - J. S. King - *History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*, p. 41.

Tradesmen - Toll Farmers :

The Vira Balañjya records generally register gifts to temples of tolls and taxes, which formed one of the important items of revenue to the State. This fact of remitting tolls presupposes that these tradesmen of the traditional eighteen *samayās* were masters of the income from tolls and that they spent it in the interests of the *samaya*. This state of affairs would have been possible only when these merchants farmed tolls from the king, probably periodically, by paying the amount fixed by him in a lump sum to the State, and the income to the State from this item did not on any account suffer. Members of these *samayās* farmed, either individually or collectively, tolls including grazing tax on pasture-lands (*pasula-pullari*). These were called in Telugu *sunka-guttakāṇḍru* (toll-farmers). These are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Kumāragiri Reddi.³¹ These toll-farmers had their own office-establishment. They had a number of accountants, called *sunka-karaṇālu*, to keep their accounts of tolls, collected in different localities. Two copper-plate grants belonging to the end of the Kākatiya period, that is, the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., throw further light on these *samayās* (guilds or corporate bodies). The members of the trade-guilds exercised unlimited authority in dealing with offences, committed by any member of their establishment or by any of their agents or accountants. Members of these *samayās* usually met in the front hall (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of a temple and transacted their business or decided their cases. It was the custom in those days to set up at such meetings *Vajrabaisiga* (or *baisuga*), the ensign of the Vira Balañjya corporation comprising the eighteen *samayās*.³²

31. Ep. Coll., No. 880 of 1926.

32. In this connection it may be interesting to note the following lines, extracted from Edgar Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (Vol. II, pp. 121-23).

"The word *Dēsāyi* means of the country (*Dēs'a* is a subdivision of *Baliya*). For almost in every taluk in the North Arcot district there is a head-man, called *Dēsāyi Chetti* who may be said, in a manner, to correspond to a Justice of Peace. The Head-man belongs to the *Kavarai* or *Baliya* caste, their family name being *Dhanapāla*—a common name among the *Kavarais* which may be interpreted as 'the protector of wealth.' The *Dhanapala Dēsāyi Chetti* holds sway over the eighteen castes. ... All those that are called *Valangai* or right-hand castes fall within his jurisdiction. ... A large cup-shaped spoon is the ensign of the *Dēsāyi*. On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the *Dēsāyi* is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers ... (On the occasion of trying cases) the *Dēsāyi's* emblem is placed in front of him in the midst of the *Pañchāyat* and a regular enquiry held. ... The *Dēsāyi* maintains a

Of the two copper plate inscriptions mentioned above, one records the grant of privilege to trade in certain articles without paying tolls to a certain Puliyaṃa Seṭṭi for having killed one Kārapākala Kaṭi Nāyaka, who had become a traitor to the *samayās*, by the merchants of the eighteen *samayās* of all countries (*akhila-deśāla padunenmidi-samayāla - samastam-aina - pekkandru*) residing in the Nandyāla sthala;³³ the other, a similar record, registers the grant of privileges by the same body of merchants (*Cālu-mūla - padunenmidi - samayāla - samasta-pekkandru*) to a certain Attēna for having killed Annama Rāja and Singa Rāja, the *suṅka-karaṇas* (toll accountants) of Cerunūru in Pedakaṇṭi *sīma*.³⁴

The above records, if genuine, unmistakably attest to the great power wielded by these corporate bodies. From these records, we come to know that the king never interfered in the internal management of their affairs, but gave them a free hand to do as they liked. They enjoyed full autonomy in the management of their own affairs. The king was probably unable to do anything even in the case of a death sentence pronounced by the tribunal of these bodies on any one, who proved a traitor to the *samaya* and worked against its interests. Since these tradesmen of the eighteen *samayās* were bankers and served the king by joining the ranks of the army in times of war, they appear to have wrested more concessions from time to time and grown gradually more powerful. They consolidated their ranks more formidably in this period of political revolution and Hindu religious revival than in the early medieval era, and wielded enormous influence in the State.

regular record of his enquiries and judgements, and in the days of the Nawābs, these decisions were, it would appear, recognised by the Court of Justice. The same respect, it is said, was also shown to the Des'āyi's decision by the early courts of John Company (a corruption of Company Jehan, a title of the English East India Company)".

The Kavaraṅis in the above account represent the Gavares of the Vīra Balajiyya records and the eighteen castes, the eighteen *samayās*. The cup-shaped spoon was the *Vairabaisiṅga*, the ensign of the corporation. The name of the caste under each figure on it was in Tamil, because the above account refers to the Tamil country. The above account helps the reader to form a good idea of a meeting of the members of the *samaya* in ancient times, and of the value attached to the judgments of the Des'āyi Seṭṭi. The passage quoted above suggests that the spoon, the ensign of the Des'āyi Seṭṭi, and the *Vajrabaisiṅga*, the emblem of the Vīra Balajiyya corporation are one and the same. It may be worth recalling in this connection that the utensil used by the goddess, Annapūrṇā of Kāśī, for distributing food, is also a ladle, a spoon-like thing. It seems, therefore, that the ladle, the spoon, or the *Vajrabaisiṅga* was the Hindu symbolical representation of economic plenty, and its distribution.

33. C. P. No. 10 of 1918-19.

34. C. P. No. 11 of 1918-19.

SEA-BORNE TRADE

From the early centuries of the Christian era, the Andhra country including Kaṭiṅga, which extended from the Gōdāvarī in the south to the Mahānadi in the north, maintained its reputation as one of the foremost of the nations of India that had sea-borne trade with countries and islands far and near. The trade with the east was exclusively in the hands of the nations of Eastern India, while that with the West was carried on chiefly by the Arabs and the Moors. The long coast-line of the Andhra country was responsible to a great extent in making the Andhras a sea-faring nation from early centuries.

The intercourse between the Andhra country and the countries and islands in the East, which had begun during the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas (Andhra kings), was steadily kept up in the later centuries by the Eastern Caḷukyas of Vēṅgi and others. Coins of the Caḷukya monarch Śaktivarma I, also called Caḷukya Candra, were discovered in lower Burma and Siam.

During the twelfth century, the sea-borne trade of the Andhra country seems to have received a set-back owing to the Western Caḷukya invasions of Vēṅgi, the rivalry of the *maṇḍalikas* (feudal chiefs) in extending their authority, and the indifference of the Caḷukya-Cōla sovereigns. Pirates grew in number and made it impossible for merchant ships to sail safely. The inevitable result was that maritime trade suffered heavily, and many of the ports, called *karapaṇṇas* in Telugu, fell into disuse and were deserted. This state of affairs was made still worse by the imposition of unjust taxes and unjust ordinances, compelling the traders to sell their goods at prices fixed by local chiefs. These high-handed measures almost strangled the foreign trade.

A welcome change came when Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatiya family of Waraṅgal conquered the *maṇḍalikas* and brought the whole of the coastal region under his sceptre in the thirteenth century. He revived the sea-borne trade by many benevolent measures. He offered protection to foreign merchants trading with countries and islands beyond the seas, from oppressive taxation and piracy, fixed export and import duties on articles of trade in accordance with the custom prevailing before, and withdrew all unjust taxes newly imposed by the local chiefs. As a result of his wise and beneficent policy, merchants again resorted to the deserted ports and carried on trade as before. During the rule of the Kākatiyas, Mōṭupalli was a great emporium

(*deṣyūyukkondapaṭṭana*). During the later half of the Kākatiya period, the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited this port when it was in a very flourishing condition.

The Muslim invasions, and the anarchical state of the country, consequent on the fall of Waraṅgal in 1323 A. D., dealt a death-blow to the sea-borne trade again.

After the re-establishment of Hindu independence, it took considerable time for the Andhra leaders to restore law, order and peace. Prōlaya Vemā Redḍi, the chief leader to the South of the Kṛṣṇa, re-captured the coastal tract from the hands of the enemy and emulated the example of his predecessors, the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal, in clearing the seas of pirates. It was his younger brother Mallā Redḍi who, under his orders, defeated the local enemy chiefs in the Mōṭupalli region and brought it under the sway of the Redḍi kings. Vēma's son and successor, king Anavōta, renovated the port of Mōṭupalli and restored it to its former glory. He issued a charter of concessions to merchants coming to settle and trade at Mōṭupalli, and to those tradesmen belonging to other ports and islands coming there on business. He fixed the duties on articles of export and import. This charter of Śaka 1280, that is, 1358 A. D., was incised in both Tamil and Telugu languages,⁸⁵ on a pillar in the maṇḍapa of the Virabhadrasvāmin temple at Mōṭupalli, under orders of Anavōta's minister, Sōmayamantri. To those that had deserted Mōṭupalli for other places, but were now willing to return, Anavōta promised to give the garden land (*tōmṭa-dharaṇi*), which was in their enjoyment before. He allowed them liberty to sell their goods brought from other shores to any one at their pleasure (*viccalaviḍi*), and, if they still so desired, they could carry the goods and leave for other places on business.

King Anavōtā Redḍi abolished the taxes called *aputrika-daṇḍam* and *kaḍḍāyam* (forced impost) on foreign merchants (trading in his dominions), and remitted the duty on gold and silver(?) completely and a third of the import duty on sandal-[*valubaḍi* (*varumbāḍi*) *sunkamu*]. "It was proclaimed that henceforward no cloth would be detained in the warehouse(?) and tolls on other articles would, under no circumstances, be different from what they were before." "The following rates of duty were fixed: (A) goods coming from the southern side - on 100 (packages)

85. Ep. Coll., Nos 601 and 602 of 1909:

These two inscriptions have not yet been published. The Tamil copy seems to be the more important of the two, and contains more information than the Telugu one. I had to quote from the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1910 for the information contained in it.

of import, 3 (packages), and on 100 cloths of export, 2 coins (?); (B) on goods coming from the north - on 100 packages of import, 5, and on 100 cloths of export 3 coins (?); (C) on goods exported to foreign lands - 3 (coins) on 100 cloths and (D) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (?) on 100 pearls³⁶”.

From a perusal of the inscription of Anavōtā Reddī cited above, we can very well imagine the difficulties and disabilities to which foreign merchants visiting Mōṭupalli were formerly subjected. The very fact that the inscription containing more details was written in Tamil, proves that many of the foreign merchants visiting that place belonged to the Tamil country. Of all the *karapaṭṇas* (ports) of the Andhra country, Mōṭupalli was the leading one in the period under review.

Navigation :

The sea-borne trade was carried on by means of many kinds of sea-going vessels, some of which are mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature. Their names are *kappali*, *jōngu*, *valli*, *valika*, and *samman*.

Of these *kappali*, the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil *kappal*, a ship, represented the native craft that particularly plied in the Indian seas and coastal waters. About these ships Conti writes thus : “They (the natives of India) build some ships much larger than ours, capable of containing two thousand butts, and with five sails and as many masts. The lower part is constructed with triple planks, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are much exposed. But some ships are so built in compartments, that, should one part be scattered, the other portion remaining entire, may accomplish the voyage.”³⁷

Jōngu was the name of the large Chinese ship that plied in the Chinese and Indian seas between China and India. This was the common type of vessel extensively used for trade in the Eastern seas in the period under review. Ibn Batūta writes, “There are three kinds of Chinese vessels : (1) large ships, called *Junks* ;”³⁸ (2) middling ones called *Zu-s*, and (3) the smallest *Kakams*. Of the large vessels there are three sails or more, upto a dozen. Their sails are made of cane reeds plaited together like mats; they are never lowered, but are turned about according to the direction of the wind. When the ships are anchored, the sails are allowed to float in the wind.

36. Ep. Rep., 1910, Para 61, page 118.

37. Major, Conti, p. 27.

38. Sir H. Yule thinks that this term was derived from the Malay *jong* or *ajong*, a great ship - See *Cathay*, IV, p. 25.

Each of these ships is manned by a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers, among whom are archers, men armed with shields, and persons who throw naphtha. Each large vessel is followed by three smaller ones, a middle-sized, a third and a fourth-sized.

"They make four decks on a vessel; it contains chambers, cabins, and saloons for the merchants. Many of these cabins contain chambers and water-closets. They have keys and their occupants lock them. They take their wives and concubines with them. It often happens that a man lives in his cabin unknown to any others on board, till they meet on their arrival in some place.

"The sailors' children live in these cabins. They grow vegetables, pulses and ginger in wooden tubs. The commander of a ship is like a great amir; when he disembarks, archers and Abyssinians march in front of him with javelins, swords, drums, bugles and trumpets. When he arrives at the inn where he is to live, they place their lances on either side of the door and continue to do so throughout his stay."³⁹

Valli and *valika* were some other types of vessels about which nothing is known to us.

Samman (plural, *sammans*) seems to be a corruption of *sampan*, a common name applied to the native vessel which plies in the waters in the Malay Peninsula.

One could navigate through eight months in the year, that is from September to April in the Eastern waters. The sea would be stormy from May to August⁴⁰. About the steering of ships Nicolo de Conti writes: "The Natives of India steer their vessels for the most part by the stars of the Southern hemisphere, as they rarely see those of the north. They are not acquainted with the use of the compass but measure their courses and the distance, of places by the elevation and depression of the Pole. They find out where they are by this mode of measurement."⁴¹

39. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 242-243.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

41. Major, Conti, pp. 26-27.

It is, however, interesting to note in this connection Vasco de Gama's observation. According to a passage in Barros, Vasco de Gama found the compass already in use by Indian pilots (*Asia*, dec. I, Bk. IV, Chap. 6).—Quoted in *The Portuguese Pioneers* by Edgar Prestage, p. 317.

"The shores of the said sea (the sea of India) in some places," writes Jhon of Montecervino, "run out in shoals for 100 miles or more, so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck."⁴²

Imports and Exports:

While describing the maritime trade carried on by the Avaci family, one of the richest merchant families of the Reddi period, Srinātha, with a surprising historic sense, enumerates, in his *Haravilāsam* the various countries and islands with which the Andhra country of his time had dealings, and also the articles they supplied.⁴³

42. *Foreign Notice*, p. 190.

43. "పంజారం గర్భూర పాదపంబులు దెచ్చె

జలనోగి బంగారు మొలకం దెచ్చె

సింహశంబున గంధసింధురంబులు దెచ్చె

హరుముంజి బలు లేజి హరులు దెచ్చె

గోవ సంశుద్ధ సంకుమద్రవముం దెచ్చె

యాంపం గట్టాణిముత్యాలు దెచ్చె

భోటం గస్తూరి కాపు[టకోళ]ములు దెచ్చె

చీనిఁ జీనాంబర[శ్రేణి] దెచ్చె

జగదగోపాల రాయవేశ్యాభుజంగ

పల్లవాదిత్య భూదాన పరశురామ

కొమరగిరి రాజ దేవేంద్ర కూర్మిహితుడు

జాణ జగ జెట్టి దేవయచామిసెట్టి" — Hr. VI., I, v. 26.

"తరుణానీరి తనాయి గోవ రమణా సానంబులం జందనా

గరుకర్పూరహిమాంబుకుంకుమరజకస్తూరి కాద్రవ్యమూల్

శరధిం గప్పలి కోంగు వల్లి వలి కా సమ్మన్న (సంపన్న!) దెప్పించు నె

ర్పరియె వైశ్యకులీత్రముం డవచిత్తిప్పం డల్పుడేయమ్మహిణ్." — Ibid., v. 28.

The countries and islands mentioned by Śrīnātha and the articles of import from them are given below in a tabular form.

<i>Countries and islands.</i>	<i>Articles of import.</i>
Cīni	Silk cloths (<i>Cināmbaraśreni</i>)
Siṃhala	Elephants and gems (<i>Sindhurāmbulu, ratnāṃkuramulu</i>)
Pañjāra	Camphor trees (<i>karpūrapādapamulu</i>)
Jalanōṅgi	Sprouts of gold (<i>baṅgāru maloka</i>)
Hurumuñji	Horses (<i>Teji harulu</i>)
Gōva	Liquid Civet (<i>Sankumadadravamulu</i>)
Yāmpa	Pearls (<i>Kaṭṭānimutyālu</i>)
Bhōṭa	Musk (<i>Kaṣṭūri</i>)
Tarunāsīri	Sandal (<i>Candana</i>)
Tavāyi	Aloe wood (<i>Agaru</i>)
Gōva	Camphor (<i>Karpūra</i>)
Ramaṇa	Rose water (<i>Himāmbu</i>)
	Musk (<i>Kaṣṭūri</i>)
	Pollen of Saffron (<i>Kuṅkumaraṇa</i>)

Cīni: This is the ancient name of China. There is evidence to prove the existence of an active intercourse between China and Southern India beginning from the second century B. C. " This intercourse, though occasionally subjected to ups and downs, was kept up during the succeeding centuries until this period. Cāmi Seṭṭi, a member of the Avaci family, is said to have imported from Cīni into the Andhra country *Cināmbaraśreni*, a great number of *Cināmbaras*, China-cloths." From very ancient times China has been famous for its silk cloth which was called *Cināmbara* by the Indians.

Siṃhala: Siṃhala is, of course, Ceylon. The commodities which were brought from this island were elephants and precious stones. Ceylon was famous for its breed of elephants, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it supplied war elephants to the countries on the

44. *Foreign Notices.*, pp. 44-45, Introd. p. 4.

Several embassies were sent from South India to Chinese emperors. The last embassy was sent during this period. Dr. E. Bretschneider, in his *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, writes under caption "A-nan-gung-do, a kingdom in Sit-'len (Western heaven)," - a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works:—"In 1374 Bu-halu, the ruler of this country, sent his chief explainer (kiangchu) by name Bi-ni-si, with tribute to the Chinese Court. He brought among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralising poison. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming Shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom"—Vol. II, pp. 221-222. A-nan-gung-do in the above passage is Ānegondi (Vijayanagar). Bu-ha-lu seems to be the corrupt form of Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagar,

45. H. VI. I, Introd. verses.

mainland. "And in this island," says Barbosa, "are reared many wild elephants which the king has caught and tamed. These he sells to the merchants of the Choramandel, of Narasingu, Malabar, Daquem, and Cambea who come thither to seek them." 46 He also writes, "And in this island also are found precious stones in plenty, of many kinds." 47

It is said that Tippaya Setti, another member of the Avaci family, had a long acquaintance with the land of Lankā and Simhalaadvīpa (*Cira-paricita-Lankā-Simhalaadvīpa-bhūmi*), and that he pleased all kings by satisfying them with the commodities brought from Lankā and other islands (*Lankādīkadvīpānīta svastu-tarpita-samadheyākṣhilakṣmāpa*). 48

Pañjara: This seems to be the Telugu equivalent of the name of a town in the island of Sumatra, called Pansor, Pansur or Fansur by the mediaeval Arab and Western writers, and 'Barus' by later travellers. And Barus is the name of the principal mart of that "commodity (camphor) in Sumatra, and the word has been affixed by traders to discriminate it from the camphor of Japan." 49

Jalanōngi: This place which supplied *baṅgārumolaka* which literally means 'sprout of gold', cannot be definitely identified. C. P. Brown takes *baṅgārumolaka* to mean 'fairy gold', supposed to grow in snake-holes, 50 though it is difficult to understand how it could mean that. Whatever be the exact meaning of the term, it is obvious that it denotes some kind of gold, probably the best. It might also probably mean alluvial gold, obtained by washing the silt near the banks of rivers and in their beds. Gold was certainly imported to India from abroad from the earliest times. It continued to be so even in the

46. Barbosa, I, p. 113.

47. Ibid, I, pp. 115-116.

48. Hr. VI., I, 31; VII, 195.

The above statements raise the question whether Lanka and Simhala are not different islands. To identify Lankā with Simhala (Ceylon) seems to be erroneous. Lankā which has been known to the Hindus from the days of Valmiki, appears to be different from Ceylon. This question cannot be, however, conveniently discussed here. In this connection it may be interesting to note a place called Lang-kia or Lang-Ya-hsin on the Isthmus of Kra (Gerini, pp. 113-115).

49. Chau Ju-kua, T. P. Vol. XIII., p. 194.

There is a town called Banjar Massin in Borneo which also produces camphor. Vide, Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 308. Pañjara mentioned in the Telugu work *Haravilasam* might be identical with either of these two towns (Pansor or Banjar Massin.)

50. Tel. Eng. Dict., p. 818 (1852)

middle ages. It is not possible even to indicate the direction where Jalanōṅgi is situated. However, as most of the trade of the Avaci family was with the Eastern countries and islands, it is possible that it should lie somewhere in the East. It may however be noted that in the Archipelago, there was a district called Jih-lo-ting in 'the south-eastern end of the Malay Peninsula', where gold and silver wares were manufactured.⁵¹ It seems not unlikely that Jih-lo-ting and Jalanōṅgi are corrupted forms of some Malay place-name which played an important part in the international trade of ancient times.⁵²

Hurumuñji: This is the same as Hurmuz or Ormuz in Persia. This town is 'situated on the small island of Jerun in the Straits still known on our maps as the Straits of Ormuz.' 'The original Hurmuz was a town on the Persian mainland, on the banks of the Minab river ... Its situation on the mainland laid it open to attack in troubled times, and the inhabitants finally, about the year 1300, abandoned it and founded the new town of Hormuz on the neighbouring isle of Jerun or Jeraun⁵³.' This town supplied horses to Indian kings in the middle ages. That Hurmuz supplied horses to the Indian kings, is also corroborated by the account of Duarte Barbosa. He writes 'And from the city of Adem they (merchants) bring

51. Gerini, p. 826 (627).

52. In connection with *baṅgarumolaka*, it will be interesting to read what Milburn has written about gold-dust produced in Borneo. "Borneo produces", he writes, "immense quantities of gold; it is procured at Sambas, Momparya, Pontiana, Borneo town, and Banjar Massin. It is stated from very good authority, that two hundred peculs of gold-dust are annually procured by the Chinese, Dutch, and English, chiefly by the Chinese, from the places visited by their junks. At Banjar Massin gold-dust is divided into head, belly and foot. The head is also called Molucca gold (? *baṅgarumoluka*); it is in grains as large as bay-salt, of a very irregular shape, free from any artificial alloy, and comes up in fineness to about twenty two carats. ... The second sort or belly is in smaller grains, like sand or brass-filings. ... The foot nearly resembles the belly to outward appearance, but is often found mixed with iron-dust or something resembling it."—(*Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 311). Jalanōṅgi seems to be a Malay town which supplied the Andhra country with *baṅgarumoluka* (probably the correct term) of Borneo.

53. Barbosa, I, f. n. 2. p. 90.

"Outside in the same isle is a little hill of rock-salt, also some brim stone, but very little. The salt is in blocks as large as great rocks in rugged hills; it is called Indian Salt.

"All ships which come to this city take it as ballast for it is worth money at many places. The merchants of this isle and city are Persians and Arabs.

"It has a right good harbour where many sorts of goods are handled which come hither from many lands and from here they barter them with many parts of India"—*Ibid*, I, p. 91.

to Ormuz abundance of copper, quicksilver, vermillion, rose-water, many brocaded cloths, tafetas and ordinary camlets. ...And from Barem and Julfur come seed-pearls, and large pearls and from the cities of Arabia a great number of horses come, which they carry thence to India, whither every year they used to take one and at times two thousand horses, and each one of these is worth in India, taking good and bad together, three or four hundred Cruzados, more or less according to the demand for them. And in the ships in which these horses are taken they carry also abundance of dates, raisins, salt and sulphur, also coarse seed-pearls in which the Moors of Narasinga take delight.⁵⁴

Gōva: This is the modern Goa, the famous sea-port on the west coast of India. During the middle ages it was the biggest port in India. All the commodities coming from Western Asia, Europe, and Africa, found their way to Indian markets through this port. It supplied civet to the Andhra country. It was not a product of Goa. It must have come there from the West. Chau Ju-kua states that civet 'comes from the country of 'K 'ie-liki (Kalhat?) of the Arabs.⁵⁵ Commenting on this passage the editors of Chau Ju-kua observe thus: "It seems clear that at the time of which our author writes, there were two drugs known to Chinese.....The one was derived from Northern Asia, from Mancuria to Khirghiz steppes, the other was brought to China by the Arabs of Oman who called it Zi-Po-tu-min which we have no difficulty in recognising the Arabic word Al Zabad, our civet".⁵⁶ The civet which Cāmi Setṭi of the Avaci family secured from Goa, must have been brought there by the Arabs. This becomes a certainty when we compare the Telugu word *Zavāḍi* (Zabadi) civet with the Arab word, Al Zabad.

Yāmpa (*Yāpa*): *Yāpa* from which pearls were imported, is *Yālpāṇa*, that is, Jaffna, a province in the north of Ceylon. The Gulf of Mannar is famous for pearl-fishery; and it is only natural that Cāmi Setṭi should have obtained best pearls at Jaffna (*Yālpāṇa*).

Bhōṭa: This is the ancient name of Bhōṭān which has been famous for musk. According to the *Tārā Tantra*, Bhōṭa extends from Kashmir to the west of Kāmarūpa (Assam), and to the south of Mānasarōvara.⁵⁷

54. Ibid, I, pp. 93-94.

55. Chau Ju-kua, p. 234.

56. Ibid, p. 234 n. 4.

57. N. L. Dey - *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 83.

Taruṇāsiri: This is mentioned among a group of places, the remaining being Tavāyi, Gōva, Ramaṇa and others, which supplied sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron. As all these places, like the articles of import, are mentioned collectively, it is not possible to mark out the particular place which supplied each of the above articles. The printed text of the *Haravilāsam* has *Taruṇā-Cīni*; but the manuscript copy has *Taruṇā-Sīri*.⁵⁸ *Taruṇā-sīri* therefore seems to be the correct reading. However, it is difficult to say if this term stands for a single place or two entirely different places, namely *Taruṇa* and *Sīri*. *Candana* (sandal wood) was probably the article of import from *Taruṇā-sīri*. In fact, sandal wood is a characteristic product of the west coast of South India. Since it is said that it was imported also from abroad, it must have been brought from the East Indies. It is said that the best Sandal wood "came from two countries, Takang and Ti-wu, both of which were the dependencies of San-fo-t'si"⁵⁹ (Palembang). The former still remains unidentified, and the latter has been identified with the island Timor⁶⁰. There are, however, no towns in the East Indies bearing the name either of *Taruṇa* or *Sīri*. The name *Taruṇā-sīri* reminds us and sounds almost akin to *Tarnāssari*, a town in the Malay Peninsula. It seems probable that either of these two names is a variant or a corrupt form of the other. If such is the case, *Taruṇā-sīri* and *Tarnāssari*, (the modern *Tenassarim*) are identical. The following note seems in a way to strengthen this view and fix its position.

"*Tenaceree*: (Portugese *Tanaseri*, Malay *Tanah Sri*) — "From Martavan coasting the shore southwards sixty myles, and then thirty myles south-east by East; between two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the town of Tanassarien.....The Portingalles have great traffique unto this town.....and thether commeth great great [store of] merchandise out of Pegu, and Siam..."⁶¹

Tavāyi: The next place in the group referred to before is *Tavāyi*, the modern *Tavoy*. It is the name of a city situated on a

58. See, Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss, 1910-11-1912-13, page 314. The editors or publishers of *Haravilāsam* must have corrected *Siri*, an unknown term, into *Cīni*, a well-known place.

59. Chau Ju-kua, p. 208:

"There come like-wise merchants from the whole of India, from the Coromandel, from Bengal, from *Tenassarim*, from Pegu, with provisions and rich merchandise. They carry like-wise to Malaca the cloves of Molucus, the camphor of Borneo, the mace and the black nut-meg of Banda, the white and red sandal of Timor." — Castenheda (1528-88); *Foreign Notices.*, p. 312.

60. Gerini, p. 519.

61. Linschoten in Hakl. Soc., Vol. LXX, p. 103.

river of the same name falling into the gulf of Martaban. Barros mentions it as one of the ports of the Malay Peninsula.⁶² The principal industry of the people of Tavoy appears to have been the manufacture of camphor. "The Tavoyers", says Gerini, "make an impure camphor from it (chapa or chapu tree) by a very simple process.....The product in its refined form appears identical in all its properties with the Chinese camphor."⁶³

Ramaṇa: It is not easy to identify Ramaṇa, as there is more than one place bearing this name in Indo-China and the Archipelago. There is in the first place Ramannadēśa which is said to correspond to Pegu and Arakan.⁶⁴ Then there is an island called Ramaṇakadvīpa, mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It is said to be identical with the island of Rami, Ramin or Rauṃi of the Arab geographers and travellers. Gerini believes that it is the district otherwise called "Lameri or Lamri, that is, north-western part of Sumatra."⁶⁵ According to Barbosa, Moorish merchants visited Pegu which formed part of Ramannadēśa for the purpose of purchasing musk among other articles. As musk was one of the articles of import from the group of places referred to before, it seems probable that Ramaṇa was identical with Ramannadēśa which is Pegu. If this identification is correct, musk was brought to the Andhra country both from Goa and Ramannadēśa.

We have now to consider the places which imported *himāmbu* (rose-water), *kumkumaraṇa* (pollen of saffron) and *agaru* (aloe-wood).

Rose-water: This commodity, according to Chau Ju-kua,⁶⁶ was sent loaded on camels by the Ta-shi (the Arabs) to the island of Kish on the Persian Gulf. They put it "on board ships on arriving in this country to barter with other countries." Le Strange states⁶⁷ that "the province of Fars was celebrated for the so-called attar of roses (atar or 'itar in Arabic signifies a 'perfume' or essence), which of diverse qualities was made specially from rose that grew in the plain of Jur or Firuzabad".⁶⁸ This is corroborated by Ibn Hankul who states

62. Gerini, p. 86.

63. Ibid, p. 435, n. 3.

64. Ibid, p. 57.

65. Ibid, p. 464, 2, p. 677.

66. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134.

67. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257.

68. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134 n. 1, 2.

that "rose-water from Fars was exported to all parts of the world." ⁶⁹ According to Barbosa one of the articles of import to Hurmuz (Ormuz) from Adem was rose-water. From Hurmuz it was probably brought to Goa and from thence to the Andhra country.

Saffron: This appears to have been a characteristic product of Kashmir, and it was also grown in some of the countries in Central and Western Asia. According to Barbosa, Saffron was one of the articles which was brought to Hurmuz (Ormuz) for the purpose of exchange. Probably, it was imported to Goa from Ormuz or from one of the ports in North Western India.

Agaru (aloe-wood): This commodity also was brought from the East, though the particular place from which it was imported is not known. However, Chau Ju-kua states that Hainan (in China) produced "Gharu-wood of a pure and lasting fragrance." ⁷⁰ *Gharus*-wood (*agaru*), was an important product of the island of Sumatra also.

Whichever might have been the place of production, these articles (sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron) were imported to Taruṇāsiri, Tavāyi, Gōva, Ramaṇa and other places, from which members of the Avaci family brought them to the Andhra country.

The Telugu work *Haravilāsam* contains a prose passage ⁷¹ which furnishes another group of places, including islands and towns, like the one referred to above, and the several articles imported from them. The places mentioned in this group are Cini, Simhala, Tavāyi, Hurumuñji, and Jōṇaṅgi, and the articles said to have been brought from them are *dhana* (treasure), *kanakavastu* (articles made of gold), *vāhana* (conveyances - vehicles, horses and the like), *māṇikyā* (rubies) and *gāṇikyā* (courtesans). All these places with the exception of Jōṇaṅgi are already identified. Though it is not possible to mark out the special article of export from each of the above places as stated before, it seems probable that *māṇikyās* and *gāṇikyās* were exported from Jōṇaṅgi. The word Jōṇaṅgi which is in current use in Telugu, denotes

69. Ibid, p. 203.

70. Ibid, p. 205.

71. "చీనిసింహళ తనాయి మునుముంజి జోణంగి ప్రభృతి నానాదీప్త నగ రాకరంబులగు ధనకకవస్త్రవాహనము జీక్య గాణిక్యముల తెప్పించియు..."

a Mussalman trader of the Tamil country, otherwise known as Labbes.⁷² C. P. Brown states that this is a corruption of the Tamil word, Cōṇahar.⁷³ This word is derived in its turn from the Sanskrit *yavana*, meaning a Greek, an Arab, or a Moor.⁷⁴ In the middle ages the term could have only denoted an Arab or a Moor, as the Greeks had disappeared centuries ago from the Indian continent. The Jōṇaṅgi must have been so called because they either migrated from Jōṇaṅgi (yōṇaka) country or were somehow connected with it intimately. Since the Jōṇaṅgis, are Mussalmans by faith, it may naturally be held that they derived their name either because they migrated from, say, Arabia, Persia, or some other Mussalman country, or had intimate trade relations with them. However that may be, the Jōṇaṅgi country cannot be identified with any Mussalman countries known to us. Though handsome slave girls could have been purchased in the market of any Mussalman country, rubies could not have been procured therefrom, as none of them is known to have produced that gem. It must be sought for elsewhere. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the middle ages the western Laos or Shan country was known as the Yōnakadēśa,⁷⁵ because it was occupied at one time by offshoots of the great Yavan, Yon, or Yuen race.⁷⁶ As ruby is available plentifully in upper Burma and the Shan States, which roughly correspond to the ancient Yōnakadēśa, the Jōṇaṅgi country which supplied rubies to the Andhra country may be identical with this region.

We do not know the exports of the Andhra country in this period, though cloths, printed and plain, must have been one of the important items.

72. Jōṇaṅgi means also a breed of hunting dogs famous for their speed.

73. *Dict. of Mixed Telugu*, p. 40 (1854).

74. *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1679.

75. Gerini, p. 132.

76. *Ibid*, p. 58.

CHAPTER VII.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The favourite games and amusements in a community indicate fairly the standard of culture which they have reached in their tastes and their fancies. The games and amusements of the Andhras in the Redḍi period make an interesting and useful study. Many of these have taken such a deep root in the tradition of the people that even to-day they hold their ground and fill the countryside with innocent merriment. Age and social changes have, no doubt, resulted in the disappearance of some, but several still linger in remote parts of the country. The decay of feudalism, the growth of towns, railways and cinemas, and the impact of western culture, have all been responsible for the disappearance of many of these indigenous pastimes.

Some of the games and amusements contributed to the health and proper development of the body, while some others gave scope for the play of intellect and individual skill. Spectacles and diversions, such as wandering minstrels with their *tāmburas* and cymbals, conjurers with their skilful feats of magic and sleight of hand, *dombaris* or rope-dancers and great gymnasts with their feats of strength and skill, Bhāgavatas, or the stage-players with their *yakṣagānas* or dramas set to music and dance, ballad singers with their emotional narrative songs and rustic dances, and puppet-players with their beautifully-trimmed leather puppets representing mythological characters, and painted with variegated colours and adorned with ornaments of different kinds, all these contributed to the enjoyment of the people. The votaries of these pursuits enriched and gave colour to the social life of the village, for which the society in its turn treated them with affection and showed its appreciation by customary dues and other gifts. These professional actors had also annuities or yearly grants in kind from every village.

The holiday season of the village generally commenced with the annual wedding festival (*kalyāṇōtsava*) of the village god, or with the *jātara* or the annual feast of the village goddess. Generally, this festive season was the period when the professional players and actors who had annuities from the village, visited it, and gave performances. The chief items of entertainment in those days were music and dance.

Music :

Among all the fine arts Music held a high and unique position. It was patronised by kings and the aristocracy of the land. Proficiency or a good working knowledge in it was one of the requisites for a nobleman or prince to qualify him to be a member of the cultured society. Many of the rulers of this age encouraged this art and were great musicians themselves. Among such patrons and scholars in music, to name only a few, may be mentioned chiefs like Pratāpa Vira Gaṅgarāju¹ of the Surabhi dynasty, Kṛṣṇadēva² of the Pottapiṭāla family, and Viśvēśvara³ of the Cāḷukya family. Of these the first two belonged to the fourteenth century and the last to the fifteenth. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi, the fifth king of Koṇḍaviḍu, was an adept in music. He was the author of a treatise on Music, called *Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi*. The two manuscripts⁴ of this work which are now available, begin with the description of *viṇa* in the *vādyā* section, and go up to (Chapter XV in the) *nṛtta* portion describing *dēvi nṛttas*. Dēvarāya I, son of the Vijayanagar ruler Bukkarāya I, and for sometime the governor of Udayagiri, was another great scholar in music.⁵ King Kumāragiri and his brother-in-law Kaṭaya Vēma were learned in the technique of both music and dance. Siṅga II of the Rēceḷa family, a master in the Science of Music, wrote a commentary, named *Saṅgītasudhākaram*, on the *Saṅgītaratnākaram* of Śārṅgadēva. Virabhadra Redḍi, king of Rajamahēndra Rājya was a master in music. He was learned both in the *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* of the *Saṅgīta Śāstra*.⁶ It may be taken for granted that these chiefs who were very learned, both in the artistic and scientific aspects of music, were great patrons of that art, and contributed much to its development. Jannaya Siddhamātya, who accepted dedication of the

1. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 725.

"Āsadhisaṅkṛpanam ruci-kalitayasas: = candrikas-sat-kalavan
Saṅgītajñō vadnayah....."

2. S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 780.

"Pradat Kṛṣṇadēvas-saṅgītamōdhi-Candras-sakala-guṇa-nidhir....."

3. "సంగీతసాహిత్యపరణి నేర్పు" — Kv. Cd., I, v. 9.

4. See chapter IX on Literature (Sanskrit).

5. Mack, Mss., No. 15—4—17.

'Sōyam-rajati Devarāyanrpatih Saṅgītaratnākaram' — Pragaḷḷapāḍu grant, dated in 1891 A. D.

6. "వేంగీ విషయాధీశ్వర,
౧౦౫౮ ౧౦౮౩ తనూజ, సాహిత్యకళ
సంగీత లక్ష్యలక్షణ
ధంసీ సర్వజ్ఞ....." — Ks. Kb., V, v. 338.

Telugu work *Vikramārka-caritram*, was a *Sangitakalādhāra*,⁷ one interested in the art of Music. Nāganātha, to whom the Telugu poet Bhairava dedicated his *kavya Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam*, is described as *Vīṇādi-sangita-kalā-vilōla*,⁸ one who was fond of music connected with *vīṇā* and other instruments. Siṅgaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the Mangipūḍi family of Kōṅkōṇḍa, was a great patron of music. He is said to have always delighted in sporting with women, proficient in playing on *vīṇā*, and who were illustrious for their charming and attractive dances.⁹ Any number of instances may be cited to show that this age was adorned with many scholars and patrons in music.

From very early times Andhras had a special aptitude for music. They did much in times of yore to develop that art (*gāṇakalā*) and contributed a special *rāga* called *Andhrī* after their own name to the series of musical notes. This fact is known from a treatise on Music, named *Brhaddeśi*¹⁰ written by Maṭaṅgamuni. The author states in his work that in the opinion of Śārdula *Mūḷava-pañcama* has six *rāginis* of which *Andhrī* was one.

Vocal and instrumental music was much developed in the Telugu country by the time of the Redḍi kings. The *rāgas* and *tālas* enumerated in the Sanskrit musical treatises have all been mentioned in some of the Telugu works produced about the beginning of this age. Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha refers, in his works *Basava Purāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhyā caritra*, to the *rāgas*, *tālas*, and the many different kinds of *vīṇas* then in vogue.¹¹ He mentions more than twenty or twenty five kinds of *vīṇas*, of which *Kanakaviṇa*, *Brahma* or *Brāhmīviṇa* find mention even in inscriptions of the period.¹² The *deśi* terminology used by the author in the above works bears evidence to the great development that art had attained in the Telugu land. It cannot, however, be asserted that all the *deśi* terms are exclusively Telugu. A close scrutiny of these terms linguistically may enable one to estimate the contribution of the different nationalities in the Deccan to the development of the art of Music.

7. “సాహస్రవసాహసాంక! సంగీతకళా
దోహతం.....” —Vk. Cr., V, v. 1.

8. Sr. Mh., II, 440, p. 67.

9. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 266, v. 39.

10. Vide *Brhaddeśi*. published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, No. 94, p. 136; and J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 14.

11. Bs. Pr., III, pp. 89-91; and Pn. Cr., *Parvataparakarṇam*, pp. 443-44.

12. S. I. I., V., No. 1150.

Just as at the present day, the musical system then in vogue was that of *jatis* and *grāmas*.¹³ In those days a *gītam* without *tānaka rāga* was not appreciated.¹⁴ The musical compositions that appear to have been commonly sung in those days were *sūdhādi gītams*,¹⁵ *sūlādi gītams*¹⁶ and *jati gītams*. Besides these there were folk songs called

13. “జతులు వానాగీతజాతిమల్ గాగ...” — Pn. Cr., III, p. 704.

“జతిగీతములమీఁదఁ జప్పట లిడుచు...” — Bs. Pr., II, p. 29.

“ద్రుతితాళంబున వీరసుంకీతక ధుంధుంకిటాతాళంసం

గతి వాయించువు నాంత రాతికయట్ర గామాభి గామంబు గా...” — Kd. Rm., v. 116.

Yati in the second line in the above verse seems to be *jati*. “According to the method of *Sardūla* the *jatis* of *sruṭis* are five in number, namely, *diptu ayata karuna*, *mrduh*, and *madhya*. — *Sangita Sudhā* (J. M. A., I, p. 143).

“చచ్చత్తులు చాచపుటపట్టితాపుత్రకసంపక్ష్యప్రకోద్ధ ట్టాదితాళంబుల

ఘంటారవ శలక రాధిరణాది గామంబుల.....” — Ks. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

“A *grāma* is a group of *śvaras* forming the basis of the *mūrchanas*. The great sages who had known the truth of the Science of Music say that this is the definition in general (of a *grāma*). Of the three kinds of *grāmas* the *Shādja grāma* is said to be the first, secondly the *madhya grāma*, and the third, the *gandharva grāma*. The *gandharva grāma* does not exist in the human world. It is fit to be sung only by Narada and others.” — Ibid, vv. 175–183, p. 146.

14. “తంతులు లేని వీణయును దానక రాగము లేని గీతమల్
మలత్రులు లేని రాజ్యము సమానము లిన్నియు వ్యర్థ కార్యమల్...”

—Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 191.

The expression *tānaka rāga* may mean that singing (*gītam*) does not shine without the elaboration of the *rāga* through *tāna*; or it may refer to the employment of the traditional and auspicious sounds in the singing of the *rāga*, namely, *tāna* or *tānaka*, mentioned by the treatises as one of the limbs or *aṅgas* of *gītam* or song. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras for this explanation.

15. “మౌనానీకన్య దనచేతి రత్న విపంచి మ్రోయించుచు వస్తవంచు
స్వరంబుల ననేక రాగ తాళ సంకీర్తనంబుల సుధాధి గీతంబులు
పొడుచుండె.....” — Rk. Cr., II, v. 39.

16. “సాళాదిగీతములును ను

తాళము ద్రువ గురువు లఘుముతంబులు లిమల

మేళనమునఁ జెడపండఁగఁ

దాళము వాయించె నొక తె తగ్గతికోలఁది...” — Sm. Dv., II, i, v. 169.

The phrase: *sūlādi gītamu* instead of *salādi gītamu* is found in some manuscripts of this work. The former term appears to be the correct one. Srimati M. A. Sundarambal, mentions in the course of her paper on “The Musical compositions of South India”, many of the varieties, like *gita*, *sūlādi*

in Telugu *padamulu*, metrical compositions set to music both devotional and ordinary. The popularity attained by *padamulu* during this period made the later Telugu poets write *lakṣaṇa* relating to them. Tallapāka Tirumalayya, a Telugu poet of the sixteenth century, gives, in his work *Saṅkīrtanalakṣaṇa*, definitions of musical compositions called *saṅkīrtanas*. He says that a *padamu* may be written in vernacular language (*dēśa bhāṣā*), Sanskrit, or Prakṛt. A list of names of such varieties of songs (*gēyams*) is provided by Palkuṅki Sōmanatha's works. They are *prabhāṭu-padamulu*, *tummeda - padamulu*, *ānanda - padamulu*, *parvata-padamulu*, *Śāṅkara-padamulu*, *nivāli-padamulu*, *Vālēṣu-padamulu*, *gobbi-padamulu*, *vennela-padamulu*,¹⁷ and *ēlalu*.¹⁸ Of these *tummeda-padamulu*, *gobbi-padamulu*, *Vālēṣu-padamulu* and *vennela-padamulu* are in vogue even today in the country side, though none of the compositions of those days with a very few exceptions here and there, has come down to us. *Dhavaḷams*,¹⁹

Thāya, *Prabandha*, *Svarajati*, *Jatisvara* and so on. "*Sūḷadis*, are", she writes, "similar to *gītas* to some extent in as far as the structure is concerned, but differ greatly in character. *Sūḷadis* are, to put it briefly, *talamlāṭikas*, composed as illustrations of the *sūḷadi tālas*. *Sūḷa* is a corrupted form of the word *Sūda*. In one piece it employs all the seven principal *tālas* and sometimes their varieties. *Sūḷadis* are of a much higher standard than the *gītas* and require great scholarship to handle them. Not only is a *sūḷadi* set in different *tālas*, but also in different *kālas* (speed). In the *sūḷadis*, *akṣaras* are fewer than in the *gītas* and there are vowel extensions in plenty"—J. M. U., XI, p. 216 (1939).

17. "పదములు దుమ్మెదపదములే ప్రభాత

పదములు బర్హతపదము లానంద

పదములు శలకరపదములే నివాళి

పదములు వాలేశుపదములు గొబ్బి

పదములు వెన్నెలపదములు..."—Pn. Cr., III p. 513.

ఆనందగీతంబు లగ్నిండువారు

ప్రాని శంకరగీతములు నాడువారు..."—Bs. Pr., II, p. 29.

18. "ధరతోక్తి నేలలు పాడెడువారు..."—Pn. Cr., V, p. 365.

"అలివారంబులు దానమానములు గా నాలపైఁగావించుచు దొ

య్యలియార్తొక్కతె పాడు విశ్వపథు నేలాదిప్రబంధంబులన్"—Kv. Od., III, v. 120.

"*Ēla* is a very auspicious *prabandha* as the name is formed by the three letters a, i and la, the letters of Viṣṇu, Manmatha and Lakṣmī. In this composition much importance is attached to the literary aspect, and several varieties are distinguished by the *śahitya* portions, the metre, the language etc. The subject matter should be of sterling quality and the *prabandha* should speak of his admirable qualities."

—J.M.U., XI, p. 237.

19. "వినుతికెక్కినకి శృంగ నేదిమారు

ప్రపదములు ప్రొక్కించి చంద్రమఖులు

ధనములువాడ ద్విజులు మంత్రములు చెడును..."—Rk. Cr., V, v. 77,

*kalyāṇa-gītam*s or marriage songs, and *maṅgaḷa-gītam*s,²⁰ that is, songs sung on auspicious occasions and on the occasion of worship, either in temples or in private houses, may also be classed among *geyam*s. It was the custom in those days to sing particularly *Gaurikalyāṇam*²¹ on the occasion of a marriage festival. Poet Srinātha refers, in his *Bhīmaśivara Purāṇam*, to yet another variety of *geyam* called *jādara* songs,²² sung at Dakṣavāṭi in *Hindōḷarāga*, especially in the

20. “కడసి శేరిటాండు కళ్యాణముల బాడ.....”

S. I. I., VI, No. 941.

21. “విశాలః జ్యంభీజగ్జ్ఞోగ్నియతా న గౌరీకల్యాణగానాః కిచ్చితకర్ణ

వారణంబున.....—Vk. Cr., IV, Pr. 130.

“భేరీజయఘంటాదిమ

హారావములును వసుంధరామరవిజయ

శీరుక సుశబ్దములును

గౌరీకల్యాణవిభవగానధ్వనులంజ్ఞ”...—Bj.Rj., IV, v. 87.

సాహారసుధారస

ధారాహారంబు సారి ధరణీదీపజో

దీపిత వదధ్వనితో

గౌరీకల్యాణమధురగానము మెఱువెన్....—Vk. Cr., IV, v. 179.

Gaurikalyāṇam, the marriage between Gauri and Śiva, was the ideal marriage, since the latter has given away half of his body to the former, and became *Ardhanārīśvara*. Hence, to put forth this grand ideal before the married couple, *Gaurikalyāṇam* was sung in those days on the occasion of a marriage celebration. In course of time it became almost customary to observe it as a part of the ceremony itself.

22. “బాదర బాదరంచ మృదుచర్చరి గీతులు వారుణీరసా
స్వాసవదారేకములఁ జంద్రిక గాయఁగ దక్షిణావతిలో
వేదుల వేదులన్ గనకవీణలు మిటుచు బాడి రచ్చరల్
మోద మిలర్పఁగా భువన మోహనవిగ్రహు భీమనాథునిన్.”

—Bh. Pr., V, v. 102; Vide, Andhri, Vol. III, pp. 180–181.

“సందుగార్జవ.....అంధర్వనశోద్భవల్

హిందోళంబున బాడి రచ్చరలు భీమేశుం ద్రిలో కాధిపున్

మందార మ్రువావాటియందు సుమనోమైరేయసుల్ గ్రహించున్.”—Bh. Pr., V, v. 97.

In a paper on ‘*Bhīmakalyāṇam* and *paṭhabhādamulu*’ contributed to the Telugu Journal *Andhri*. Mr. Nidadavolu Venkatarao discusses about the correct reading of the verse and the significance of the word ‘*Jādara*’. On the analogy of the, *jajara saṅkīrtanam*s (songs with the *pallavi jajara*) written by poet Tāllapākāṁ Annamācārya of the sixteenth century, he comes to the conclusion that the term *jādara* or *jajara* represents the *pallavi* of a type of songs.

spring season during the *vasantōtsava* celebrations. Of these above mentioned varieties of *gēyams*, *vennēla padamulu* referred to by Palkuṭiki Sōmanātha, seem to be the same as the *Candamāma* (moon) *padamulu* in the *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa* mentioned above. In this work the author, Tirumalayya, mentions *daruvu* (Sanskrit *dhruvā*), *jakkularēku*, *ardhacandrika* and *Candamāma-padamu* and *ela*, as varieties of *padamu*, and gives their *lakṣaṇa*²³.

Instrumental music was much in requisition in temples also. We come to know from inscriptions of the early mediaeval period recording gifts for instituting services in temples that, in all important *keśētras*, provision was made for those who played on different kinds of instruments, like *muraja*, *āvaja*, *kāhaḷa* and so on. Some of these instruments had different varieties, such as the *murajas*, *vīra-maddaliyas*, and ordinary *maddulas* among the drums.

In a manuscript (No. 785 of D. C. T. M., Tanjore Palace Library) entitled *Cittara padyamulu*, containing verses from a number of classical works, like *Kaṣikhaṇḍam*, *Manucaritra*, and *Vasucaritra* we find the following reading of the verse in the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇa* referred to above :

జాదుర జాదురంపువ్వును చంచరిగీతుల వారుణీరసా
స్వాదమదారీకకమలచంద్రిక గాయఁగ దక్షవాటికన్
పీఘల పీఘలన్ కనకవీణలు మీటుచు బాడి రచ్చరల్
మోద మెలగ్గుగా భువన మోహనవిగ్రహు భీమ నాథునిన్.

The first two lines of this verse also are faulty. The correct reading of those lines seems to be as follows :

“జాదుర జాదురంచు మృదుచర్చరీతుల వారుణీరసా
స్వాదమదారీకకమనఁ జంద్రిక గాయఁగ దక్షవాటికన్”

23. The verses quoted below from the *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa* give the definitions of *Candamāma padamu*, *elapadamu* and *daruvu* respectively.

దుస్తర విప్రలంభమున దూతికతోడ మొఱంగి చంద్రవి
న్యస్తభరస్యభావమున నాయకుఁడేనియుఁ గాంతయేనియున్
విస్తరవాదివాదముల నేడుకఁ జందురుఁ బేకకొన్నచోఁ
[బ్రస్తుతి కక్క! దత్తుదము భాసురమై ద్విచతుస్పదాకృతిన్.”

నాయకావృన్దనపూర్వమై నయముఁ గలిగి
మేచ్చుఁకరిభావఁ దగి రాగమిళితమైన
యేలపాట పదలబునా నిలఁ జేలంగు
నాహితినాయక సంబుధిగుఱ్య మగుచు.”

Dance :

Music and Dance were allied arts. Each complimented the other and flourished with the growth of the other. The *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, a treatise on Dance produced in the thirteenth century in the Kākatiya court, mentions the various occasions on which a dance recital was deemed necessary. It was generally presented for the sake of one's prosperity and welfare, on the occasion of a marriage celebration, the birth of a son, of nuptials, *vratā*, *parvā*, pilgrimage, entry into a new city or a house, anointment, (*mahābhīṣēka*), *mahādāna*, examination festival (of scholarship), victory etc. " Especially religious ceremonies and rituals were never performed without music and dance. In short, music and dance were necessary accessories to all public functions, feasts and festivals, religious rites and rituals, and court assemblies. Religious worship even in private houses of the aristocracy was not usually performed without the important item of music and dance. The Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram were ardent Saivas, and in accordance with the injunctions of the *Āgamas* they worshipped Siva six times a day, and this worship included the presentation of music and dance." No religious ceremony in temples was complete without these two performances. On these occasions hymns in praise of Siva and Viṣṇu were sung in their respective temples to the accompaniment of dance. For this purpose separate endowments in the form of service *ināms*, *vr̥ttis*, as they were called, were made by devotees or *bhaktas*. The recipients of these service *ināms* include members of both

మహిమమీలఁగ ద్రుత మధ్యమానములు ను
జిత్రివర్ణంబు తాళంబుఁ జెన్నుమీటి
మునుపఁ బాడిన పద వాక్యములఁ బొసంగి
ధరణి ద్విచతుష్పదాకృతి దరువు చెంగు."

24. " त्यागोद्वाहमहाभिषेकनगरी वेश्मप्रवेशोदक
क्रीडासुप्रियसङ्गमव्रतमहादानात्मजोत्पत्तिषु
यात्रापर्वपरीक्षणोत्सवजयानन्दप्रतिष्ठेहित
प्राप्तिष्वभ्युदयाय नृत्तमुचितं स्याद्वैवर्वादिषु ॥"

25. "వల్లకి చక్క- కాహళము వంశము ధక్క- హడుక్క- యుర్ర రుల్
యుల్లరి యాది గాఁగలుగు శబ్దపరంపర తాళశబ్దమై
యుల్లరిలం బ్రబంధముల కొప్పున నాడుదు రగ్ర కడివై
బల్ల వపాణు లీశ్వరుని బంటును హేతులు పూజనీయుగన్." — Ka. Kh., I.v. 56.

the sexes. Generally, women of the dancing class or courtesans were from time immemorial, the custodians of the twin arts of music and dance. They learnt these arts from their childhood, and after attaining high proficiency and skill in them, made a living by them. There were many varieties of *prabandhas* or musical compositions, of which *Dhruva*, *Mandraka*, and *Ēlā prabandhas* appear to have been popular in those days. These are alluded to in the contemporary literary works.²⁶

26. “అడిరి ప్రబాదస్మృతిమ్

నాడిరి మంద్రక మహాప్రబంధంబు...” — Ks, Kh., II, v. 37.

“గంధర్వులు దివ్య గాంధర్వంబున మంద్ర కాచ మహాప్రబంధంబులు నాడిరి...” — Ibid, VII, Pr. 220.

“గంధర్వుల్ పను నాల్గువోషములు దక్కన్ దాళ మానంబులన్
గాంధర్వంబు ధ్రువాప్రబంధపరణిన్ గావింప గా నాద్యమల్
ధింధిం దిక్క ధిమిక్క తక్కు ధిక్తోం దిక్క-త్తకోర్పుక్కిరిం
ధిం ధాం యుంకి మ యెక్కు ధిగిడిగ గా ధీయంచు మ్రాపెన్ వెనెన్...”

— Sm. Dv., I, iv. 129.

Nāṇḍla Gōpa, an officer of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar, quotes, in his commentary *Candrika* on the drama, *Prabodhacandrōdayam*, the following verses about *dhruva* from Kumāragiri Redḍi's *Vasantarājyam*.

“तथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये ॥

सूचने पाल भेदानां तत्त्वभावार्थसूचनी

या गीतिः साधृवा तुल्यसंविधानविशेषगो ॥

प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकीच तथा प्रासादिकीति च

नैष्कामिक्यान्तरीचेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥

प्रवेशसूचकादौतु धृवा प्रावेशिकी मता

प्रसङ्गमध्येन्यार्थ स्याक्षेपा दाक्षेपिकी मता ॥

प्रासादिकीतु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात्

निष्कामसूचिकायान्ते धृवानैष्कामिकी भवेत् ॥

विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे

दोषप्रच्छादनादौच गीयते यातुसान्तरी ॥ — इति.

Dhruva, according to the above verses, is a kind of *gitam* sung to indicate the different characters and their qualities in any performance. It is of four kinds namely, *prāvēsiki-dhruva*, *akṣēpiki-dhruva*, *prāsādiki-dhruva* and *naiṣkramiki dhruva*. Śrinātha refers to the *prāvēsiki-dhruva* in the following verse in his *Haravilsaam* while describing Yudra's visit to Śiva.

Like Music Dance also thrived during the middle ages, having been patronised both by the princes and the rich. Palkuṅiki Sōmanātha's *Panditārādhyacaritra*, furnishes ample information about dance. In this work the poet describes the various entertainments, on the night of the *Mahāśivarātri* day, given at Srisaīlam, the famous Śaivakṣētra, when the Śaiva pilgrims who visited that place kept holy vigil. In this connection the poet furnishes much information about both Music and Dance."

Dance is classified into two distinct divisions, called *mārga* and *deśi*, the former being the classical dance, and the latter the country or folk dance. The classical dance consisted of two varieties, the masculine *tāṇḍava*, and the feminine *lāsya*;" the former was practised by Śiva, its traditional *pradhāna vidyāguru*, and the latter was invented by his consort Pārvatī." The classical dance was patronised by the aristocracy, kings, nobles and learned men, and the country dance by the common people.

The Pāsupata system of Śaivism which greatly flourished during the Kakatīya period, appears not a little responsible for the development of the classical dance. The exquisite sculptures in the Rāmappa

“అశోకం సంధ్యలు

కైవారపదానుసారకమనీయము గా

బ్రాహ్మేశ్వరధువా గా

నామలం బరిధించి రంచితలన్.”—Hr. VI., VI, v. 9.

27. Pn. Cr., V, Parvata prakarapa, pp. 486-448.

28. Koravi Gōparaju, a Telugu poet of this period, describes, in the following verse, a danceuse playing on *lasya*.

“తనవున గీతాలంబన

మను జేతుల నగ్రపుష్పితిమును నేత్రయుగం

బున భావముఁ బదముల దా

శనిర్లయమ్మును మెఱయఁగ లాస్యము నెఱపెన్.”—Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 133.

See also Kv. Cd., II, v. 57; and Vk. Cr., II, v. 91.

29. “పద్మల కోహశ భరత మతంగ నందికేశ్వరాది మతానుసాగంబున వివిధ ప్రబంధంబుల నిర్మించి దానికి బహువిధ స్థానమండల చారీకర కాంగ హారరేచకదళనవర్త నాది శిరోభాగ చక్షుర్భావ చాలనంబుల మెఱయ దీశి మార్గ లాస్యతాండవంబుల పరిధించుచు...”—Ks. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

“మీనకేతనహరుఁ డెట్లు మెచ్చుటెట్లు

తాను తాండవవిద్యాప్రదానగురుఁడు

తలన పార్వతి నుక్కునూరలాస్యజనని.”—Ibid., v. 169.

temples which contain finely-carved statues in beautiful dance poses, and those in the Svayambhūlingēśvara temple in the fort of Waraṅgal, containing miniature representations of Siva's dance, which were unearthed during the recent excavations by the Archaeological department of H.E.H. the Nizam, fully bear out the great level which the art of Dance had reached during the Kākatiya period. *Nṛtaratnāvalī* was produced under the patronage of the Kākatiya monarchs. The author of this work, Jāyapa Nāyaka, was the *gajasādhānika* (*gajasāhīni*), the commander of the elephant forces, of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva. The author states that he was taught the science of dance by Guṇḍamātya at the instance of his lord, Gaṇapati-dēva.³⁰

The interest in Dance did not abate in the post Kākatiya period but grew more than before. Treatises on classical dance written by sage Bharata and others, were regularly studied by poets and scholars as well. Like other Sciences, brāhmins also learnt and studied this art. Sūrāmātya, father of Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya, the author of the Telugu work, *śōḍaśakumāracaritra*, is praised as the modern *Bharatācārya*.³¹ Some of the brāhmins made their living by teaching it to the courtesan girls, who paid their *kaṭṇams* to their gurus on *Davana-Punnama*. Some of the kings of this age were skilled in the science of Dance. King Viśvēśvara of the Caḷukya family of Elamañci, king Kumārāgiri

30. “प्रेम्यप्रज्ञामतिशयवतीं स्वामिभक्तञ्च हृद्या
दाकौमाराद्गणपतिनृपो जायनं यं समर्च्य
गुण्डामात्ये सकलसुमनः सेव्यमानोजयन्तम्
वाचांपत्यौ हरिर्विवक्ला श्लाघनीयां व्यद्वेषीत् ॥

As the following *śloka*, purporting to give the opinion of the great Sanskrit scholar and master of all Sciences, Vira Bhallata dēśika, who flourished in the court of Kākati, Pratāparudra, is found in a work on *Nāṭya Śāstra* in the Tanjore Palace Library, S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garus suggests that the opinion, whatever that might be given by Vira Bhallata, must have related to a question concerning Nāṭya. He puts forth this piece of evidence, though frail, to show that Pratāparudra also was a patron of Nāṭya See, *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7.

“इतीवकथयामास वीरभल्लाटदेशिकः
प्रतापरुद्रदेवस्य सन्निधौ सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥

31. ४. “.....

నాటకముఖకావ్యం నాట్యరహస్యం

హృదయ నిపుణ పజ్ఞా

పాటవచాతుర్య మాత్రం కరకాచార్య” —VIII, v. 91.

and his prime-minister and brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and Singabhūpāla of the Rēceṅḷa family, were all adepts in the science of Nāṭya. Some of these wrote commentaries on old treatises on Dance and also original works in Sanskrit. King Kumāragiri, son of Anavōtā Redḍi wrote *Vasantarājīyam*, an original work on Nāṭya, and his minister Kāṭaya Vēma wrote a commentary, *Kumāragirirājīyam*, on the dramas of Kālidāsa, in accordance with the tenets propounded in the former work. *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu deals with some of the *nṛttas* also then in vogue.

Many dramas were written in Sanskrit by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Singabhūpāla, Paśūpati Nāganātha, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and others. These dramas were generally enacted on the occasion of the *vasantamahōtsava* celebrations during the spring festival, or of the *kalyāṇamahōtsava* of local gods. Paśūpati Nāganātha, the court-poet of the Rēceṅḷa chiefs, wrote a drama named *Madanavilāsabhāṇa*³² for the occasion of the spring festival of god Kalyāṇa Nārāyaṇa. The *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa* of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was enacted at the time of the *Caitrayātrīmahōtsava* of god Virūpakṣa of Paṃpātīrtha. Similarly, the drama *Ratnapāñcīlāika*³³, written by Kumara Śiṅga II, son of Anavōtā Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, was put on boards on the occasion of the annual festival of Maillārādēva of Rājukoṇḍa. These instances are enough to show that it was a general custom to enact a drama of one of the ten types, in *pandals* temporarily improvised for the occasion, during the spring and other seasonal festivals. These plays were intended for learned scholars and the aristocracy. There are allusions either figuratively or otherwise to *nāṭakaśālās* or dramatic halls, and *nāṭakas* or dramas in contemporary Telugu literature³⁴. In private *nāṭakaśālās* lives of noted individuals of either sex were enacted in the form of a drama. The Telugu work, *Kṛīḍābhīrāmam*, mentions an instance of this kind. We are told that the life of Mācaladēvi, a reputed *vijayāṅganā*, and friend of Kākati Pratāparudra, was dramatised and

32. *Bhaṇa* is one of the ten types of dramas (*daśa-rūpakas*).

33. This work has been recently printed in the Trivendram Sanskrit Series, and translated also into Telugu and published by the Maharāja of Pithapuram.

34. “సంపెంక నాటకశాలల గలహంస

లతనుగీతంబుల నాడుచుండ” — VK. Cr., viii, v. 62.

“ప్రమథపురాతనపటుచరితములు

గ్రహమొందఁబడు నాటకము లాడువారు” — Pn. Cr., V, p. 435.

enacted in her *naṭakaśālas*.³⁵ There were however *nāṭyamaṇḍapas* in temples in all the important Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *kṣetras*, where the *lilas* of Śiva and Viṣṇu were played, to the accompaniment of instrumental music, by dancers who had *vṛttis* in the temple. *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* or the dancing hall had become one of the prominent features in the developed plan of temple-architecture during the middle ages. The traditional number of *nāṭyakāṭas* in the holy place of Śrīśailam is 'sixty four'. The Telugu poet, Śrīnātha, informs us that on the occasion of the *Śanivārōtsava* or the customary festival celebrated on every Saturday in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Dākṣharam, the *Gandharvas* and *Āpsaras* are said to have danced both in the *mārga* and the *dēśi* styles.³⁶

Women of the dancing class or courtesans, as stated already, were experts in dancing. Literature preserves the name of only one such woman, Lakumādēvi, who flourished in the reign of king Kumāragiri Redḍi of Koṇḍāviḍu. She was the leading danceuse in his court. It is said that she mastered the art of dance and won laurels, for interpreting the *bhāvas* in the *gītis* or musical compositions in a thousand ways,³⁷ from her patron Kumāragiri, who was himself an expert in the science of *nāṭya* as well as an art critic,

Side by side with the classical dance, the *dēśi* or the popular one was also well developed during these centuries. It had its own votaries. In fact, the *mārga* and the *dēśi*, the two styles of dance, like two streams issuing from the same fountain source, flowed through the country affording pleasure and enjoyment to two different strata of society the high and the low, the aristocracy and the common men. By the early mediaeval period, the advance which the *dēśi* had made was so great, and some of the dances in that style were so popular, that some of the *Bharatācārya*

35. Kd. Rm., v. 182.

“తెన్నకాక కిరాట యాలేమచరిత
మాదురు నాటకముగ నకనలనె”

36. Ks. Kh., III, v. 18.

37. Sr. Sr., p. 57.

जयति महिनालोकातीतः कुमारगिरिप्रभोः
सदमिलकुमादेवी यस्यप्रियासदृशी प्रिया
नवमभिनयं नाट्यार्थानां तनोति सहस्रधा
वितरति बहूनर्था नथिव्रजाय सहस्रशः ॥

gave their approval to them and included them in their works. Jāyapa Nāyaka describes, in his *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, some of these popular *dāśī* types,³⁸ like *Gonḍī* and *Cindu*. This work, it may be presumed, gave fresh impetus to the *dāśī* dance which was patronised both by the kings as well as by common people in the Kakatīya period.

Dāśī found a ready place in the festivals of local village deities. The popularity which these types enjoyed during the middle ages can be gauged from references to some of them in contemporary Telugu literature. *Perani*, *Gonḍī*, *Daṇḍolāsaka*, *Kanduka*, *Jakkini*, and *Cindu* were one of the popular dances of the day during the Redḍi period.

Perani is a kind of dance recital more or less 'akin to capers or gambolling'. It is called *Prāraṇi* also in Sanskrit. The descriptions,

38. भाषावेषविभूषणै रनुगुणैस्तैर्मनोहारिभिः
नानादेवरुचिर्विदग्धगुरुषा नावैजयन्तीगुणै
भूपासै रुपलालिता बहुकलैः प्रौढेव वाराङ्गना
देशीसंप्रवदन्ति सैन्यपतिना सान्द्रादरं वर्यते ॥
भवन्तिघरणीपालाः प्रायेणाभिनयप्रियाः
तस्मात्तत्प्रीयेद्यापि यदुत्पाद्यते नवम्
नृत्तं तत्तत्स्मृतं देशितत्तद्देशानुसारतः
भूतं शास्त्रमुखाद्ज्ञेयं भविष्यान्नावगद्यते ॥

* * * * *

तैर्यत्नियतविज्ञानमहातत्त्वविशारदै
मार्गदेशि विभागस्त विवेचन विचक्षणै
महाराजाधिराजेस्मिन् गणपत्यवनीश्वरे
समुद्रमेखलामेनां बहुनारक्षति क्षमाम् ॥
यादेशिवर्ततेलोके सास्माभिः कथ्यतेस्फुम्भ
निरूप्यते—धुना देश्यां स्थनिकानि यथाक्रमम् ॥

Taken from S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri's paper on "The Sanskrit poets of the Andhradesa-Jaya śaṇḍapāṭi" —Vide, The Telugu Journal, *Sarasvatī*, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 6-7. Mahāmahōpādhyāya S'ri P. S. Sastri, in his note on this work, states that the work closely follows Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.—T. C. S. M. (Madra) 1981-82 to 1983-84), Vol. VIII, Introduction.

left by Śrīnātha in his Telugu work, *Kāśikhandam*, give us to understand that this was a favourite dance of the Śaivas, and that Bhṛṅgīśvara was an expert in it.⁴⁰ This can even now be seen in Śiva temples in the Telugu country during festivals.

Gondli,⁴⁰ a type of the Sanskrit *Kundalīnṛtya*, was played in both the *mārga* and the *dāśi* styles⁴¹ by young women and girls, arranging themselves in rings or circles. *Nṛttaratnāvalī* states that the Western Cālukya king, Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, was the originator of this

39. “చాముండి యొగరించు జంపెతాళమునకు

భృంగీశ్వరుం డాడె బేరణంబు...” —Ks. Kh., IV.v. 296.

“అంగ నానాకి నానంద మొదల

భృంగి ముందటివంకఁ జేరణిమాప” —Pn. Cr., II.

“భ్రమరముల్ సాశేముల్ బయకముల్ మెలసి

రమణఁ బంచాంసి చేరినీ యాడువారు...” —Pn. Cr., V, p.485.

“జేగున నాడెడు చేరిణివిధము

సారాష్ట్ర నాయకుసంప్రదాయంబు...” —Bs. Pr., II, p. 30.

The Hindi speaking people play a kind of dance called *Peraḷi* in Hindi. It might be *Peraḍi* or *Ṭerapī* itself. *Peraḍi* is described as a variety of the *tanḍava* dance in which there is more of the movement of limbs and less of gesticulation.

40. In the Ahmadnagar district there is a kind of dance called *Gondhal*. “In the Ahmadnagar district, to the south-west of Nagpur the Gondhālis sing in honour of Devi during the day, and dance the *gondhal* at night. While dancing, the men wear long coats, shell-neck laces, and ankle bells, and they perform the *gondhal* regularly, during the Navarātra or nine nights preceding the festival Dasahra”. —Vide, “*The story of Indian Music and its instruments*” by Ethel Rosenthal. It seems likely that the *Gondli* of the Telugu country corresponds to the *Gondhal* of the Ahmadnagar district.

“వీరు మెలారజేవర వీరభటులు

గొండ్లియాడించుచున్నార గొరగపడుచు...” —Kd. Rm. v. 148.

41. “కుండలీన్మత్తంబు కోహలాద్యాచార్య

మతభేదముల దేశి మార్గ సరణి

చారి కాకరణాంగహార లీచకముల

భ్రమరి కావళుల వర్తనగతులను

నాడి మెప్పించు నెట్టి చోద్యంబో లేకుని...” —Ks. Kh., VI v. 169.

variety of dance." Sōmēśvara's encyclopaedic work, *Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi* alias *Mānasollāsa* was popular in the Telugu country both in the Kakatiya and post Kakatiya periods.

What is known as *Daṇḍalāsaka* in Sanskrit is called *Kōlāṭa* " in Telugu. Beautiful sculptural representations of girls playing on *Kōlāṭa* can be seen in some of the temples built during the Kakatiya and Vijayanagar periods.

Kandukakriḍa (*Kandukanṛtta*) is another variety of dance representing the play with a ball. The Telugu poet, Vallabhamātya, gives in his *Kriḍābhirāmam* a very fine description of young girls playing on ball with both their hands." King Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma describes this type in his *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*. From his description of *Kandukanṛtta*, extracted from one of the two available manuscript copies of his work, which has got small gaps, we are able to gather that it comprised appropriate glances, beating of the ball, and varied movements of both hands and feet, the latter representing also whirling movement (*bhramari*).⁴⁵

42. " సోమేశః కౌతుక్కి కాత్తిత్తిలివేషమపేయుషీమ్
 నృయంతి మథగాయంతీ స్వయం ప్రేప్యమనోహరమ్
 ప్రీతోనిర్మితవాం శ్చిత్తం గౌణిడనీ(గొణిడలీ)విధమద్భుతమ్
 స్వతో (తతో) మిల్లిమహారాట్టే గౌణిడలీత్యభిధీయతే ॥

— *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7; An, An., (1928), p. 829.

43. "జోలాటమును బాత్ర గొండ్లి పేరణియుఁ
 నేరిక జోకయు లీల నటించ..." —Ba. Pr., I, p. 22.
44. "పంచారింబిన లేతనన్నులపయిం బాలంబమల్ గాళిం గాఁ
 గాంచినాపుర కంకణ క్వణిణముల్ గర్జింప బాలాజనుల్
 కించిన్నయ్యించ దుదంచిత త్తమము గాఁ గ్రీడించెద యృదుమి
 చంచల్కొంచన కందుకరయములన్ సవ్యాపసవ్యంబులన్." —Kd. Rm., v, 90.

Jakkini " and *Cindu* " were also favourite dances of the people of this period. A fine description of *Cindu*, a favourite dance of the Saivas, is given in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. " Even at the present day, a variety of this dance is played in the temple of god Subrahmanyāśvara of Payanimalai in the South, and it goes by the name of *kāvaḍi-Cindu*, because the dancer dances with a *kavaḍi*, a yoke on his shoulders.

46. Dharaṇidēvula Rāmayamantri, author of *Dasavantaracaritra* describes 'jakkini' in his work as given below.

“దురుపదంబుల సొక్కు మెసిరుల వొక్క
సరిగ నిరుగల గుంచెయల్ సవరించి
పెక్కుగల జక్కి-చీకాపుర దొడ్డు వొక్క
చక్కని మెటారి నరపతుల్ సొక్కి-మాడె.” —VII, v. 286.

Vide, also Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra's *Ramabhyudayan*, II, v. 138.

“कुण्डली भोगवत्यान्तु कल्पिता माण्डकर्णिना
अयोध्यायां कृतापूर्वं पेण्णिवायुसूनुना
वूर्जरी द्वारवत्यान्तु कल्पिता बाणकन्यया
कालिकायाः कृतेजाता भङ्गेनैवजकिर्णी ॥ —An. An., (1928), p. 828.

47. “శంకుతో జండు వాడొక నది,
కొండల యాలల గుంపెడువారు...” —Pn. Cr., v. p. 484.

48. मृदङ्गकरटाकांस्य ताळकाहळवादकैः ॥
वाद्यमानेषु वाद्येषु प्रतिप्रहरणादिषु
रुद्राक्षाभरणैः श्लक्ष्णक्लुप्तभूतित्रिपुण्ड्रका
शिवैकतत्परा भक्ता नरानारीजनोऽथवा
श्रेणीभूताः प्रमोदेन गायन्तश्चन्द्रशेखरम् ॥
अङ्गैर्यथोचितैः पादैर्लास्याङ्गैर्गतिसंयुतैः
अन्योन्याभिमुखीभूय द्विधाभूताः कदाचन
कदाचिन्मण्डली भूता युक्तिभिर्बहुभङ्गिभिः
शिवोत्सवेषु कर्तव्यं नृत्तमेतच्छिवप्रियम् ॥
करताळयुतोपेतैर्वाद्यैर्वक्त्रभवैः सह
पादैर्ललितलास्याङ्गैश्चारिभिर्गतिभिस्तथा
गीताभिनयनोपेतैर्द्विपदैश्चिन्दुसंज्ञकैः
चिन्दुनृत्तमितिप्रोक्तं मिदं द्रविडवल्लभैः ॥

In addition to the above types there was another one, the *Pārasikanartana* (a type of Persian dance). This appears to have come into the Telugu country along with the Mussalmans. As it was probably popular in this period, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma introduced it into his treatise on Music, *Saṅgitacintamaṇi* and named it *Pārasika mattallī-nartana* ^{48a}, probably on account of its similarity to the *mattallī* dance, described by Bharatācārya in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*, and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it. This *mattallī-nartana* finds mention in the works of Srinātha ^{48b}.

Hallisaka, ⁴⁹ another variety of *goṇḍli*, was yet another popular dance of the variety of *maṇḍalakāraṇṭya*. This was one of the dances which continued to be popular in the Telugu country until the eighteenth century. ⁵⁰

48 a. D. C. S. M., (Trivendrum), Nos. 1417 and 1418.

हस्तपादप्रसारैश्च नीगमो (?) भ्रमगोन च
गालस्त चलने चापि।नेवयोर्धूनेन च ॥

खण्डसूची जानुगतप्रमुखैः स्थानकैरपि
योग्याभिभ्रमचारीभिलालितोद्धतभावतः ॥

नानागीतैः पारसीकदेशभाषाविनिर्मितैः
नृत्यं कुर्यात्तालयुक्तं कचित्तालविवर्जितम् ॥

एतद् भवेत् पारसीकदेश्यमत्तलिनर्तनम्
अलकन्दुकनृत्यं च मत्तलिनर्तनं तथा ॥

48 b. “హాలా హాన మొసర్చి యిద్దలును నన్యోన్యంబు మత్తలి కా
కేలీనృత్య విసాద కందుక మణి క్రీడావిహంగక్రియా
లీలాహాస్యక కా ప్రసంగముల నుల్లంఘించి వర్తింతు ర
కా-లంబున్ ఘటజన్మ కాశి నడుమన్ గర్వించి యశ్వేవతర్ ॥

49. Hemacandra defines it as follows :

—Ka. Kh., VI. 209.

मण्डलेनतुयन्मृत्यं हल्लासकमितिस्मृ-
एकस्तत्रतु नेतास्या द्वोपस्त्रीणां हरियेथा ॥

50. The Telugu poet, Kaṅkaṇṭi Paparaju, who lived in the early part of the eighteenth century, describes *hallisaka* in his *Uttara-Rāmāyaṇam* in the following verses as it was played in his time. This, however appears to be a different variety.

“అభినయంబులకోపు లరుదైన పిరుపుల్
వలయకాచ బదచాలి విధ మొక గు

There were other varieties of dance like *puspagandhikāṅṅya*⁵¹ and so on. In some dance recitals, beautiful maidens entertained the audience by their physical feats. Vallabhāmātya describes one such interesting dance. He says that arching herself back-wards, a young danceuse picked up a nose ornament which was placed at the bottom of a trough

లాగు మెసిరియుఁ బల్లటియుఁ గత్తియు పెళ్ళు-
 విలసిల్లు జక్కి-ఁజివిధ మొకర్తు
 బురుకడు చంక బంగరుబుట్ట తగుజాతి
 వినికెగాఁ గొరవంజివిధ మొకర్తు
 శీవిఁ దాళము బుగ్గడింపుచోఁ దీరుచో
 విఁత గాఁ జేరణివిధ మొకర్తు
 నలరి వినిపింపఁ జతి మెచ్చ నంత నిర్వ
 రిరువు రెనమండ్రుఁ బదియఁ బుగురును ముప్ప
 దిద్ద బులువది నలుపుగు హెచ్చుగాఁగ
 బఁతులై వంతు లాని య య్యింతులెల్ల.

అనోన్య హస్త దండావృత్తు రెనఁగ నొం
 దొరుల సామ్యఖ్యంబు లొంది యొంది
 యీవలావల వచ్చి యితరేతరము దొల్త
 నిలిచిన నెలవుల నిలిచి నిలిచి
 కంకణ మంజీర కాంచికల్ మ్రోయ న
 వ్యాప సవ్యస్ఫూర్తి జూపి చూపి
 తాళవాద్య రవానుకూలంబు గా మంద
 నృతమ్మడు గతులను గఱి తిరిగి
 యనుపమ రసోదయంబున నిభినవాతి
 చిత్రవర్తన భంగులఁ జెలఁగి చెలఁగి
 విడికడి మన్మథభోన్మద ద్విరదము లన
 నఖులు నాల్గిసకము నల్ప సంతసిల్లి” — VI, vv. 189—40.

51. “పిఠె మండిరోద్యానపీఠులం బల్లవాధరలు పుష్పగంధిశాస్త్రత్యంబులు పరిధ
 వించెదరు. వారె కొందఱు మండిర ప్రాంగణంబున వారాంగనా జనంబులు విచిత్ర
 శ్లోకంబు లనేక రాగంబులం గూర్చి లాస్యాంగం బుత్తమంబుగాఁ జూపెదరు.
 మఱియు నంతరాంతరంబులం బ్రచ్చేదన సైంధవ ద్విమాధకస్థిత పార్యాది మార్గా
 భినయ భేదంబులు రసభావ భావనామోద మధురంబుగా శాతోకరు లభిన
 యించెదరు...” —Kd. Rm., Pr. 257.

of water and adorned her nose with it; and that she threaded quickly small black glass beads into a necklace.⁵²

All the *dēśi* varieties of dance were incorporated in the *yakṣagāna*, the dance-drama. The period under review was the age which saw the beginnings of the *yakṣagāna* type of drama, which, later in the Vijayanagar period, became very popular in the Telugu country.⁵³ *Dhruvāgāna* or *daruvu* was extensively brought into play in this type of drama. Stories from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* formed, in a majority of cases, themes of these dance-dramas, which were enacted during nights, on a stage improvised in a street or on an open maidan. A curtain often beautifully imprinted with the figures of tigers⁵⁴ and other animals and trees, is held by two men on either side, at the commencement of a dance-recital or a drama, and before the entrance of every new character on the stage. The dress of a courtesan consisted of a silk cloth, jacket and breeches for the occasion of a dance recital.⁵⁵

Dance began with *puspāñjalivikṣē pa*, the scattering of flowers over the audience with the hands joined. Abdur Razak, who witnessed the *Mahānavami* celebrations at Vijayanagar, writes thus about the dance performance. "The part of musicians is generally filled by women. Some young girls, with cheeks as full as the moon, and with faces more lovely than spring, clothed in magnificent dresses, and showing features which, like the freshest rose, charmed

52. Kd. Rm., v. 144.

“పెనుకకు మొగ్గ వ్రాలి కడువిన్ననువొప్పుగ నొట్టి నీళ్లలో
మునిగి తదంతరస్థుగు మంగర ముక్కున గ్రుచ్చికొంచు
చెను రశనాప్రణాళమున శీఘ్రము గ్రుచ్చెను నల్లపూసచే
రనుపమలీల నిప్పడు చుపాయము లిట్టివి యెట్లు నేర్చెనో.”

I am indebted to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya for the correct reading of the verse as given above.

53. Consequently *yakṣagāna* was alluded to in one of the important treatises on music in Sanskrit, named *Saṅgītasudhā* by Ragunatha Nayaka, written about 1628 A. D. Until this date it was not even referred to in music, in any of the treatises. *Trivēṇī*, Vol. VII, 188-89.

54. “తెరల వ్రాసిన వ్రాత దీపించు పులులకు
మదిలోగు జందురుమచ్చయిట్టి” — Sr. Mh., IV. v. 998.

55. “రమణ ద కూలాంబరమును గంచుకము
నమరించికొని చల్లడము బిగియించి
యేతెమ్మ నీవు పురాతమ్మ! శీఘ్ర
మాతమ్మగ నృత్య మాడుదుగాని” — Ba. Pr., III. p. 62.

every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the king. On a sudden, the curtain was raised and again fell, and the damsels arranged themselves for dance, with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind.”⁵⁶ From the traditional practice now in vogue, it may be said that, in dramatic performances, each character, as he or she entered on the stage for the first time, announced to the audience his or her role through *dhruvāgāna*, to the accompaniment of dance. Then dropped the curtain. This variety of entertainment is suggested to us by a description of the evening twilight in the west in a verse in Eṣṣā Pregada's *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa*. Therein the poet compares the twilight to a great new purple curtain which the *sūtradhūri*, namely Time, held before the damsel of Night, in order to dance gracefully in the presence of a host of the lords of the Quarters.⁵⁷ Such was the advance that the art of dance had made during the age of the Reddis. The Reddi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram kept the kingly tradition well in maintaining and developing the art of dance, the invaluable heritage which was left to them by their predecessors, the Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

Besides these, other entertainments like puppet shows and other plays, are referred to in the *Pāṇḍitūradhyacuritra*.⁵⁸ The puppet show

56. Major,—Abdur Razak, pp. 36-37.

“అపినిశంబుగ నంత నార్జునుం బిచ్చి
జవనిక రప్పించి సరసమై నిలిచి
పొలుపకు ముఖరసంబును సౌష్ఠవమ్ము
లవియు భావంబు భూకళియు రుపంకళియు
మఱియు శేవయు విభ్రమమును రేఖయును
నెఱయుగ నీరీతి నృత్యంబు సలప ...” —Bs. Pr., III, p. 62.

57. “సుకుచిర తారకా కుకుమశోభి నభోగజభూమిఁ గాలమ

స్థువపు సూత్రధారి జతినంబున నిక్కణికోటి నాందటన్

నరసముగా నటింపఁగ నిశాసతి కెత్తిన క్రొత్తతోపుఁడె

చెరఁగిన నొప్పు సాంధ్యనాన దీక్షితి పశ్చిమనిక్కటంబునన్.” —Nr. Pr., III, v. 78.

58. “ప్రమథ పురాతన పటాచరీతములు

గ్రహమొంద బహునాటకము లాడునాగు

లఃతాంగ దిశకళాలంకార శేఖ

లలవద బహుకూప మాడెడు నాగు

also was given during nights.⁵⁹ Dommaris danced and played on ropes and poles, and magicians and jugglers showed their wonderful tricks, and dexterous feats. They won the appreciation and admiration of Abdur Razak who specially writes in his account of travels about elephant feats. Vijayanagar was neighbour to Konḍavīḍu. If these feats of skill and strength were shown at Vijayanagar they might as well have been shown at Konḍavīḍu also in the same period. Art knew no political barriers.

Magic and jugglery were also very popular in the period under review. This science consisted of many *vidyas*, namely, *jalastambhana*, *śilastambhana*, *sthilastambhana*, *agnistambhana*, *vāgustambhana*, *rasustambhana*, *raktastambhana*, *indrajala*, *mahēndrajala*, *adrśyakaraṇa*, *adrśyāḥkaraṇa*, *nastarastastamuddharana* and the like, which are mentioned in contemporary Telugu works.⁶⁰

కళామూల మెరవలలో గతులు జిత్రములు

నరుదుగ వెడల మాడెడువారు

నమరాంగనలు ఓవి నాడెడుమాడ్కి-

నమరాంగ నడలపై నాడెడువారు

నావియద్గతిఁ బట్టి లాడెడునట్టి

భావన మ్రోసులపై నాడువారు

భారతాది కథలఁ జీరమణుఁగుల

నారంగ బొమ్మల నాడించివాగుఁ

గడునడ్డుతొంటుగఁ గంటమాత్రంబు

లవరంగ బొమ్మల నాడించువారు

వాదలు గంధర్వ యక్షవిద్యాధి

రాదులై పాడెడు నాడెడువారు

విధమునఁ బ్రచ్ఛన్న వేషముల దాల్చి

* * * *

జనులు హర్షింప నానానముల సోచ్చి

యనుకుల వివిధ వాద్య సమేళనము న

నాగ్భటం బెచ్చి యొయ్యన జవనకల

గర్భంబు వెడలి యక్క-జనుఁ బట్టిల్ల . . . ” —Pn. Cr., V, pp. 435-37.

59. “అప్పు నిద్రించునాయులు

బొమ్మలంటలు గన్తు భోగి పగి

—Pu. Ph., I, v. 24.

60. Sm. Dv., II, xi, p. 112.

A wonderful story illustrative of this art is narrated in the Telugu kāvya, *Sinhāsanadvaitaśikā* (Sm. Dv., II, xi, 30th story, pp. 106-113). This story, on an examination, is found to be merely an adaptation of the one taken from the Jain

Hunting :

Hunting was a favourite pastime of kings and nobles. Telugu poems of this period describe very elaborately and in vivid colours the game and the mode of hunting wild animals and birds,⁶¹ and also mention the various implements and weapons used in hunting.⁶²

work, *Trisāṣṭisāṁskapurusa-caritra*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, pp. 200-209, "Story of the magician in the form of a Vidyadhara" (381-522), (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXVII). The Jains appear to have developed this art greatly, and this statement is supported by tradition current in the country.

61. "అచటం జెనుటకోక యమరించి కుడిచేతఁ

గడిచి డేఁక బట్టి యెడనుచేత

నెఱక లొత్తొక జక్కఁ జెరివి మో మాక్షించి

కొఞ్చ కక్కెరలను గదియవైచె." — Sm. Dv., I, v. 235.

62. "పలల కావట్లు చివ్వంగుల బండులు

తిరుచుట్టు బొంగు కాలురులు చీరె

తెరులు నుగ్గంబులు దీమముల్ మారము

లైక దారికత్తులు మెకముబోను

లొఱపైన గొడ్డండ్లు మెఱుంగు బల్లెంబులు

తట్టగొమ్మలు పులిచెట్టు మందు

బలువిండ్లు బొట్టగోలలు హోటమోకులు

గొరక త్తరమ్మలు కరకణీలు

నాదిగా వేటలకు యోగ్యమై తనర్పు

సాధనంబులు సవరించి సరభసమున

నాటవిక సైన్య మే తెంచి యధిపుఁ గాంచి

దండములు పెట్టి నిలిచి ప్రతాప మలర." — RK. Cr., III. v. 70.

"తఱచుగా జల్లిదంతపు చిల్లలమర

చిఱుతకత్తులు వలచెంపలఁ జెరివి

పసిడికానుల నొప్పు బలుపందిగొట్టు

చెసఁ బూని చాటున వేటకుక్కలును

బట్టుపట్టెడ త్రాళ్లు బలువుగాఁ బట్టి

దట్టంపుమూఁతల దండడి నడువ" — Nv. Cr., I. p. 87.

"దీమంపువేటలు దామెనవేటలు

తెరవేటలును నేర్పు తెరలికలును

బంజెమాడినభంగిఁ బండుల నొప్పింపఁ

బూటకాం ద్రవందగు వేటకాండ్రు

A pack of hounds (*jāgilamulu*) were attached to each royal palace, and a special staff of servants to look after them. The hounds were called *nagari-jāgilamulu*, and the servants that tended them *nagari-kukkulu*.⁵³ The Telugu *kāvya*, *Rukamāṅgadacaritra*, mentions the names of hounds, such as Gaḍikōṭa Basuvaśaṅkaruḍu, Copparikāḍu, Kātrēḍu, Jagajeṭṭi, Gaḷipadāga, Koṇḍiḍu, Puliyamārkōluganḍanḍu, Baṇḍi Mallāḍu, Veṇḍigudiya, Ciccugōḷa, Veṇḍigunḍu, Adibhairavūḍu, Bhūtabhairavūḍu, Calipidugu and Talāri.⁵⁴ It is interesting to find in them the name of Puliyamarkōluganḍanḍu, the well-known title borne by some of the Vijayanagar nobles of this period.

Duels :

Some of the Telugu works of this period contain descriptions of duels, thereby indicating the prevalence of the custom of duel-fighting. This fact is corroborated by the accounts of foreign travellers as well.

సారమేయంబులై సారమేయంబుల
పట్టెడ గొలుసులు పట్టి నడువ
భేరండ గండగంభీరత్వ మడిగించు
భేరిరవంబులు బోరుకొనగ
వారువమునెక్కి మితపరివారుఁ డగుచుఁ
బోటు కాండ్రును వడిగల రేటు కాండ్రు
వాటపడ వెన్న నరుదేర వేట గదలె
మందరంబున కవని పురందిరుండు.” — Sm. Dv., II, VIII, V. 22.

63.దానిఁ గోప మడరఁ
బొడిచె బిడాలంబు, నొడయని నగరికు
క్కలవారు చంపిరి కడఁగి దాని...” — Kb. Cr., II, V. 114.

64. “గడికొట బసువశంకరుండు చొప్పురి కాఁడు
కాట్రేండు జగజ్జెట్టి గాలిపడగ
కొండీడు పులియమాక్కొలుగండండును
దురుగాలి మాష్ట్రేండు దొంగబొబ్బాగు
బండిమల్లండు పెండిగండు చిచ్చురుగోల
పట్టుగొల్లెన భూతభైరవుండు
కొడమసింగము పెండిగుదియ కొటలగొంగఁ
డాద్దిభైరవుండు మోహనమురారి
చలిపిడుగు విక్రమార్కుండు బలుదలారి
యనెడునామంబులను బేర్పు నవనినాథు
నగరి జాగిలముల వేర్చి తగినరీతి
గొలుసులను బట్టి చని రాక్కొ కొండ బుత్తుడు” — Rk. Cr., III, V. 69.

Koravi Gōparāju's *Siṃhāsanaadvātrimśika* vividly describes a duel fought between two *leṅkas* or servants during a spring festival (*vasantōtsava*) in the reign of king Vikramarka of Ujjain. Even though the author narrates the stories of the famous king, Vikramārka, he describes therein only contemporary life, and gives a full account of the duel as fought in his days, in one of the stories which runs as follows.

During the celebration of the spring festival, it was the custom to sprinkle camphor, perfumes like sandalpaste, and saffron over people. While coming through the crowds, Kalahakaṇṭha, a servant of king Vikramārka, shook off the sandal-paste which had fallen on his moustache with his hand. Just at that time an Ēkāṅgavīra, a servant of another king, who happened to pass near by him, observed him, and out of his arrogance thought that he was twirling his moustache insultingly, as if to challenge him to a fight with him. After some altercation, both wanted to fight a duel, each to show his superiority over the other. Immediately they took out their shawls, and drew out their daggers, when the *talavartu*, or police-men, came on the spot, and separated them, saying that lanes and narrow streets were not the proper places to fight duels. They led them to the audience hall of the king where the commander, was informed of what had happened. The people there dissuaded them from fighting; but Kalahakaṇṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra did not give heed to their advice. As soon as the king entered the hall and took his seat on the throne, the minister represented to him that Kalahakaṇṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra were asking for the permission of the king to fight the duel. The king, unwilling to give permission for fear that they would die, was assured by his minister that he and the other king whose servant Ēkāṅgavīra was, would act as seconds and see that no one was mortally wounded. Then the king gave his assent after asking each of the fighters to pronounce his bet. People were then asked to sit quiet, and *talavartu* were posted here and there to see that no disturbance arose. Weapons to be used in the duel were then measured, so as to be of the same length, and placed on the ground in the midst of four servants, with instructions to the fighters to pick them up, while even the word was in the course of being uttered. Lime fruits were offered to the duellists and the duel then began.⁶⁵

In this connection, the poet exhibits his knowledge of the duel by describing the bets and mentioning the technical terms relating

to different glances," and expedients which the duellist employed to seize and overcome his opponent. In this connection he also describes the dress and other equipment⁶⁷ of Kalahakanṭha who came prepared for the duel.

66. The different glances mentioned are *kaka-drṣṭi*, *sūkara-drṣṭi*, *marjala-drṣṭi*, *bhallūka-drṣṭi*, *kapi-drṣṭi*, *grahra-drṣṭi*, *phañi-drṣṭi*, *cōra-drṣṭi*, and *sardūla-drṣṭi*, altogether nine.

“మరిగొక దృష్టి నేమఱక రక్షించుచు

నూకరదృష్టి మై ధాక గొలిపి

గర్జననీయక మాజ్జాలదృష్టి మై

దరలక పరుఁ జించి, తోఁకఁబూని

భల్లూకదృష్టి నపొంగ సంకఠిఁ గని

కపిదృష్టి వంచించి కాపు నూపి

చేష్టఁ దప్పక గృధ్రదృష్టి గనుంగొని

యొయ్యన ఫణిదృష్టి నొడియఁజూచి

మనసు దేఱఁజూచియును బాడ కున్నట్లు

దృఢము గాఁగఁ జోరదృష్టి నడఁగి

జంకి మీఁద నొడిసి, శార్దూలదృష్టిఁ బై

బడుట సురియ కాండ్ర పంఠమిదియ.”

— Sm. Div., II, Vii, v. 62.

The bets of the duellists are given below.

“పుల్లతి వట్టిన భూమికిఁ గొసరిన

నెదిరిపోటునకుఁ జే యొడుగుచున్న

దండ కైదప్పినఁ దప్పకై కృతీకినఁ

బంఠంబుగొన్నఁ జొబళముఁ గొన్న

దాణికిఁ జొచ్చిన దాఁదిన మానిన

నరువనొడ్డిన బయలాసపడినఁ

బాఁగఁ బొడవకున్న లాఁగంబునకుఁ గొన్న

మడమ గెంటిన వ్రేళ్లు మగుడఁబడిన

దాఱుమాఱులైనఁ దలవంచి పొడిచిన

బారుగాఁ దలంచు పంఠ మిదియె

కదిసి యొక్క నోటు పదిముఖంబులుగాఁగఁ

బొడుచువాడఁ దేవ రడుగులాన.”

Ibid, V. 60.

67. “కఱకంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గాసించి

చెలితాడు కాసెపై బలియఁజూట్టి

దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోహకంచుకలీల

జిగి బిగిగల నల్లజగు రమర్చి

Animal fights were also popular pastimes in the early mediaeval period. The Western Cālukya king, Sōmēśvara, devotes a full chapter to these *vinōdas* in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*. In that chapter, he describes elephant fights, buffalo fights, bull fights, cock fights, ram fights and horse fights and the like, besides duels between men. In this connection he gives the different dimensions of the arena for each of the contests, and the method of preparing it. There are allusions to these fights in the contemporary literature. Elephant and horse fights however, appear to have become obsolete in the Reddi period; for, they are not alluded to in any of the contemporary Telugu works. Accounts of foreign travellers also attest to the existence of duel fights. Marco Polo writes about the duels he witnessed in South India. "If any one desires," writes he, "to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him, he spits this tambul leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the king, relates the insult that has been offered him and demands leave to fight the offender. The king supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for, this the king forbids⁶⁸."

The account of the duel given by Koravi Gōparāju is almost corroborated to the letter by that given by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official, who was in the service of the Portuguese government in India from about 1500 A. D., to about 1516-17 A. D., that is, exactly a century after the close of Kumāragiri Redd's reign. His account is as follows :

నక్షత్రలంబున రక్షపూసలపేరు
దండతాయెఱుఁగును దగ ధరించి
తిలకంబు దళముగాఁ దీర్చి చెంగులపాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొల్లె మలవరించి
కేలఁ బుల్లతియును నీలిహులునఁ బూని
కేలిగతిఁ గటారికోల వట్టి
సంగడిలు గొల్వఁ జనుచెంచె నొకమత్త
గజముభంగి నలహకంటకుండు." — Ibid, V. 45.

“నగుమొగ మలరంగఁ గస్తురి
తిగుగు మెయి స్తులఁది కాసె దిట్టమై మెఱయన్
మగతనముఁ గటారియుఁ దో
డుగ నయ్యేకాంగవీరుఁడుం జనుచెంచెన్.” — Ibid, V. 47.

"They (people) are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the person challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure, that of the one of the same length as the other. The king appoints seconds, and field for the fight⁶⁹, and when this has been done, they go together naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles with very cheerful faces. Then, after saying their prayers, they begin to fight, and as they are bare, it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of whom stands by his own man, and this is such a common practice among them, that some are slain daily."⁷⁰

The above account refers to the duel fight as practised in Canara; yet, it is not a whit different from what Gōparāju describes, even though the time and locality differ. This account supports the truth that South Indian culture in all its phases, has been essentially the same, whatever locality might be taken into consideration. The lapse of even hundred years did not bring any noticeable change in the procedure adopted in duelling.

There were gymnasiums which were called *gariḍis* or *variḍi-śālas* where wrestling, duel, and sword-play were regularly practised, both in the mornings and evenings.

Bull Fights Etc :

Besides duels, there were bull and ram fights, and cock and buffalo fights⁷¹. Vallabhāmatya gives a spirited description of the ram and cock fights^{71a} in his drama *Kriḍābhīramam*. The Telugu poet

69. Cf. The following passage in the *Sinhāsana dvātrīṃsika*. pr. 64.

“నట్టియు నంగాధీశ్వరుండును నిలువనిబడి విస్తారంబు గలగన్ నైహళి దీర్చి యెల్ల జనులం గూర్చుండనిడి గలబ పుట్టమండ నెడనెడం నలవనుల నిలిపి సత్తైదువారల మాట మాటలలోనఁ బట్టుండను నియమించి నలువురు బంట్ల నడుమ నిడి కఠారంబు లొక్క-కొలదిగాఁ గొలిచి నిమ్మపండ్ల దొడసి యెడ గలగఁ బంట్లచేతి కిచ్చినం బమ్ము కొని యత్వీరులు మానువారి మాపుగమలకల్లఁ దార లక్ష్యంబు లగుచు ధీర ధీరఁబుగఁ జొచ్చి—

70. Barbosa, Vol. I, pp. 190-191.

71. Sv. Mh., IV, Pr. 43.

71-a. “మేష కుక్కుట కరేలు లొప్పుక కపింజల యుద్ధంబులు. పిక్షించువారును”

Anantāmātya compares the fight between the prince Pāvakalōma and an asura in his work *Bhōjarājīyam* to the fight of bulls, rams, cocks and male-buffaloes.⁷² The ballad of the Palnāji heroes, *Palnāṭivīracaritra*, gives a lively description of cock-fighting⁷³ as practised in the mediaeval period. Cock-fighting was one of the main reasons for the annihilation of the ōkāṅga heroes of Palnāḍu.⁷⁴ In fact, these animal fights were not new to the period under review. They were in vogue in the country, centuries before the Reddi rule. They had been a regular feature of the social life of the people.

Sports and Games:

The Telugu literature of this period alludes to some of the childrens' sports and games which were in vogue in those times, like kite-flying and plying with tops. The latter game is fully described in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*.⁷⁵ Besides these there were others like *rāguṇījupōguṇījulāṭa*, *kundena*, *gudīgudīguguṇījambulāṭa*, *appplavindulayāṭa*, *sariguṇījulāṭa*, *ciṭṭapōṭṭilāṭa*, *gōraṇṇulāṭa*, *cērahantalayāṭa*, *cappaṭlu-pēṭṭuṭa*, *digudīgudikkomunṭāṭa*, and *dāguḍumūṭalāṭa*.⁷⁶ Of these, some are completely forgotten, and others, like *gudīgudīguguṇījamu*, *ciṭṭapōṭṭilāṭa*, *kundena*, and *dāguḍumūṭalu* (hide and seek), are popular in the countryside even today.

There were some indoor games and recreations which were generally played by young men and women. These were more commonly played in the aristocratic families. These were *anjisogaṭālu*,

72. Vide, V, Pr. 118.

73. The institution of cock-fighting was common both to India and the island of Java. Nicolo de Conti described cock-fighting, which he had witnessed in Java thus in his account of travels: "The amusement most in vogue amongst them (the Javanese) is cock-fighting. Several persons will produce their birds for fighting each maintaining that he will be the conqueror. Those who are present to witness the sports make bets amongst themselves upon these combatants, and the cock that remains conqueror decides the winning bet".—Major, Conti, p. 16.

74. v. 119.

75. Pv. Cr., pp. 42-47.

76. "పాండంగ రాగుంజుపోగుంజులాట,
గుండెన గుడిగుడిగుంజంబులాట,
యప్పలవిందులయాట, వల్కూలు
జప్పట్లు పెట్టుట, సరిగుంజులాట,
సేరబొంతలయాట, సిట్లపొట్లలాట,
గోరంటలాట, దాగుడుమూతలాట
దీక్షాని దిగుదిగుదిక్కి—నునాట
లాకాంక్ష నాతోడ నాడిదువాడు..." — Pv. Cr., II, p. 460.

accanagaṇḍlu, *ōmanaguṇṭalu*, and *jūdamu*". Of these *sogaṭālu* and *jūdamu* are nothing but dice and gambling, which were the favourite pastimes of princes and princesses, kings and queens, and paramours and their favourite concubines. It may be because the number of dice used in the game was five that the game is called *anjisogaṭālu* (*anji* means five). *Nettamu* means gambling and also a bet. It appears that there are ten kinds of bets.⁷⁶ *Nettamāṭa* (gambling) is referred to in the Telugu works of this age.⁷⁷ The game of *accanagaṇḍlu* is a favourite game even at the present day with young girls, in all castes in the Telugu country. As the name itself implies, it was played with small pebbles (*kaṇḍlu* - plural form of *kallu*, a stone). They are tossed up and caught on the back of the hand. This game, also called *accanagāyulu*, may be played by either two or more persons. *Ōmanaguṇṭalu* is another popular indoor game. It is played in many of the families in the Telugu country even at the present day. This game in common parlance is called *Vāmanaguṇṭalu*. It consists of two foldable planks either of wood or of metal, in the shape of fish etc., with a row of seven depressions in each plank. It is generally played by two persons, each being in charge of one side consisting of seven depressions. Each of the seven hollows in each plank, is filled with thirteen small round pebbles or tamarind seeds, as it is now done. Each of the players who succeeds in depleting the hollows of the pieces in the other side, is considered the

77. "సరిలేని యంబసాగటా
లరుదగు జూదంబు నెత్త మచ్చన గండ్లున్
దిరమగు నోమనగుంటలు
సరసతమెయి నాడుచున్న సతులం గనుయోగి..."—Bj. Rj., V. v. 36.

87. "నశవిధముల నెత్తంబుల
శతముల యే నెత్త మడిగె జయ్యన నది త
వ్వశ మగు ద్యౌతవిధిజ్ఞుల
ప్రశంస యొనరింప నాస్యపతి లజ్జింపన్..."—Ibid, VII, v. 129.

79. Sm. Dv., II, VI, v. 90.

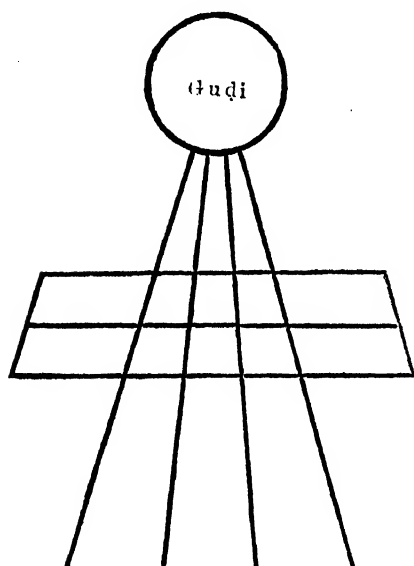
The terminology connected with gambling is known from the Telugu works *Bhōjaraṭṭyam* and *Sinhāsanaadvitrinsika*; for instance, we come across terms, like *nettalu sarelu* (pawns or pieces used in the game of gambling), *palaka* (a dice board), 'pacikalu' (dice in gambling) etc. The following passages from the latter work mentioned above, may be noted with interest.

"నందియు జాగరంబును దిగయును
గాళ నా గేటిపడిన యచ్చులలో నేయచ్చెన..."—II, X, v. 87.

"తలంపు గతి వచ్చుగోరిన చాయ మనగ..."—Ibid.

winner. This game is called *pallāṅguḍi* in Tamil meaning fourteen pits. Sometimes, a person also plays it singly, when it forms a kind of *solitaire*.

There was another interesting game, not necessarily an indoor one, a gambling using three tigers as pawns in the game⁸⁰, called *puli-jūdamu*, or *pululu mēkalu*⁸¹ in Telugu, that is, tigers and goats. It is played even now in the interior villages in Andhra by the common folk both youngsters and elders. Till very recently it was popular among the higher classes also. In Tamil it is called *padinaṁdānpuli*. This game is now slowly dying out.



Puli-jūdamu

The game is played, with stones on any ground surface marked out with a diagram, as shown in the margin, by only two persons, one representing the three tigers, and the other, representing the goats, altogether fifteen in number. One takes three large stones which are called *pululu*, and the other has about fifteen small stones called *mēkalu*. The stones are moved from point to point on the figure, the objects of the game being for the tigers to eat up the goats, and for the goats to hem in the tigers and arrest their movement. The apex of the triangle is called either *koṇḍa* or *guḍi*, and the tiger that is stationed there never leaves his post. It can be occupied by a goat, only

if the tiger is absent there and not otherwise.

80. “తగులు విరిపియెనఁ గడు పె
చ్చుగ నాడుదుఁ బులుల మూఁట జూదంబుల”
మిగులఁగ నేర్పరి బాగిడి
తిగుటకొ సాగటాల నే నతిపొధన్.”—Sm. Dv., II, X, v. 91.

81. From Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta's paper published in J.R.A.S.B., Vol. VIII (Letters), pp. 151-155 (1942), we come to know that this game is also played in the

Such were the games and amusements which were in vogue in the Reddi period. There might have been many more means of recreation; but here are described only those which are referred to in the literature of the period.

Khasse and Jaintia Hills District in Assam, and is called *Bam blang beh khla*, which term literally means "to eat goat, to drive tiger"—a name almost akin to the Telugu one, '*pululu, mēkalu*', tigers and goats. The rule of the game, as well as the diagram used also, is almost the same as that in practice in the Telugu country. We are further told that a similar game "as far as the rule of the game is concerned but with altogether a new diagram, is prevalent in the United Provinces, Bengal, and in the Central Provinces. "

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE AND PAINTING

The age of the Redḍi kings was particularly marked by a revival of Hindu arts in general; yet, any school of Architecture, patronised and specially developed by them, does not seem to have flourished. Their name is not associated with any of the great temples in the coastal Andhra country. Though it was a period of Hindu religious revival and of an intensely religious atmosphere, it is interesting to note the absence of any great temples ascribed to the Redḍi monarchs, the custodians of art-culture, handed over to them by their predecessors, the Kakatīyas of Warāṅgal. This absence may possibly be accounted for in either of two ways, namely, the temples built by the Redḍi kings must have been mostly destroyed during the period of Muslim invasions, and in the subsequent periods of Hindu-Muslim rivalry; or it may be that the Redḍi kings, having been busy in setting right things, that were undone by the Muslim kings during their occupation of the country, did not newly build any great temples, but got the partly-destroyed temples re-constructed, the dilapidated ones repaired, and the defiled ones re-consecrated. It cannot be argued that the Redḍi kings who were religious to the core, did not evince much interest in the construction and preservation of the temple, that exercised great influence on the culture of the Hindu nation in olden days.

Gṛharāja-saudha :

It is, however, interesting to note that, as far as architecture is concerned, the name of the Redḍi kings is associated, in tradition, with the construction of what is called *gṛharāja-saudha* or *gṛharāju-mēḍa*. The *Koṇḍaviṭi-daṇḍakavile* and the *Local records* give currency to an old traditional story relating to poet Śrīnātha. The story runs thus: Once Śrīnātha visited the court of king Harihara II of Vijayanagar. While he was there Harihara II expressed his desire to build a single-pillared palace, impossible for others to build. Out of vanity to proclaim the greatness of his patron-lord, Śrīnātha told Harihara II a lie that such a palace was already constructed by his patron at Koṇḍaviḍu. Astonished at this statement, Harihara II sent his spies to Koṇḍaviḍu to find out the truth. Fearing that it would bring dishonour on him as well as on his master if the lie was discovered, Śrīnātha prayed to his tutelary god, and got such a palace erected at Koṇḍaviḍu instantaneously. It is said that a crab tree, commonly called baubal

(*Mymiosa Arabica*), which was as tall as seven palmyra trees, and as broad as to be circumscribed by seven cables (*ṛḍu mōkulu* of fixed length), was brought from the village of Navulūru, and employed in the construction of the one-pillared mansion of *gṛharāju-mēda*. Having come to know the truth of Srinātha's statement, king Harihara II was pleased much, and bestowed upon him many honours and presents.

Though this story has no historical basis whatsoever, it seems however true, that there was a great mansion called *gṛharāju mēda* at Koṇḍaviḍu. Its existence is attested to by the inscriptions of the Redḍi kings. It has, however, to be pointed out here that neither Srinātha, nor his patron king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi, had anything to do with this special type of building. It was due to king Kumāragiri Redḍi, an artist (*kalāvan*) in every sense, who raised many types of buildings, including this famous *gṛharāja-saudha*. The Gōpavaram¹ and the Komaragirivaram² grants of Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi, dated in Śaka 1317 and Śaka 1330, describe the activities of king Kumāragiri Redḍi as follows: Vasantarāya (another name of Kumāragiri) constructed many pleasure houses (*līlāgrhān*) with gold and precious stones, a lofty palatial mansion, termed *gṛharāja-prāsāda* with pinnacles (*prāsādam-unmata śikhā gṛharāja-samjñam*), pleasure-ponds (*kriḍāsarāmsi*) and pleasure-chariots (*kāḷi-radhān*), and sported with his beloved women³ (*prīyābhī*). This earliest reference to *gṛharāja-prāsāda*, in the records mentioned above, clearly proves that it was constructed by Kumāragiri Redḍi, and not by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Redḍi or any other. References to this *gṛharāju-mēda* are found in a *caṭu* verse⁴ current in the Telugu country, which furnishes the periods of rule of individual Redḍi kings, and the duration of their aggregate rule, and also in the Phiraṅgipuram inscription⁵ of

1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 213 v. 20.

2. Ibid, pp. 205 ff.

3. “लीलागृहान् कनकरत्नचयैरनकान्
प्रसादमुन्नतशिखागृहराजमंजम्
क्रीडासरांसि च विधाय वसन्तरायः
केलीरथानसि महाग्मतप्रियाभिः॥ — v. 18.

4. “ఏతఁ నోమటి వేమన యరువజేండ్లు
రాచవేమన్న నాల్గవర్షముల నేలె
మించి కట్టిరి గృహరాజుమేడ కొండ
పీఠ నూతేండ్లు రెడ్లు ధూవిదిత యశులు.” —Ct. Mm., I. p. 31.

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff; A. Phirangipuram inscription, p. 312.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. From the verse in the Phiraṅgipuram record referring to this *saudha*, we come to know that goddess Lakṣmī⁶ was enthroned and worshipped there with all civilities. This fact is further corroborated by the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu that it was the abode of the goddess Ādilakṣmī Kāmāśvarī⁷.

6. “अथातम् गृहगजसौधनिवमलक्ष्मीकराभ्यन्तम्

क्रोडाभोरुहताळवृत्तनटन प्रस्ताववित्तारितः

वायुः केसरावापनामुरमितो यस्यार्थिचिन्तामगो

द्रांगाचामिदानकेळित्रनितं स्वेदाम्मसां जालकम्॥” —Ibid, v. 12.

The following passage referring to *Gṛharaju-mēḍa* is taken from the *Kaifiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu.

“ఈగొండాలను దక్షిణం పూర్వం రెడ్లవారు కట్టించిన ఒహుసృజలమైన కోనేరు వున్నది. ఈ ప్రదేశమందు రెడ్లవారియొక్క రాజగృహములు అని చెప్పినారు. ఈకోనేటికి సన్నిహితముగా ఉన్న ఆనకొని గృహరాజుమేడదిబ్బ అని వున్నది. రెడ్లవారు సృభుత్వంచేసి కాలమందు కోమటి వేమారెడ్డిగారు త్రినాథునివారియొక్క సృభావంచేత నవులూరి పోతురాజు దేవాలయం దగ్గరవున్న యేడుతాళ్ళ పొడుగున్నూ, యేడు మోతులు తిరిగే లావున్నూ గల తుమ్మచెట్టు తెప్పించి స్తంభంగా చెక్కించి వంటిస్తంభం మేడ కట్టించి తమకు యిష్టమైన అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరి అమ్మవారికి సింహాసనస్థానముగా ఏర్పరిచి వైభవములు జరిగించి యీ మేడశిఖరానను బొల్లిమారు వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామి దేవాలయానను మకరతోరణం కట్టించినారట. ఇక్కడ వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారు వున్న కొండ సహజా తూర్పుగా వుంటుంది. ఈమేడను అనుకునే జడ్డిగాలభావి అనే కోనేరు వున్నది.”

—Sr. Sr., p. 109.

“.....అనేకుడైన కామాటీలను శిబ్బులను స్తంభం చెక్కించి (వెదకోమటి వేమారెడ్డిగారు) పట్నానను దక్షిణపూర్వము తమరాజగృహముల దగ్గర వంటిస్తంభం గృహరాజుమేడ కట్టించి ఒహుసృజలముగా సంచరంగులు యేర్పరిచి స్వర్ణ వికారములయిన స్తంభముల గవాక్షులద్వారా తోరణంబులు కలశంబులు రత్న సాపిరంబులుగా యేర్పరిచి జగన్మోహనమైన గృహరాజు సౌధాగ్ర సింహాసనంబు నందు తమ యిష్టదేవతయైన అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరి మహాదేవిని వేంచేపుచేసి యీమేడ శిఖరాననున్న బొల్లిమారు వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారి దేవాలయశిఖరాననున్న ఒంగారపు ఘంటలు మవ్వలు రాగిరేకులుగల మకరతోరణము కట్టించి భోజాంకార మృదంగ నాద్యవాదనంబులు సృజలంబుగా మ్రోయ నాజ్ఞాపించి అదిలక్ష్మీ కామేశ్వరి మహాదేవిని పూజిస్తూవున్న సమయమందు...”

—Kf. Kd., p. 9.

This special type of buildings called *Grharājū-mēda* finds mention in the contemporary Telugu work *Śrīraṅgomahātmyam*, while describing the mansions in a town newly built by a king ⁸.

The type of building called *Grharāja-mēda*, is described in the *Bhaviṣya*, *Agni*, and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. It is a form of divine edifice. According to these Purāṇas divine edifices or temples are mainly grouped, in accordance with the shape or plan in their construction, under five heads, namely, *Vairāja*, *Puspaka*, *Kailāsa*, *Malika* ⁹ and *Trivṛtapa*. "The first of the above classes of the divine edifice is characterised by a rectangular shape, the second resembling the first in structure; while the third and the fifth classes are respectively built circular and octagonal, the fourth class being constructed in a way so as to resemble the segments of a circle. Each of the above classes of temples is divided into nine sub divisions, thus giving rise to forty-five different structures of temples..... The nine temples that owe their origin to the genus *Puspaka*, are named *Valabhi*, *Grharaja*, *Śālāgrha*, *Mandira*, *Viśala*, *Brahma-mandira*, *Bhuvana*, *Prabhava* (and) *Śibikāreṣma*." ¹⁰ From this it is obvious that *grharāja-saṁdha* is a rectangular-shaped temple belonging to the genus of *Puspaka*. The Purāṇas state that these five

8. "...నవకొని (నవ)కొంతల మేనల నవకొలను..." -- IV, v. 998.

9. The *Agni Purāṇa* names this group *Maṇika*.

10. M. N. Dutt - *The Agni Purāṇa* (Translation), Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 421, vv. 7 to 30. The names of some of these nine temples, as given in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, differ from those given above. They are as follows: (1) *Badari*, (2) the *Grharaja*, (3) the *Salāgrha*, (4) the *Mandira*, (5) the *Vimāna*, (6) the *Brahmamandira*, (7) the *Varana*, (8) *Uttara*, and (9) the *Śibikāreṣma* - Vide, M. N. Dutt - *The Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (Translation), Ch. XLVII, pp. 115-116. There is, however, no variation in the name of the second of the nine temples belonging to the genus, *Puspaka*, according to both the lists. It is *Grharaja*. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* the second of the five groups of divine edifices, "is marked in quadrilateral shape." "The general characteristic features of a divine edifice are detailed in the *Garuḍa*, the *Agni* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*. Of these, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* furnishes interesting details." - vide Ch. XLVII.

वैराजः पुष्पकश्चान्यः कैलासो गणिकस्तथा ॥

त्रिविष्टपश्च पञ्चैव मेरुमूर्धनि संस्थिताः

चतुस्त्रस्तु तत्राष्टद्वितीयोपि तदायतः ॥ 12.

वृत्तो वृत्तायतश्चान्यो लघुस्तथापि पञ्चमः

पङ्क्तौ नवधा भेदश्चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्च च ॥ 13.

groups of divine edifices are "eminently fit to be the abodes of all deities", and "in which their images may be safely installed." From the Phiraṅgipuram stone inscription we may safely conclude that the temple of *gr̥harāja-saudha* at Koṇḍaviḍu was dedicated to the goddess Lakṣmī (Ādi Lakṣmī Kāmēśvarī, according to the *Kaṭṭiyat* of Koṇḍaviḍu). The cruel hand of Time levelled to the ground this *gr̥harāja-saudha* which was specially built and richly decorated by the royal-artist Kumāragiri Redḍi.

In spite of the absence of great temples ascribed to the Redḍi kings, there is inscriptional evidence to show that building activity was not altogether absent during their rule. The first of the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu to take interest in this kind of activity was Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Redḍi kingdom. He built steps to the holy places of Śrīśailam and Ahōbālam and to the holy *tīrtha* Pātāla Gaṅgā (at the former place), to make them easy of reach to thousands of pilgrims that visited them and earned their gratitude. This was considered an achievement in those days and was much praised by one and all. Its volume of popularity can be easily gauged by the great number of references to this act of king Vēma Redḍi, both in contemporary literature and in the records of the Redḍi kings. Vēma Redḍi's son Anavēma built in the Bhīmanāthanagaru at Dākshāraṁ many maṇḍapas (*naṭya*, *kalyāna*, *hōma*, *sanivāra* and others), temples for *divyaliṅgas*, (high pyramidal *gōpuras* towers over the gates), *pātāla-gēhas* (under-ground chambers, compound

प्रसादः प्रथमो मेरुद्वितीयो मन्दरस्तथा

विमानं च तथा भद्रः सर्वतोभद्र एव च ॥ 14.

चरुको नन्दको नन्दिवर्धमानस्तथाऽपरः

श्रीवत्सश्चेति वैराजान्ववाये च समुत्थिताः ॥ 15.

बलमी गृहगजश्च शालागृहं च मन्दिरम्

विशालश्चमसो ब्रह्ममन्दिरं भुवनं तथा ॥ 16.

प्रभवः शिबिका वेश्म नवैते पुष्पकोद्धवाः

वनयो दुन्दुभिः पद्मो महापद्मक एव च ॥ 17.

वर्धनी वान्य उष्णीषः शङ्खश्च कलशस्तथा

खट्वक्षश्च तथाऽप्येते वृत्तः कैलाससम्भवाः ॥ 18.

walls and other structures.¹¹ It was under his orders that the *virāṭīrīmaṇḍapa*, at Srisailam was constructed.¹² Pōtāsāni, wife of Kaṭṭiyam Mācinēḍu, an officer of Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi, built a stone compound wall (*tirucuṭṭuāḷika*) for god Bhīmēśvara of Dākshāram, for the merit of Kāṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son Kumāragiri Redḍi, and his queens.¹³ Herhusband Kaṭṭiyam Māci Nēḍu constructed an *āsthānamandapa* for god Bhīmēśvara at Dākshāram for the merit of his lord Kāṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son, Komara giri and his queens.¹⁴ Nārāya Peddi, an officer of Allāḍa Redḍi constructed at Palivela (East Godavari district) a *silā-mandapa* with a *kalyāṇavedi*¹⁵ (marriage altar) for god Koppēśvara for the merit of his lord. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, another officer of Allāḍa Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, constructed a twenty pillared *kalyāṇā-mandapa* (marriage pavilion) sixteen hastas long and eight hastas broad, to god Rāmēśvara¹⁶ at Pālakollu (Kṣīrārāmapurī) (West Godavari district). Bēḍapūḍi Annamantri, minister of Allāya Vēmā Redḍi, constructed, in front of Bhīmēśvara at Dākshāram, a twelve pillared *gōpura-mandapa*¹⁶ in stone on the banks of the Saptā-Gōḍavari.

11. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1379. This inscription is in verse which was composed by Prakāśa Bhāratiyōgi. The date of this record is Śaka 1303. King Anavēma seems to have built a house called *Anavēmanagaru* after his name at Sindhāchalam for god Sindhādrinatha in his temple. *Anavēmanagaru* is mentioned in an inscription at Sindhāchalam (S.I.I., VI. No. 806).
- 11a. Ep. Coll. No. 20 of 1915. See above, chapter, IV. (Pt. II) p. 342.
12. Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 328 ff.
13. Ibid.
14. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 118, (date, Śaka 1388).
15. Ibid. No. 133. (date, Śaka 1388).
16. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1381 (date, Śaka 1350). The different meritorious acts (structural) of Bēḍapūḍi Annamantri are enumerated in the following verse in the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, a work dedicated to him. This verse also refers to the *gōpura-mandapa* on the banks of the Saptā-Gōḍavari.

రాజమహేంద్రదుర్గమునఁ గావించె త్తొ

వీరభద్రునకుఁ బాఠకారకేళి

నిలిపె మార్కండేయనీలకంఠునిహృల

రామేశుఁ దమతల్లి నామకముగ

సంగమేశ్వరదివ్యశంభులింగమునకుఁ

గల్పించెఁ గల్యాణార్చనపాము

దక్షవాటికయందుఁ దరుణేందుమాళికి

మొగలివాకిట ధామమును రచించెఁ

పాగ్దిశావప) గోపుర పాగ్గణమున

సప్తముని సింధుసోపాన సరణి కలనఁ

దీర్చె భవనంబు భీమయజ్ఞేవునగర

మంత్ర) దేవయ యన్నయామాత్యవరుడు.” — I, v. 74.

PAINTING :

We often come across passages in contemporary Telugu works which refer to mural paintings.¹⁷ These references no doubt bear testimony to the popularity of the art of painting in these times. The courtesans got the walls in their bed-rooms painted with Smara-bandha-citras¹⁸ (*Smara-bandha-citramulu*). Judged by these references in the contemporary literature, the art of painting may be said to have been in a flourishing condition in the times under review. The arts of Painting and Architecture were closely associated with one another, and went together. Temple, the art gallery of the olden days, was generally decorated with fresco paintings. Besides the temple, the houses of nobles, and kings, were richly beautified with mural paintings. There were also pictures painted on canvas; but mural paintings seem to have been the fashion of the day. In fact, Nanne Cōḍa's *Kumara sambhavam*, a Telugu work of the pre-Redḍi period, contains a beautiful passage¹⁹ which describes the process of painting a picture on canvas. Pōtana's work, *Bhagavatam*, also contains a similar passage.²⁰

17. "చిత్తరువులు వ్రాసిన గోడలు ..." — Rk. Gr., V. Pr., 190.

"పత్రికపన భిత్తిభాగంబులం బత్రించిన చిత్తరువులయందు..."

—Hr. VI, V. Pr. 40

"నర్తనాగారంబున కరిగి తడియమణి ముప్పభాగంబునందు

నరవరముఖ్య నీవయిన మనోహర మైనయూపు చి

త్తరువున వ్రాసియున్న ..."

—Sk. Cr., VII. Pr. 4, v. 5.

"యం వొక్క-నుచిత సుష్యభ"గంబున ఛవదీయమనోహరాకారం

బచ్చుపడ వ్రాసి....." —Ibid, VI. Pr. 56.

"నోవర గోడ వ్రాసినట్టి హుంబంబుల

కరణి నుండె నివికకారతలె..." — Vr Vj., II, v. 34.

"మధ్యచిత్ర ముఖంగిన్" —Bj Rj., III, v, 206.

"మణిగానననులం బేరమ నొనర్చి గోడలం

జేయవారం గృహలీలలు లిఖించి..." —Rk. Gr., I. v. 118.

18. Sk. Cr., II, v. 145.

19. Vol. I, p. 77. 597. Based on this passage Mr. C Sivaramamurty, M. A., contributed an article to the *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, entitled "A passage of painting-process from Nanne Cōḍa's *Kumarasambhavam*", pp. 157 ff.

20. "ఇది యొడంబటిచి మీలమీలని మందుతోడం బురుణించు ఛక్రఛక్రయని పెలుంగులు
మీలుంగలిగింప పటంబు నావటంబు నేసి వజ్రంబు పెడియించి పంచవన్నీయులు
వేలువేలు కనకరజత పాత్రంబుల నింది కేటం దూలిక ధరించి యొక్క- విజన

It is found in the story of Uṣāpariṇaya. In this story Citralēkha promises to Uṣā, daughter of Banāsura, to paint the most beautiful youths belonging to various classes, and requests her to recognise the youth whom she had seen in her dream. Taking this opportunity Pōtana, the author, displays his knowledge of the process of painting a picture, probably as was done by his contemporary artists. This passage shows that the *paṭa* or the canvas, *rajra* (Vajralōpa), the five colours placed in different (golden and silver) saucers were the essential things required for painting a picture. The passages in the afore-said works, the *Kumārasambhavam* and the *Andhra Bhāgavatam*, may be in a way, taken to indicate the continuity, in practice, of the art of Painting in the Andhra country.

The number of colours used in painting was five (*panca-vanniyalu*) according to the passage from Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*; but according to Śrīnātha they were only four. Pōtana did not name the five colours; but Śrīnātha, while describing the dawn in a beautiful verse in *Sisametra*, gives out their names as white, black, yellow and red. The poet compares the early sunshine to a painter's brush (*tūlikā*), employed to paint the universe with the above-named colours, which were mentioned in a poetic way. Some of the whiteness in the ripe moonlight (*tarapi-vennela*) served to form the newly-prepared miry shell liquid (representing the white colour), the hue of the tender darkness the black liquid, the ripe flower-dust of the lotus buds which woke up from sleep the yellow colour, and the scarlet-coloured early tender twilight the beautiful red colour.¹ *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* also mentions only

నలంబునకుం జని మల్లోకంబులం జేరు గలిగిన వయోరూపసంపన్నుడైన పురుష
ముఖ్యుల నస్వయ గోత్ర) నామధేయంబులతోడ వ్రాసి యాయితంబైన యప్పటంబు
దన ముంగటికిం దెచ్చియుంచి యిప్పటంబునం దగులని వారు లేరు, సావధానంబున
నాకర్ణింపుమని యిట్లు లనయె” — An. Bg. II, Pr. 346, p. 381.

The different stages in painting a picture on canvas, according to Pōtana, are well explained with quotations from ancient texts, like *Śilparaṭṇa* and *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti in his article, “A passage on painting in Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*”, contributed to the J. O. R., VI, pp. 184 ff.

21. “తటిపి కెన్నెలలోని ధావళ్య మొకకొంత

నవసుధాకర్ణమ ద్రవము గాఁగఁ

జిన్నారి పొన్నారి చిలుక చీకటిచాయ

యసలు కొల్పిన మఝీరసము గాఁగ

నిద్ర) మేల్కొంచిన నెత్తమ్మి మొగడల

పరువంపు పుష్పిల్లు హరిదళముగఁ

these four *varṇas*, namely, *śvita* (white) *sōṇa* (red), *pīta* (yellow), and *kṛṣṇa* (black.)”

దొంగరు వన్నియ లేత తొలుసంజ కంజాయ

కమనీయ ధాతురాగంబు గాఁగ

వర్ణముల గూడి యామినీ వ్యవగమమున

జగము చిత్రింపఁ దూలిక చంద మైన

కొమరుఁ బొయింపు నూనూగు కొదమయెండ

పొచ్చి కభినవమాణిక్యపదక మయ్యె.” —Ka. Kh., I.v. 123.

There seems to be some mistake in the last four lines. The comparison made in the above lines is not aptly concluded in the last lines. This verse is taken from the printed copies of the work. The idea underlying the verse is however apparent. The last line of the above verse has to be probably emended as “పొచ్చి కభినవ మాణిక్య ఫలక మయ్యె”, as suggested by Pandit Sri D. Venkata Ramana Sastri Garu of the Andhra University.

22. శ్వేతేషు పూయేచ్ఛక్ల శోగోపుదరదं తథా

రక్తేష్వలక్తశకలం లోహితం గౌరకం తథా

పీతేషు హరితాలం స్యాత్ కృష్ణోకజ్జలమిష్కతే

శుద్ధా వర్ణా ఇమే ప్రోక్తా శ్చత్వారశ్చిత్రసంశ్రయః ॥ —(J.O.R., Vol. VI, p. 134).

CHAPTER IX.

LITERATURE

The post-Kakatiya period may rightly be called the spring-time of both the Sanskrit and Telugu literatures. Kings of this period set the fashion to patronise poets and scholars, and accept dedication of books from them. The king's lead was taken up by their ministers, commanders, and other lesser lights who extended their patronage to the men of letters. During the mediæval period, it was held that, of the seven meritorious acts (*Saptasantanas*), that make one's name eternal, getting dedication of a *kṛti* or a book was perhaps the most important. Those who could afford, perpetuated their memory on earth by performing these seven acts of merit, which were said to endure long and keep the doer's name green in the minds of people, for many generations to come. These ideas and ideals were not a little responsible for giving a strong impetus to the literary renaissance in the Telugu country during the period under review.

The early post-Kakatiya period which witnessed the growth of new Hindu kingdoms, mainly of the Panṭa Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu, of the Yādava kṣatriyas of Vijayanagar, and of the Padma Velamas Nāyakas of Rājukoṇḍa, can properly be marked as the age of commentary, the principal literary form in vogue then, in the dominion of Sanskrit literature. This statement should not be interpreted to mean that no *kāvya*s, *nāṭaka*s or other literary compositions, were produced during this period. There were no doubt poets, who had written *gadya*, *padya*, *campū*, and *dṛṣya* *kāvya*s ; yet, commentary or *vyākhyāna* was the chief literary form that characterised this age of the revival of Hindu *dharma*.

People had no patience or leisure to spend the whole period of *brahmacharya* in *gurukulas*, sitting at the feet of the *guru* as in days of yore and acquire proficiency in several *vidya*s, because of the disturbed social circumstances in the country. Moreover, the political conditions were such that they compelled many a youth of the intellectual class to equip themselves, like their brethren of the fourth caste, to protect not only their family and king but also their religious heritage. The number of brāhmins, who took to civil and military duties in the State during the Redḍi period, was, as stated previously, far greater than in any of the previous periods, and these were obliged primarily to attend to the administrative duties rather than to the study of literature, and religion. There was not enough time for the study of Vedic

literature, and consequently the ability to understand the Vēdas, Śāstras and Kāvya was gradually on the wane. The intellectuals painfully realised that they could not afford to neglect this study, as their sole ambition was to revive *dharma* as envisaged by the Śāstras, and refashion Vedism to suit the requirements of the age, in order to rejuvenate the Hindu society that it might hold its own against the new peril of Islām. Therefore, a thorough knowledge of the past literature, traditional usages and customs was a great necessity. And in consequence, commentaries on ancient religious texts were prepared and made available to the needy.

During this period, while the Reddi kings toiled hard to set right all that was undone by the Mussalmans, by re-establishing brāhmans, the custodians of Vēdic learning and spiritual culture, in their own *agrahāras*, and by reviving Vedic sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, the kings of Vijayanagar, under the guidance of the sage, Vidyāranya, had the proud privilege of getting the Vēdas commented upon by a band of able scholars, who flourished under their patronage. It became the sacred duty, voluntarily taken up, by the rulers of this age, to maintain and patronise as many Vēdic scholars and men of letters as they could, and hence, the court of each king was adorned with poets and scholars learned in the *Vēdas*, and Sciences.

Writing Material :

Kings of this age were not mere figure-heads. They were educated with care from their childhood, and properly trained. The works they had to study were written mostly on palm leaves, with an iron style.¹ Travellers who visited India in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries noted this fact. John of Montecervino writes, "They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols, albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves"². Nicolo de Conti states that all Indians, with the exception of the inhabitants of Cambay, write on the leaves of trees, of which they make very beautiful books³. Conti refers to the *tādi* tree when he writes, "There is also a tree called *tāl*, the leaves of which are extremely large, and upon which they write, for throughout all India they do not use paper excepting in the city of Cambay"⁴. The above statements of

1. "చిత్ర)మాకులు గంటమున నిరసించి..."—Rk. Cr., II, p. 46.

2. *Foreign Notices*. p. 188.

3. Major, Conti, p. 31.

4. Ibid, Conti, p. 13.

the foreign travellers are only partially true; for, paper, though rarely used, was not quite unknown. A stray *cāṇu* verse, ascribed to Śrīnātha, states that brāhman accountants of the Vyāpāri sect used to write their accounts on paper with pen and ink⁴. That paper was in use in the Redḍi period is further confirmed by another important literary work of this age, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, produced in the court of the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram. From the introductory verses in this work we come to know that Ariyēṭi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēmā Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, used to send to Sultān Ahmad Shāh⁵ his despatches in Persian language written on paper. These evidences are enough to prove the existence of paper, of course hand-made, and its use as writing material in the Redḍi period. Its limited supply, and its abnormal price probably induced people of those times to write their books, accounts and letters on palm leaves, which were available in plenty and cost nothing. Paper available in small quantities at great price, was in all probability requisitioned by the State, and used only for State documents and accounts. All books, like the Purāṇas, Śāstras, Itihāsas, and Prabandhas were palm-leaf manuscripts. Copying of classical and religious works on *tāla-patras* or *bhūrja-patras* developed into a regular profession. Expert scribes with a beautiful hand were requisitioned by kings, nobles and those who could afford to remunerate them, to copy works of their choice. Calligraphy became an art and was rewarded properly. In olden days this was one of the methods to propagate knowledge. Besides the palm-leaf manuscripts, there were works written on a different material also, cloth. Arahts, viz., the Jains and the Buddhists, used, though rarely, to write their religious works on cloth⁶ with pen and ink in Nagari characters.

Education :

Education imparted to the princes differed much from that given to the general public. There is not much evidence to ascertain the

5. “దస్తావజ్జన్ మసిబుట్టులన్ గలయున్బడమటన్ వ్యాపారులన్ గూర్చులన్”.

—Ct. Mm., I. p. 128.

6. “అన్నయమంత్రశ్రేణురం దహన్యదుషా.....భూమిన్య
త్సన్నిధికిన్ సముచితంబుగ వేమమహీసురేంద్ర రా
జ్యోన్నతి సరతాభ్యుదయమొందగ బారసిభాష వ్రాసె
గన్నులపండువై యమరు కాకితసుందరి వర్ణపద్మతుల్.” —Bh. Pr., I, v. 78.

7. “పటములందు నాగరలిపి స్రస్సుటముగ
వరమహీ తూలికారేఖ వ్రాసినట్టి
యర్హతాగమగంగిధ మత్యాదరమున...” —Ka. Kh., VI, v. 74.

nature of education imparted to students in general and the institutions in which it was taught. From time immemorial the brāhman *agrahāras*, *maṭhas*, and temples, the Jain *basadis* and the Buddhist monasteries, had been the acknowledged national educational institutions for imparting knowledge to the pupils of the respective religious persuasions. Temple, *agrahāra* and *maṭha*, all played a very prominent part in the mediaeval times as media to diffuse knowledge and culture. Royal patronage and private munificence supported education in ancient times, although there was no separate educational department in the administrative machinery, as at present. Reading of Purāṇas became a regular institution for educating people in general, in *agrahāras*,⁸ *maṭhas* and temples, which was maintained by land grants. Even those who never learnt to read and write, were thus educated in the Hindu lore and were able to discuss subtle questions relating to daily life and *dharma*.

There must have been also *piāl* schools, set up by private individuals, to teach boys to read and write, and as much arithmetic as was necessary for daily life. It is likely that boys of the first three castes and rarely those of the fourth, sought admission to these schools. Princes of the second caste and particularly a few children of the nobles of the fourth caste received special higher education under eminent scholars. Brāhman boys in general appear to have resorted to the *gurukulas* in *agrahāras*. Technical or vocational education was imparted to boys by *ācāris* or technical and industrial experts, in their own houses, and the student was, from the beginning of his educational career, an apprentice, and got himself trained under his master directly, in the particular trade he had chosen. It was generally considered, in days of yore, to be a gross delinquency for one to discard his family-trade and heritage, and to take up a new one.

Subjects of Study for Princes :

The education of princes was intended to make them able warriors as well as good scholars. The Telugu kāvyā, *Sōḍaśakumāra-caritra*, by Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya furnishes, in a conventional way, a list of arts and sciences that a prince had to study, namely, Vēdas Vēdāṅgas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Dharma Śāstras, Āyurvēda, Dhanurvēda, Bharata Śāstra, Kāma Śāstra, works on Rājanīti, like Kāmāndaka, Cāṇakya, Bhārgavya and Kauṇapadanta, kāvyas, lakṣana-granthas, nāṭakas⁹ etc.

8. ".....వీనుల కల్లం జేసియల్

చినుక బుర్రాణవాక్యములు చెప్పెడి విప్రుని జూచి యమ్మన

జననభంజి జేరి మొక్కి...."—Sm. Dv., II, iii, v. 13.

9. Sk. Cr., I, v. 34.

None of the traditional arts and sciences of the Hindus was left out of this list. Rājanīti seems to have been one of the important subjects of study for a prince. It may be because of its importance that a great number of Sanskrit works on this subject were rendered into Telugu, as is clear from a perusal of *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, an anthology of verse, on Rājanīti in Telugu, compiled by Maḍiki Singana, a poet of this period. This anthology contains verses taken, as stated previously, from many works on nīti (polity), like *Nītisara*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭranīti*, *Vidurānīti*, and from the Purāṇas, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* etc. All these works on Polity must have been extant till the time of the author. The existence of most of these works now is known only from the verses quoted in the *Sakalanītisammataṁ*. *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* by Praudhākavi Mallana, another Telugu Kāvya of the same period, states that princes of the ruling family learnt the art of riding elephants, horses and chariots, and of wielding different kinds of weapons,¹⁰ besides studying kāvya, nāṭaka, alamkāra, Śāstra, Purāṇa and Itihāsa. Another list provided by another contemporary Telugu work, *Bhājarājīyam*, consists of Vēdas, Dharma-saṁhitas, *Aśva Śāstra* (the science relating to horses), *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, the science dealing with the training of elephants), the art of wielding weapons, Rājanīti (Political), music and other arts.¹¹ All these lists are more or less conventional. It is unnecessary to take note of all the lists furnished by the contemporary Telugu works. It seems however, certain that, considering the high level of scholarship in general, of the kings of this age, a prince was required to study Rājanīti, kāvya, nāṭaka, alamkāra and music, and Dharma Śāstras to some extent, and to have a good knowledge in the Purāṇa and the Itihāsa, and to acquire skill in *Aśva Śāstra*, *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, and in the art of wielding weapons. This meant a good study of Sanskrit literature for a number of years at the feet of the *guru*, and thorough training in the arts of warfare. This equipment in education qualified the prince for the royal court and for the field of battle as well. With such equipment the kings of those times were able to follow the literary and philosophical discussions held in their courts and to appreciate and adequately reward scholarship. How effective, in its own way, that education was, can be gauged by the results it had produced. Some of the kings of this age were brilliant scholars and poets, besides being great warriors. The literature produced by them and under their patronage in their courts and kingdoms, was of no mean order.

10. Rk. Cr., I, pr. 147.

11. Bh. Rj., IV, v. 220.

HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The literature of this period consisted of many new works of merit on Rhetoric, Music and Dance, besides commentaries on old Scientific works, Kāvyas and Nāṭakas. Among king-poets and patrons of literature, mention should be made first of king Kumāragiri Redḍi, alias Vasantarāja, son of Anavōṭa Redḍi. He was a well-read Sanskrit scholar and an adept in music and dance. He was the author of a work on Nāṭya which he named *Vasantarājīya* after himself. This work is now lost. Its existence is known only from the commentaries on Kālidāsa's dramas, written by his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. From the commentary on *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, we come to know that Kumāragiri wrote his *Vasantarājīyam*, after going through the old Scientific works on this subject of sages, like Bharata, and kings like Bhōja, all experts in *Nāṭyaveda* ("*Nāṭyavēdārthavedinām*")¹². He spent his time in the study of literature, in the company of beautiful courtesans who were skilled in music and dance, in the celebration of *Vasantōtsavas* or spring festivals and in perpetuating *Sapta santānas*¹³. Many learned scholars who were proficient in music and dance must have thronged to his court in search of patronage.

King Kumāragiri was fortunate to have an eminent Sanskrit scholar, Kāṭaya Vēma, as his minister and brother-in-law. Kāṭaya Vēma was also a great patron of men of letters (*kavīnām-āśrayaḥ*.) Commanded by his master Kumāragiri, and in accordance with the method defined by him in his *Vasantarājīyam*, Kāṭaya Vēma commented upon the dramas of Kālidāsa, and named his commentary *Kumāragiri-rājīyam*¹⁴, after his lord.

12. मुनीनां भरतादीनां भोजादीनांच भूभुजाम्
शास्त्राणि सम्यगालोच्य नाट्यवेदार्थवेदिनाम्
प्रोक्तं वसन्तराजेन कुमारगिरिभूभुजा
नाम्नावसन्तराजीयं नाट्यशास्त्रं यदुत्तमम् ॥—*Sakuntala-vyakhya*.

13. भाग्यं नाम समग्रमीदृशमतिस्नेहैकपात्रं यतो
वीरं काटयवेम मुह्यतरिपुष्पं सो नियुज्य स्वयम्
नित्यं नन्दति नर्तनैरभिनवैः कान्तैर्वसन्तोत्सवैः
सन्तानाभ्युदयैः कुमारगिरिभूपालो नृपालोत्तमः ॥—*Malavika-vyakhya*

13. तत्प्रोक्तेनैव मार्गेण दर्शिताशेषलक्षणः
कवीनामाश्रयो मन्त्री काटभूतनूभवः

The next illustrious king famed for his scholarship and patronage among the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu is Peda Kōmaṭi's son, king Vēma Redḍi, the successor of Kumāragiri. Śrīnātha was a *Vidyādhikāri* in his court. Śrīnātha styles his patron *Survaññacakravarti*,¹⁶ a title which finds mention for the first time in Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's earliest Kurunūtala stone record dated in Śaka 1326. This fact enables us to conclude that Peda Kōmṭi Vēma acquired it even as a prince, before his accession to the throne, by virtue of his scholarship, both in the Arts and Sciences.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the greatest of the king-poets of the Redḍi dynasty. If his predecessor Kumāragiri was an expert in Music and its allied subject Dance, Vēma was proficient both in *Sangīta* and *Sāhitya*. He is the author of *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* in Sanskrit, a treatise on Rhetoric, on the lines of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*. This work condemns the *anumāna* of Mahimabhaṭṭa. Here and there in this work we find many verses in praise of the author. They do not seem to have been written to illustrate the *alaṃkāras*. It therefore appears that Vēma was fond of incorporating in his work, verses sung in his praise by different poets visiting his court. Of the old author's cited in this *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* special mention should be made of one Kusumāyudha.¹⁷ None of his works has come to light. He appears to have been a prince of the Mudigoṇḍa Cālukya line that flourished in Telingāna (Hyderabad State). From the Mogaliceruvula grant¹⁸ of

मोयं वेमविभुः कुमारगिरिणा राज्ञा नियुक्तः कृती
नाट्यानां तितयं कृतं कृतधिया श्रीकालिदामेनय
त्तस्योदीर्णरसार्णवस्य रसिकशकुन्तलादेस्स्वयम्
व्याख्यानं कुरुते कुमारगिरिराजीयाख्यमस्मैहितम् ॥

—Ibid, v. 19.

"The commentary indicates that the author was a sound scholar and able expositor. He penetrates into the suggested sense of the word and seems naturally able to appreciate beauty in poetry. The commentary is undoubtedly of a high order; but does not explain minor points, and is not, therefore, fully serviceable to young students."—Patankar's *Abhijñāna Sakuntalam*.

15. चूडामणिर्नृपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थिशिखरिदम्भोळिः
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

—Alapāḍu grant, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 325.

16. "Among the poets Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmabhūpāla quotes, is one Kusumāyudha. "—M. Krishnamacharya's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 779.
17. "This grant was published by C. Bendall, M. A., M. R. A. S., in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 281 ff) under the title "Grant of Kusumāyudha IV". The text of this inscription is full of mistakes. It is a very important

Kusumāyudha IV, we come to know that, besides the donor of the grant, three more princes of the same name preceded him. Hence it is difficult to establish the identity of Kusumāyudha referred to in the above mentioned work. Kumārasvāmi Sōmapīthi, the well known commentator on Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudriyam* often quotes this work in his commentary.

Among the works quoted in the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* it is interesting to note that a *bhāṇa*, and a *kāvya*, both having the name *Viranārāyaṇacaritam*, are said to have been written by Vēma himself. The existence of these works is only known from the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. The author refers to them as *yathā mamaiva bhāṇe* and *yathā mamaiva kāvyē Viranārāyaṇacarite*. *Viranārāyaṇa* is one of the titles of Vēma.

Another noteworthy work of Vēma, recently reclaimed from oblivion, is his *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*, a treatise on Music. Only two incomplete manuscript copies of this work are found in the Travancore Palace Library. They begin with the description of *viṇa* in the *vādyā* portion and go up to the *nṛtta* portion (chapter XV) describing the *deśi nṛttas*.¹⁸ The subject of the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*, according to the catalogue of the Trivendram Palace Library, is 'a description of the science of music dealing with the variations of *rāgas* due to changes in the *svaras*, the harmony of *rasa* and *rāga*, the deviations in *rasas* caused by *nṛttas* and *rāgas*' etc.

Besides the works described above, Vēma was the author of two commentaries, *Śṛṅgārādīpikā* and *Saptatīśāraṇikā*. The former is commentary on *Amarukaśataka*, a *Śṛṅgāra-kvāya* "essentially a collection of pictures of love" by Amaruka, and the latter on the *Saptatīś*, an anthology of verse, compiled by the Śātavāhana king, Hāla. Of the many commentaries on the *Amarukaśataka Śṛṅgārādīpikā* written by Vēma, and *Rasikasañjīvinī* written by Arjunadēva, a descendant of Bhōja, king of Mālava, are considered to be the greatest.²⁰

document to the history of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi. The date of the grant is not given. We may, however, assign Kusumāyudha IV tentatively to the tenth century.

18. D. C. S. M., (Trivendram), vol. VII, Nos. 1417 and 1418, pp. 2407-2410.

The colophon of this work runs thus:

“इति सकलकलाप्रवीण श्रीवीरनारायण वेमभूपालविरचिते संगीतचिन्तामणौ”

It is interesting to note the absence of the title *Sarvajñacakra-vartī*.

19. See chapter VIII, on "Games and Amusements", p. 433.
20. Arjunadēva's *Rasikasañjīvinī* appears to have been written nearly two hundred years earlier than *Śṛṅgārādīpikā*. Vide, introduction, p. 2 to the *Amarukaśataka* of Amaruka with the commentary of Arjunadēva—Kāvya-māla Series, No. 18.

In the introductory verses *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* describes his descent from a brother of king *Prōlaya Vēma I*, the builder of steps to *Srīsaīlam* and *Patāḷagaṅga*,²¹ and states that, once, after hearing the hundred ślōkas of *Amaruka* from poets who visited his court, he thought of commenting on them to reveal their meaning. This is how the commentary, *Śrīṅgārāḍipikā*, came into existence.

Saptasāṭisāraṭīkā, *Vēma*'s commentary on *Hāla*'s *Saptasāṭi*, is also called *Bhārāḍipikā*. From among the seven hundred *prākṛit gāthās* in the *Hāla*'s anthology *Vēma* selected only one hundred of the choicest *gāthās* and commented upon them.

Sivaliṅga, a *Reḍḍi* prince of the *Kandukūru* branch, was another reputed Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary, by name *Tattva-prakāśikā*,²² on *Haradatta*'s *Girīśārutisūktimālā*, a poetical work in one hundred and fifty ślōkas describing god *Śiva* as the supreme lord. The author, *Haradattācārya*,²³ "tries to prove that God *Śiva* is the highest person described in Vēdic passages as the prime origin of the world", and "the work is therefore also called *Śrutisūktimālā*" or "*Caturveda-tātparyasaṅgraha*"²⁴.

In the introductory verses of his *Tattvaparakāśikā*, the author *Sivaliṅga* traces his descent from a brother of *Prōlaya Vēma*. He was the brother of *Sōmēya*, and the son of *Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi*, the great grandson of *Mallā Reḍḍi*, younger brother of *Prōlaya Vēma*. His capital was *Skandapuri* (*Kandukuru*) in the *Nellore* district. The *Pedapūḍi* grant, dated in *Saka* 1326, refers to him as *Bharatamata-Pataṅga*²⁵, a sun to *Bharatamata*.

21. Two verses, one describing the achievements of *Prōlaya Vēma*, the seventh *cakravartī*, and the other describing the descent of his brother *Māca*, found in the *Phiraṅgi-puram* record of *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI. *Three inscriptions of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu*, pp. 818 ff, A), composed by his *Vidyadhikari*, *Srīnātha*, find mention in the *Śrīṅgārāḍipikā*. This lends support to the view that king-*Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma* was in the habit of incorporating in his works, ślōkas relating to himself or to his family composed by other poets. The various facts relating to *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma*'s works were ably and critically discussed in his "*Śrīṅgāra Srīnātham*" by *Srī Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri Garu*.

22. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol. XXVII, Nos. 15082 and 15083.

23. *Haradatta* is generally believed to have flourished in the 9th century (Vide C. S. M. R., No. 4307).

24. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol. XXVII, Introduction, pp. i - ii.

25. Mack. Mss., No. 15—4—42.

भरतमतपतङ्गस्यत्परित्वाणचङ्गः

कृतरिपुमदभङ्गसद्गुणव्यूहतुङ्गः

In this connection it has to be pointed out that there is another manuscript copy of the same commentary found in the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras.²⁶ It is interesting to note that its authorship is, however, attributed to one Īsvara haṭṭa, son of Kavivadi-bhēruṇḍa Nṛsimhayajva. This raises doubts about its authorship. It seems, however, quite possible to conclude in either of the two ways, namely, that Śivaliṅgā Redḍi wrote the commentary himself with the help of his protegee Īsvaraḥhaṭṭa, or that the latter wrote it under the patronage and at the command of the former who might have also commented on some of the stanzas.²⁷

King Vīrabhadra Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram is known to have been an expert in both *Samgita* and *Sāhitya*. Poet Śrīnātha praises him as “*Sāhityakalā samgita - lakṣya - lakṣaṇa - bhāṅgī-sarvajña*.”²⁸ It is, however, not known if he had written any work.

Redḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, his sons Anavōta and Anavōma were also great scholars, though they are not known to have been authors. They lavished their patronage on many men of letters who visited their courts. Prōlaya Vēma, like his descendants on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, extended his liberality to Sanskrit and Telugu poets and scholars. His court was adorned by the learned Sanskrit scholar, Mahādēva of the Sēsam family. He was an ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, a great Sanskrit scholar and poet who flourished in the sixteenth century. Sēsam, the family name of Mahādēva, got changed into Lolla, it is said, by virtue of his having been the pupil of Lolḷaṭabhaṭṭa, the reputed commentator on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Mahādēva was at first the court-poet of the kings of Vijayanagar.

कलितमुकृतसङ्गस्यक्तपापान्तरङ्ग

स्स त्रयति शिवलिङ्गः क्षमापवेश्याभुजङ्गः॥

The verses in the Padapūḍi record are faulty here and there. They can be corrected with the help of the *Tatvaprasika* : for, the verses in the above record describing the donor's family, are almost the same and in the same order as those in the *Tatvaprasika*. The first line in the *Tatvaprasika* runs thus
भरतमतपतङ्गस्मत्परिताणचङ्गः This seems to be the correct reading.

26. C. S. M., (Madras), R. No. 4307.

27. Some scholars hold that Īsvaraḥhaṭṭa was the real author of the *Srutisūktimālā*. Vide, introd., D. C. S. M., (Madras) Vol. XXVII.

28. Ks. Kh., V, v. 338.

Later on he went to Koṇḍavīḍu, where he seems to have been the *Vidyādhikārī* of king Vēma Redḍi.²⁹

Learned men of the time of Anavōta and his brother Anavēma are not known to us with the exception of two poets, Bālasarasvatī and Trilōcanācārya, the writers of their copper-plate records. Bālasarasvatī was the composer of all the grants of the king Anavōta. He simply stated that he was the *vidvān* of king Anavōta and the writer of his *dharma-śāsanas*. He does not give any details about himself in the *Śāśana-karyas* he had written. He survived his patron Anavōta. He was also the writer of Anavēma's Drujjavaram, Īppugallu and Paccani Tanḍipaxgu grants and the Śrīśailam stone record. From these records we come to know that he lived till Saka 1300 (1378 A. D.). It is not known if he produced any work.

After Bālasarasvatī's death, his place was taken by Trilōcanācārya,³⁰ another poet of eminence. He was the composer of Anavēma's records, other than those mentioned above. He describes himself as one "who is learned in the doctrine of Śiva (*Śivāgamaviśāradaḥ*), who was born of a race of poets, (*kavikulōdbhavaḥ*), the stringing of whose words is like the sweet-sounding spray drops of the impetuous Mandākinī, which dances on the coil of the matted hair of the great Dancer (*Māhānāṭajātūcchaṭānāṭa-lamanda - Mandākinīkalakvaṇitakaṅkaṇa-vṛajavijrumbhivāgyumphanah*), and who is the favourite of Śārādā (*Śārādāvallabhah*)."³¹ We do not know any more details about him. Another Sanskrit scholar who was honoured by Anavōta was Kōlacala Peddi Bhaṭṭa, an elder brother, according to tradition, of the famous commentator, Kōlaca Malli-nātha. He was the recipient of a *vṛtti* in the village of Kollūru from Anavōta.

21. यः कर्णाटवसुन्धराधियमहाम्थानेमुवर्णयितो

यो भित्त्यं निरुषायितो नृपगृहे वेमास्यपृथ्वारिनुः

श्रीमल्लोत्तमदृशिष्य इति यो लोलास्त्रयया श्रूयते

श्रीशेषान्वयशेखरसहिमहादेवो विपश्चिन्महान् ॥

The terms, *suvarṇayitah* and *nirūṣayitah* in the above verse, indirectly help to suggest that Mahadēva was a simple *suvarṇa* in the *Karṇāṭavasundharadhīpamahāsthāna*: and a *nirūṣa*, (a touchstone in testing probably the proficiency of scholars in different sciences) in the court of king, Vēma Redḍi.

30. The writer of the Vanapalli plates of Anavēma dated in Saka 1300 is Trilōcanācārya. This grant was made in the cyclic year, Siddhārthin, on the fourteenth tithi of the dark half of the month of Magha. The Śrīśailam record of Anavēma written by Bālasarasvatī, is dated in Saka 1299, Piṅgala, in the month of Magha. So Bālasarasvatī must have died within the interval of these two records.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

King Anavēma was a great patron of Letters. There is reason to believe that he extended his patronage not only to the poets mentioned above, but to many more. In fact, a verse in his Vānapalli plates states that "the wealth of Lord Anavēma existed only for the enrichment of learned men and their eloquence for his glorification." He had the title *bahusahasra-suvarnādāna santiṣṭita-mahākaviṣvara*, "one who pleased great poets with the gift of many thousands of *suvarnas* or gold coins. He was extolled for his munificence and liberality in a number of *cāṇus* both in Sanskrit and Telugu. Tradition preserves even to this day some of the stories relating to his liberality." The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūraṇṇa, the author of the Telugu *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* informs us that the early Reddi kings, like Anavēma and Allaya Vīrabhadra, acquired great fame by means of *kṛtis*, literary works,

82. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

अन्नवेमप्रभोर्लक्ष्मीर्विबुधानां विभूतये
तस्यैव कीर्तयेज्जाता तेषामपि सरस्वती ॥ — V. 20, p. 62.

83. Ep. coll., No. 23 of 1916.

84. One of such popular stories is this. It is said that a poet of the Āruvēla (Six thousand) sect of brāhmanas, reputed for his ready wit and humour, once visited the court of king Anavēma, and praised him in the following verse:

अनवेममहीपाल स्वस्यस्तु तव बाहवे
आहवे रिपुदोर्देष्टु चन्द्रमण्डलराहवे ॥

The king was much pleased with the poetic beauty and paid him three thousand *suvarnas*. The poet thereupon told the king that he himself had given *nalqu-velu* four thousand (*velu* is the plural of *veyi*, a thousand, and *nalqu* means four in Telugu). Since the letter *vē* in the above verse occurs four times, he humorously represented to the king that he had given four *velu*, and that it would not be befitting the king's prestige to offer less than what he had given. The king then ordered four thousand to be given to the poet. Thereupon the poet remarked that it would not be honourable to the king to return to him the same four *velu* (four thousand). The king then gave him five thousand (*aidu-velu*). The poet then respectfully pointed out to the king that he was a member of the Āruvēla (Six thousand) sect, and that it was beneath his dignity to accept less than that amount. Much pleased with his ready wit, the king ordered that he be paid six thousand *suvarnas*. The poet then represented to the king that it is not a great thing to give what is his by birth-right, as he was one of the six thousand community. The king then paid him seven thousand, whereupon the poet protested that it was an inauspicious number both to himself and to the king. At last it is said that king Anavēma was pleased to pay the poet eight thousand *suvarnas*. This story current in the Telugu country, well illustrates the character of king Anavēma and depicts the cultured man in him. It further testifies to his love of poetry, wit and humour.

dedicated to them.³⁵ Yet it is strange to note that not even a single work, either in Sanskrit or Telugu, dedicated to king Anavēma is extant today.

As stated already, Anavēma's successor, king Kumāragiri was a patron of letters; but the only poet of his reign known to us is Annaya, the composer of his Anaparti grant, dated in Śaka 1312. Annaya was the son of Pinnaya and grandson of Manuma Durgasudhi. None of his works, if any, is known to us.

Kumāragiri, successor of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was, as we already know, a great supporter of learning, besides being himself a brilliant scholar and poet. Many poets and scholars resorted to his court. The great Telugu poet, Śrīnātha, was the *Vidyādhikāri* (Superintendent of learning) in his court, and examined the scholarship and talent of those who visited his lord's court in search of patronage³⁶. However, the names of such poets are not preserved to us either in literature or in inscriptions.

The two jewels that adorned king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court were Śrīnātha and Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. The former was a great Vēdic scholar, proficient in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus*, the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika Darśanas*, the *Sāṅkhya Siddhānta yōga*, the *Śaiva Āgamas*, the *Smṛitis* and the *Purāṇas*, and in many languages, like Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Saurasēnī. His knowledge in the science of Dance and Music also was profound. He used to read the *Purāṇas* for his patron Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma³⁷. His works in Sanskrit have not yet come to light. He was the composer of all the copper-plate grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, including the Phirāṅgipuram stone record. These records bear testimony to his great poetical talent in Sanskrit also. It is generally believed that he was the author of the Sanskrit work, *Gōdāvarīkhaṇḍam*, said to be one of the fifty *khaṇḍas* of the Ādi Purāṇa, *Mahāskāṇḍam*. His translation of the Prākṛit work, Hāla's *Sattasai* (*Saptaśatī*) into

35. అనవేమ మండలేశ్వరుఁ

డును నల్లయ వీరభద్రుఁడును మొదలఁగఁ గ

ల్గిన తొంటి రెడ్డిరాజులు

ఘన కీర్తులు గనిరి కృతిముఖంబున ననుచున్ .

36. “భాషించినాడెపు బహుదేశ బుధులతో

విద్యాపరీక్షణ వేశలందు...” — Bh. Pr., I, v. 23.

37. Hr. VI., I, vv. 8, and 12; Bh. Pr., I, v. 23; Sr. Nd., I, v. 13; and Ct. Mm., II, p. 23.

Telugu, speaks of his erudition in Prakrit. He was, however, a greater poet in Telugu than in Sanskrit, and will be adverted to again, while reviewing the contemporary Telugu literature.

The second brilliant jewel of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, was the son of Kōmaṭiyajva and grandson of Varadāgnicit of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa seems to have spent his early life at Vijayanagar in educating himself. From his work *Śabdacandrikā* we come to know that he was a disciple of the celebrated sage Vidyāranya, the spiritual guru and the political guide of Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's attachment to the flourishing capital of Vijayanagar and his acquaintance with it may be inferred from his drama *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*, which is said to have been enacted on the festive occasion (*caitraṣṭrāmahōtsava*) of god Virūpākṣa of the Pāṃpātīrtha. In this work the poet exhibits his vanity by saying that he was good both in poetry and prose unlike the ancient poets, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, who were only experts in one of them. *Sāhityacūdāmaṇi*, one of his many titles, finds mention in this *bhāṇa*.³⁸

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa was a versatile writer. He wrote three dramas, namely, *Kanakalekhākalyāṇam*, *Uṣāpariṇayam* and *Pārvatī-pariṇayam*, besides the *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*, referred to above. Of these, *Kanakalekhākalyāṇam* in four acts and *Uṣāpariṇayam* in five acts have not yet been printed. The former appears to have been written at the instance of Lakṣmīśa Daṇḍādhipa³⁹ of the Viṣṇuvardhanakula,

38. “पद्येपटीयान् किल कालिदासो
गद्येपटीयान् किल भट्टबाणः
पद्ये च गद्ये च परं पटीयान्
वत्सान्वयो वामनभट्टबाणः॥”

“.....निसामान्यविकासया कवितया जागर्तिवत्सान्वयः
श्रीमान्वामनभट्टबाणसुकविस्साहित्यचूडामणिः॥—Sr. Bh.

This drama was printed at the Ārsha Press, Vizagapatam in Telugu, and in the Grantha Pradars'ini Series, Adyar, and in the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay (*Kavyamāla series*) in Sanskrit.

39. जातोविश्रुतविष्णुवर्धनकुले जागर्ति.....यी
गीतस्फोतयशस्सुधाश्रवलितब्रह्माण्डमित्यन्तरः

who is identical with Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha, one of the ministers of Dēvarāya I.^{39a} From the introductory s'lokas in the drama, *Pārvatī-parināyam* (in five acts) and from the colophon at the end of the fourth *aṅka* of the *Kanakalekhākalyāṇam*, we come to know that the poet had also the titles, *kavisārvabhauma* and *gadyakavisārvabhauma*, in addition to *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* and *Sāhitya sāmrajyadhurandhara*.

Besides the dramas referred to above, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa wrote two paḍya-kāvya, *Nalābhyaṇḍayam* and *Raghunāthābhyaṇḍayam*, and one *gadya-kāvya* by name *Vemabhūpālacaritam*, otherwise known as *Vīra-nārāyaṇacaritam*, a minor kāvya called *Hamsasamulṣam*, and two lexicons, namely, *Śabdaratnākaram* and *Śabdacandrikā*. Of these works *Vemabhūpālacaritam* is a biography of his patron, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmaabhūpāla. The author herein describes the expeditions of Vēmaabhūpāla, the hero of his romantic prose kāvya, in all quarters, in a grandiloquent style, emulating the example of Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the author of the *Kādambarī*. This work, though historically unimportant, contains charming descriptions, like those in the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacaritam* in full blown ornate language. *Gadyakavisārvabhauma*, the author's title, finds mention in the colophons of this *gadya kāvya*.⁴⁰

श्रीमायीवरशुक्तिमोक्तिकमणिलोकैकरक्षामणिः

श्रीमा...पमिन्धुकोस्तुभमणिलक्ष्मीशदग्दाधिपः ॥

तेन च कुलक्रमागत

कवितासौरभ्यपरिगतोन्मेषः

उपलालनीयमहिमा

वा...जागर्ति वामनोवाणः ॥

The above s'lokas are found in the Adyar copy of this drama. We do not find the first of the above s'lokas in the copy in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The next s'loka beginning with *tena* is much damaged in the copy in the Manuscripts Library. At the end of the fourth *aṅka* of this drama the colophon runs thus:

इति श्रीमद्रत्नकुलतिनक गद्यकविमार्दभौम पद्मभाषावल्लभ

साहित्यसाम्राज्यधुरन्धर श्रीवामनभट्टवाणविरचितं

कनकलेखाकल्याणनामनाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

39-a. S. I. I. IV. Vol. No. 267.

40. It may be interesting to note here that many beautiful passages from the *Vemabhūpālacaritam* are found incorporated verbatim with Telugu inflections in the Telugu work, *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*, or *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, written by the Telugu

Of the two padya-kāvyas, the *Nalābhyudayam* in eight cantos deals with the story of Nala; and the other kāvya *Raghunāthacaritam* describes the story of Rāma in thirty cantos. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa does not seem to have produced any other work.⁴¹

poet, Śrīnātha. The passages describing Trilingadēśa in Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's *Vēmanabhūpalacaritam* are almost the same as those employed in describing Dakṣarāmapura in the *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam*. Many such parallel and identical passages can be picked up from both the works (Vide, Śrī Kuruganti Sitaramayya's article entitled *Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa and Śrīnātha* in the Telugu monthly *Bharati*, Vol. 13, No. 5, May number, 1936. In his article he quoted many identical passages from both the works). This identity raises the question about the original authorship of these passages, whether it was Śrīnātha's or Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's? Both of them were great Sanskrit poets and scholars, both were patronised by king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and hence both were contemporaries and probably intimate friends. It might be that Śrīnātha lent a helping hand to his friend, Vēmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa in the composition of *Viranarayana-caritam*. This fact, however has to be noted. Of the two works, *Viranarayana-caritam* and *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam* the former is earlier in date than latter. It was written in the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (A.D. 1402-1420); and the *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam* was written some time after 1428 A.D. Whether he had a hand or not Śrīnātha would not have hesitated to incorporate, in his work *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam*, some of the beautiful passages from the *Viranarayana-caritam*. It was a habit with Śrīnātha to take from Sanskrit, ideas beautifully expressed, and *śamāsas* nicely composed, wherever they are found, and to incorporate them in his works; not that he was incapable of coining such *śamāsas* or expressing such ideas, but simply because he was naturally fond of such beautiful passages. This may be well illustrated by the following example. The Sanskrit śloka given below is found in the Drujjavaram grant of king, Anavēma dated in 1371 A.D.

वसन्तरायश्च वसन्तकेलौ

कस्तूरिकारेण चयाम्बुवाहः

क्षिप्रं हिमाम्बुघनवर्षधारा

कर्पूरखण्डः करकाविक्रीणाः—O. P., No. 15 of 1922-23.

Śrīnātha rendered this śloka into Telugu and appropriately utilised it in his *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam*, while describing the *Vasantamahōtsava* in god Bhīmanātha's town, Dakṣhāram, celebrated by the devas. The Telugu verse in the *Bhīmakhyaṇḍam* runs thus :

“బసవరక స్తూరి కామేఘపటలమునకు

శీకరాసారమయ్యె గొఱ్ఱేరి నీరు

వలుదవడగండ్లనయ్యె నవ్వర్ష మునకుఁ

గామినులు చల్లు కర్పూరఖండవిరతి.”—Bh. Pr., V, v. 123.

41. The late Śrī M. Krishnamachariar, author of "The History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, mentions *Brhathkathamāñjarī*, as one of the works of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. He writes. "Of his *Brhathkathamāñjarī* only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kāṭakharī, is now available. " (page - 216). He quotes for his authority a manuscript in the Adyar Library, Madras, (Cat. II, 4). I examined

Another poet Nṛsimha, brother of Viśvanāthakavi, and son of Gaṅgādhara, appears to have flourished during the rule of the Reḍḍis. He was the author of *Kādambarī*, a drama in five acts. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma refers to this work in his *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. It is thus evident that *Kādambarī* was earlier in date than the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Nṛsimha's *Kādambarī* attained great fame by Vēma's time. Nṛsimha's brother Viśvanātha may be identical with Viśvanātha, the author of the Sanskrit drama *Saṅgandhikāharaṇa*⁴². Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa must have, therefore, been a contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma, the grand uncle of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

The kings of Rājamahēndravaram were equally famous for their patronage of learning. The *ṛitti* holders in the *agrahāras* which they granted, were all great scholars, learned in the Vēdas and the Śāstras. However, we come to know of only two poets of their court, namely, Śrīvallabha of the Kaṇva *gōtra*, son of Lakṣmī and Śrīvallabha, and Sarasvatibhaṭṭa of the Śrivatsa *gōtra*. The former was the composer of the grants of Kāṭaya Vēma and of Anavōtā Reḍḍi, nephew of Allāḍa Reḍḍi,⁴³ and the latter was the writer of the

the manuscript concerned. It contains two incomplete works, one the *Kādambarī*, written by Bāna, and the other, an unnamed work on five leaves. The first leaf in this work is lost. From the closing passage written on page four, we come to know that it is the end of the *Veṭalacaturvimsatīka*. The last leaf containing the colophon states that it was written by Bāna. There is nothing in it to prove that the author of that work is the same Vamanabhaṭṭa Bāna who adorned the court of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

Śrī M. Krishnamachariar writes that Vamanabhaṭṭa Bāna migrated to the court of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma when about thirty years old (Vide, his "*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 25). No evidence is cited for this statement.

42. The late Śrī M. Krishnamachariar identifies Viśvanātha, the brother of Nṛsimha with the author of *Saṅgandhikāharaṇa*, and his father with Gaṅgādharamahākavi, praised by Gaṅgādevī, consort of the Vijayanagar prince, Kumārakampannodeyār, in her *Madhurāvijayam*, alias *Virakamparajacāritam*, and states that he was the son of Agastya's sister (see his "*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 652). Agastya, as it is now acknowledged, was Vidyānātha, the author of *Prataparudrayasōbhūṣaṇam*, and the court poet of Kākati Prataparudradēva. Krishnamachariar's identifications seem probable. On their strength Nṛsimha may be said to have flourished in the early post Kākatiya period.

43. Śrī M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., reveals to us another Sanskrit poet who was a contemporary of Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his son Vēma Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. In his valuable articles on the commentaries on the *Saṅgitaratnākaram* published in the *Bharati* (1986, November issue, Vol. XVIII, pp. 625 ff), he informs us that Siṅgaribhaṭṭa or Siṅganabhaṭṭa, son of Māyibhaṭṭa, was honoured by Allāḍa Reḍḍi and caused delight to the mind of his son, Vēma Reḍḍi, and that he, later on, wrote a commentary on the *Saṅgitaratnākaram* in the Andhra language at the request

Vēṃavaram grant of Allaya Vēma. Sarasvatībhāṭṭa had the titles *kavībrahmaṇī* and *padavākyapramāṇavit*. “

The copper plate records discovered in the coastal region acquaint us with some more poets, namely,

1. Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (*kavir* = *Vedantapārāgah*)
2. Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa of the Ātrēya *gōtra* (*kaviḥ*)
3. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa of the Śaunka *gōtra*
4. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

Both the poets, Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa and Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa, held *ṛttis* in the *agrahāra* of Vilasa, granted by the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka. Of these Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa may be probably identical with his namesake, the author of the *Kādambarinūṭaka*, who was also a Bhāradvāja *gōtrin*. This identification gains support from the fact that he was nearer in time to Viśvanātha kavi, the author of the *Saugandhikāharaṇa*, and to the *mahākavi* Gaṅgādhara. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa was the recipient of the *agrahāra* of Prōlavaram by Prōlaya Nāyaka's cousin, Kāpaya Nāyaka. He performed a *satrayāga* in the Śrīśailam country, and is said to have written a commentary on the *Giriśasahasra* or *Śivasahasranāma*. This work has not yet come to light. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the last of the above list, was the recipient of the village of Ālapāḍu as an *agrahāra* from king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Saka 1334, and belonged to a famous family of poets and

of the Vijayanagar ruler, Praudha Dēvarāya. From this it may be concluded that Siṅgaribhaṭṭa, after living for sometime in the court of Allāḍa Redḍi, and his son, Vēma Redḍi, migrated to Vijayanagar, and adorned the court of Praudha Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II).

“आस्ते सिङ्गभिदसूरिरिति ऋग्वेद....

ऋक्खाखान्मृतिमायिभट्टनयो ब(ह्व?)लाळराट्पूजितः

तस्मादल्लयवेमभूपसुमनस्सन्तोषमापूरयन्

.....मंगतीरत्नाकर

स्येयं प्रौढनरेन्द्रपालन.....तेनसा ॥

प्रौढदेवनरनायकाकृत.....” Etc.

scholars. His father Mādhavārya was a poet of great renown, and had the title *Sikalakavisārvabhaṇṇa*. It is for future research to unearth the works, if there were any, of Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa and of Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa.

Similarly, we come to know of many scholars learned in sciences, but not their works, from the records of this period. The Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka, the liberator of the land, gathered around him a number of learned brahmans, proficient in different sciences, and supported them. His Vilasa grant mentions seventy eight donees, of whom there were mathematicians, grammarians, philologists, logicians, philosophers, jurists and experts in the Āgamas, and sacrificial lore. The names of some such scholars proficient in various sciences, known from the records of the period, are given below in a tabular form, along with the phrases and passages therein used, indicating their proficiency in the special subjects of their study. This list is not exhaustive.

Name	Gōtra	Subjects mastered.
Ananta	Śrīvatsa	<i>Jyotirjñāḥ</i>
Anantabhaṭṭa	Harita	<i>Vēdānta-Śabda śāstra-kṛtairama-</i> <i>maḥ</i>
Bollibhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	<i>Āgamēsu prauḍhaḥ Ganita-</i> <i>marmavit.</i>
Carakūri Keśavārya		<i>Vyākhyatā-sakala-vidyānam</i>
Ciṭṭaya	Gautama	<i>Kṛtadvividha Mīmāṃsah,</i> <i>tīrṇa Vyākaraṇāmbudhiḥ</i>
Dēcibhaṭṭa	Kapi	<i>Padavakya-pramāṇavit</i>
Eṅṅayāvadhāni	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Yajur-jatādeśa-carcādyava-</i> <i>dhānapracandadhīḥ.</i>
Gaḍḍapalli Peddibhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	<i>Śabdaśāstra-Patāñjalīḥ</i>
Haribhaṭṭa	Lōhita	<i>Śatōgra-Veda ŚāstrānāmVyā-</i> <i>karta</i>
Inguvu Mallubhaṭṭa	Śaunaka	<i>Śaddarśanānartakīva jihvāgrē</i> <i>yasya nrtyati</i>
Īśvara }	Parāśara	<i>Gurutantraviśaradaḥ</i>
Īśvara }		
Kaṅṅā Bharatasudhi	Ātrēya	<i>Mīmāṃsāmāmsalah, Śabda-</i> <i>paṭuḥ Tarkōpi karkaśah</i>
Kēśava	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Smṛtijñāḥ</i>
Mallubhaṭṭa	Śaunaka	<i>Citravadhānō-Yojasi</i>
Malarāva Mādhavasudhi	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Śaddarśanyādīvidyānām-</i> <i>yasya jihvā vihārabhūḥ</i>
Maṇḍapāka Rāma	Parāśara	<i>Vyākartā-kavitā-sāṅga-Yajuh</i>
candrasudhi.		<i>Śrantesu citrakṛt.</i>

Name	Gotra	Subjects mastered.
Muḍiṃya Siṅganārya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Vidvān Sangita-Sāhitya- Śāstramārga-vicakṣaṇaḥ</i>
Pannāla Kommaya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Ṣaḍḍarśani-vyākriyābhira- jihvāyasya-vijṃbhata</i>
Peda Bhāvanabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	<i>Pāṇinis-Śabdaśāsanam, culukit = āpāragambhira-Gaṇit = ārṇavaḥ</i>
Pedapūṇi Tallayārya	Harita	<i>Pudavākyaḥ pramāṇānam-vyāk- khyātā</i>
Peda Siddhyabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	<i>Jyōtirīrṣṭajagadvidhaḥ</i>
Peñcōṭi Dēvarebhaṭṭa	„	<i>Śivāgamaviśāradaḥ Veda Śāstra Purāṇajñāḥ</i>
Perumāḍimakhi	Gautama	<i>Vyākaraṇaśāstrānām</i>
Pina Bhāvanabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	<i>Jyōtiśśāstram-mahad-yasya tṛtīyam-iva-lōcanam</i>
Pōtappaya	Kauṇḍinya	<i>Dharmaśāstra-kṛtāśramaḥ</i>
Pōtibhaṭṭa	Srīvatsa	<i>Śabdaśāsanavīt</i>
Pōṭṇūri Vallabhasudhi	Sāṇḍilya	<i>Brahmā- Yajur-Śāstrānām vyākhyātā</i>
Prēkōṭi Nārāyaṇamakhi	Ātrēya	<i>Tārkikas-Tāntrikas-Sāma śabdikō-yājñīkaḥ-kaviḥ</i>
Rāmaya	Kāśyapa	<i>Gaṇita-Brahmabirudhaḥ</i>
Saṅkara	„	<i>Ṣaḍḍarśanapaṭiḥ kavitaḥ kṛti</i>
Siṅgayajva Perumāḍimakhi	Gautama	<i>Śāstrānām vyākhyātā</i>
Singayārya	Harita	<i>Mīmāṃsā Śabda-Turkabhūḥ</i>
Sōmayārya	Bhāradvāja	<i>Jyōtirvit</i>
Vēnnyārya	Kausika	<i>Śāstravyākhyādhurandharaḥ</i>
Vidyā Viśvēśvara	Sāṇḍilya	<i>Kaviḥ</i>
Vissayārya	Saunaka	<i>Citrāvadhāni Yajur</i>
Viśvēśvara	Srīvatsa	<i>Vaiyāsikamatapradhāḥ</i>
Guḍimeṭṭa Sarvadēvamakhi	Harita	<i>Vyākhyātākṣhila-Śāstrānām</i>
Nādhubhaṭṭōpadhyāya	Kapi	<i>Vyākhyātā</i>

A perusal of the above list shows that *Vyākaraṇa*, *Jyautiśa*, *Gaṇita*, and *Mīmāṃsā*, were extensively studied in the coastal Andhra, in the times under review. None of the works of the many commentators on *Ṣaḍḍarśanas* and *Śāstras* has come to light. This list is given with a view to help future research to discover any of the works written by them. It is well worth noting that the study of *Gurutantra* (*Purva Mimāṃsā*) was still continued in Andhra in the middle ages. There were even scholars who mastered the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*. Kāmayārya, son of Vallabhārya of the Maṇḍavelli family,

is described as *Śatapathī* (*Vidvān Śatapathī Kāmāyāryah Śukla Yajuh paṭuh-v 76*) in the Koṅkuduru plates of Allaya Doḍḍa Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. The same grant informs us that Mallayārya of the Narlūri family studied completely *Rig Veda* along with the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Brāhmaṇavṛtti Rig Veda-pāragah*).

In this period many great astronomers flourished in the coastal country, and specially developed the science under the patronage of the Redḍi kings and other chiefs. This fact is borne out by the copper-plate records of the period. Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* was "an ocean of knowledge of the Vēdas and the Sciences" (*Veda-Śāstravijñānasindhvaḥ*), and was well versed in *Prānūśṭaka*, a branch of Astronomy. He was the recipient of the village of Prōlavaram as an *agrahūra* from Nāmaya Nāyaka of the Virasāmanta family of Piṭhāpuram. We come to know of a very renowned family of astronomers belonging to the Haritasa *gōtra*, who were patronised by the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The genealogy of these *daivajñas* is given below.

Narasimha
(*Paravādikuñjaraghaṭṭasimhaḥ*)
|
Bhimēśvarayajva
Yāgavidhūnāśālī
|
Pōtibhaṭṭa
(*Śaṭṭarkakarkaśālāpaprakriyūparamēśvaraḥ*)
|
Guṇḍayārya
(*Puṇḍarikadrśōvidyākhaṇḍacandraḥ tōbhidhā*)
performer of the Paṇḍarikayāga
|
Peddiyajva (*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhāntasindhu-manthānak=*
ādriḥ; Daivajñacūḍāmaṇḇh Yajurānṇāyavedī;
Nityānndānavratī)

Rāmacandra
(*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhānta-rahasyārthaikavēdī*)

Gaṅgādhara

The titles and phrases noted against each name in the above table, testify to the greatness of this learned family of astronomers. Peddiyajva, also called Peddibhaṭṭa, adorned the court of king Anavēma, and received from his patron the village of Paccani Taṇḍiparggu (Tenali taluk, Guntur District) in Śaka 1296. He was also an elder contemporary of kings, Kumāragiri and his cousin Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons visited the court of Peda Kōmaṭi

Vēma after his accession to the throne, and found ready support from that learned king *Sarvajñacakravarti*. His minister, Māmiḍi Singa-nāmātya, a descendant of Chiṭṭaya⁴⁵ of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, was a profound scholar in Astronomy, and wrote *Gūḍhārthadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sōmasiddhānta*. He might have helped Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons to some extent, in getting the royal patronage, for, he was himself an astronomer of no mean ability. In the work *Sr̥ṅgāra Naiṣadham* which he accepted dedication from poet Sṛinātha, he was referred to as *kavitāsiddhānta sarvajña* and *pañcāṅgaśhīramantraraksanākālāprauḍha*⁴⁶. He must have well appreciated the merit of Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons, and lent a helping hand to them. Peddibhaṭṭa received from Kōmaṭi Vēma two villages Kaluvānula and Nandamūru as *agrahāras* in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.), and Śaka 1333 (1411 A.D.) respectively. Peddibhaṭṭa's son Rāmacandra also was a great astronomer. He was the recipient of the village of Rudravaram from the same king in Śaka 1341 (1419 A.D.). Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons became the ornaments of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court.

The science of Astronomy seems to have been patronised by the kings of Koṇḍaviḍu from long before the time of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The Kōḍūru grant of Anavōtā Redḍi brings to light two more astronomers, Narasimhajyautiṣika of the Vasiṣṭha gōtra, and Tallaya of Kōḍūru. Though there were such great astronomers, it is strange that no astronomical work written by any one of them, with the exception of *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* which is extant, has come to light.

"There is a class of philosophers", writes Conti, "found throughout all India called Brāhmins who devote themselves much to

45. अस्ति श्रीमद्भद्राजगोत्रे श्रोत्रियभूषणम्

पेद्दुक्कयसन्मन्त्रिवंशांभोधिमुधाकरः ॥

नसा श्रीचिद्व्याख्यस्य पौत्रो मामिडिमन्त्रिणः

तनुजः पेहनार्यस्य श्रीनृसिंहो महायशः ॥

पेदकोमटिवेमन्द्रमन्त्रिणा तेन धीमता

ज्योतिर्विद्यानिराघाटसरस्वत्वारदृश्वना ॥

सिङ्गयामात्यरत्नेन भुवि लोकहितैषिणा

क्रियते सोममिन्द्रान्तव्याख्यागूढार्थदीपिका ॥ (C. S. M. Madras, R. No. 1715).

46. "నారీచిత్ర సరోమరాశి, నయచాలక్య పెరించాన్నయ

శ్రీరాంభోధిసుధామయూని కవితాసిద్ధాంతసర్వజ్ఞ..."—Sr. Nd., VI, v. 144.

"పంచాంగ సిద్ధాంత రక్షణకళాపాఠశాల..."—Ibid, I, v. 10.

Astronomy and the prediction of future events. They are men of superior cultivation, and are distinguished by a greater sanctity of life and manners. "" The kings of Rājamhēndravaram also patronised scholars well-versed in Astronomy. Pinnaya, son of Singaya of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who adorned the court of Anavōtā Redḍi, son of Anavrōla of Rājamhēndravaram, was proficient in the sciences of Jyautiṣa and Śakuna, and had the titles *Jyōtirmārganirargaḷa*, and *Śakuna - Brahmā*. He received from Anavōta the village of Chikkāla, re-named Prōlaya-Komaragiripuram, as an *agrahāra* in Śaka 1344. This village is identical with Kommuchikkāla in the West Godavari district (Bhimavaram taluk).

There were some more astronomers, like Nārāyaṇa, son of Kācibhaṭṭa of the Kāśyapa gōtra, and Annaya, son of Gōpalabhaṭṭa of the Haritasa gōtra, who were patronised by Annadēva Cōḍa and other chiefs, and received shares in the *agrahāras* donated by them.

Another science which found ready patronage from the kings of this period was *Āyurvēda*. Grants of this period bring to light a great family of Āyurvēdic physicians, namely, the Parahitas of the Ātrēya gōtra. The family traces its descent from one Parahita, a *sarpavyādhicikitsaka*, who is said to have obtained that honorific title by saving a serpent suffering agony, by extracting a bone sticking up between its jaws, and healing the wound. "" Members of this *paṇḍita* family of Parahita were experts in medicine, especially in *sarpacikitsa* and *visavaidyā*. Those who practised medicine in days of yore were called *paṇḍitas*. Any number of examples may be cited in support of this statement. "" That is why Parahita's family is termed *Paṇḍitānām-kulam* in inscriptions..

47. Major. Conti. p. 25.

48. परहितस्मर्पव्याधिचिकित्सकः ॥ v. 54.

दीर्घास्थिस्यूतवक्त्रोभयपुटमसकृद्दर्शयन्तं स्वमास्यं
दृष्टवाावल्मीकपाश्वे भुजगवरमुपेत्या भयो यः कृपालुः
कृत्वा सम्यविचकित्सामचिर मपरुजा तेन दत्ताभयश्री
रन्यार्थोपक्रम त्वात्परहितभिषजो नामतस्यार्थयुक्तम् ॥ v. 55.

—Kaluvaçēru grant.

49. The Koṇḍaviḍu record (S.I.I. IV. No. 699) of king Sadās'iva Rāya of Vijayanagar dated in S'. 1468, registers grants of land to many *paṇḍitas*, evidently physicians

The chiefs of Koṅkuṇḍa, and the Reddi kings of Rājamahēndravaram extended their patronage to the members of the Parahita family. Siṅḡaya Nāyaka of Koṅkuṇḍa made a grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi ⁵⁰ to the Āyurvēdic physician, Parahita of the Ātrēya family in Saka 1290. Anitalli, queen of Allaya Virabhadra-Reddi of Rājamahēndravaram, made a gift of the village of Kaluvacēṅḡu ⁵¹ (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari district) to Parahita, son of Kālanāthabhāṭṭa ⁵² of the same family in Saka 1345. With the help of the two grants mentioned above, the genealogy of the Parahita family may be traced as shown in the table below.

both veterinary and Āyurvēdic, of whom "As'vavaidyulu Lakṣmaṇa paṇḍitulu", was one. Among the donees, it is interesting to note that there was one Parahita Paṇḍita also, a member of the Parahita family. This inscription shows that the members of the Parahita family maintained their reputation even during the Vijayanagar period, and can be traced in inscriptions until almost the end of the sixteenth century. A record (S.I.I., IV, No. 1874) at Dākshāram registers the gift made by one Annaya Paṇḍita of the Gautama gōtra, who is referred to therein as *Vaidyendra*.

The Ās'vāyurvēdavaidya Vāsudeva is referred to in a record (S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 180) as Vāsudeva Paṇḍita, son of Ananta Paṇḍita of the Ātrēya gōtra. Some of these Paṇḍitas were also Sthānādhipatis of temples (S.I.I., Vol., V, No. 189). Mallikārjuna, Mañcena, and Śrīpati, the three reputed Ś'ivācāryas, that go by the name of *Āradhyatrayam* in the Andhra country, were also called Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, Mañcena Paṇḍita, and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. Here also the term Paṇḍita, I believe, connotes that they were experts in Medicine. Names of Ś'ivācāryas with the suffix paṇḍita, like Ś'rīkaṇṭha Paṇḍita, and Sōmēs'vara Paṇḍita, are met with in ancient inscriptions (vide, Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 94 and 98). These Ś'ivācāryas, whether of the Kālāmukha, Pās'upata, or of any other school, are known to have been experts in medicine. They established hospitals for the public. The *Kōḍiya maṭha* or Kēdārēs'vara temple, at Belagamve of the Kālāmukha Ś'aivas contained a hospital in it (*nananathayrōgijanarōgabhiaṣajyasthanam*, the place for the treatment of diseases, given to the destitute and the sick (Ep. Carn, Vol. VII, SK. 102. The Pās'upata Ś'aiva teacher, Viś'vēśvara Ś'iva of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* established a maternity hospital at Mandaḍam in the Guntur district, during the reign of Rudramadevi, daughter of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff).

50. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII pp. 59 ff.

51. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

52. Members of the Kālanāthabhāṭṭa family, who are now living in the West Godavari district, claim to be the descendants of Parahita IV's father, Kālanāthabhāṭṭa, after whom, they say, their family got its name,

Parahita (1) of the Ātrēya *gōtra*
(*Sarparyādhicikitsakāḥ*)

Mallinātha

Parahita (II) = Uma

Rāmanātha
alias Rāmaya = Aitāmbikā

Parahita (III)
S. 1290

Dēvarāya (I)

Kālanātha

Parahita (IV) Dēvarāya (II) Varada
S. 1345

Parahita II was one who knew the secrets of all the Āgamas (*sarvāgamārthatatvajñāḥ*). He is said to have got the name Parahita by practising *sarpacikitsa*.⁵³ His son Rāmanātha also was an expert in the treatment of diseases. Parahita III was a great Vēdic scholar and physician. He is said to have taught the *Yajur Vēda*, and the *Āyur-veda* to his students, and accomplished the object of his life. He was the recipient of Akkalapūṇḍi. Parahita IV received the village of Kaluvecōṅgu as an *agrahāra* from king Virabhadra Redḍi and his queen Anitalli, in Śaka 1345. He was eulogised as *vaidikakarmakarmathamatih*, *Śivārcanātatparah*, *dinajanāvanah*, and *Āyur-Yajur-Vedavit*.

Kings of Koṇḍaviḍu also, especially Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, supported the science of *Āyurvēda*. His Ponnupalli records register grants of villages to eminent Āyurvēdic physicians. The donee of one " of these grants, dated in Śaka 1326, was one Bhāskaraṛya, a Yajurvēdin, son of Parahita of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and of the Āpastamba Sūtra. Bhāskara was a *Paṇḍitendra* and a member of the Parahita family that received its name by saving a serpent.⁵⁴ He had the title

53. "...सर्पचिकित्सामकरोत्तदुपज्ञा परहिताभिधानश्रीः"

—v. 56. Kaluvecōṅgu grant.

54. The text of this record is given in Sr. Sr., (Vide, Appendix pages 14 and 15.)

55. "....द्विजन्मानाम्।

मण्डूकशल्यव्याधिसर्पघ्राणाभिरक्षणात्

Bhūlōka Dhanvantari. The grant referred to above shows clearly that there were two branches of the same Parahita family, with two different *gōtras*, one of the *Ātrēya gōtra* and the other of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*. It is really enigmatic how the descendants of the same Parahita belonged to two different *gōtras*. The other Ponnupalli grant⁵⁶, issued in Saka 1330, records the gift of that village to Siṅganārya of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, another very great scholar and *Āyurvēdic* physician well versed in the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, in the *Paṭañjali Mahābhāṣya*, in the *Vaiśeṣika*, *Nyāya*, and *Mīmāṃsā Dharmaśāstras*⁵⁷. He was the son of Viṣṇuārya, grandson of Bhāskarārya, and great-grandson of Periyavilla.

His genealogy, as given in this grant, is as follows :—

Periyavilla of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*

Bhāskarārya

Viṣṇuārya

Siṅganārya (Donee)

The donees of the two Ponnupalli grants under discussion appear to belong to the same family, and to the same *Kāśyapa gōtra*. Siṅganārya's grandfather Bhāskara is, in all probability, identical

आसेदुषां पण्डितानां कुले परहितमिधाम

जातायापस्तम्बसूत्रे सुखमानुसारिणि

काश्यपाय यजुश्शाखाध्यायिन सुकृतात्मने

भूलोकधन्वन्तरये सतः परहितस्य च

पुत्राय भास्कराय पण्डितेन्द्राय धीमते...

— Ponnupalli grant, 15.

The text of this grant was published by Śrī Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, in his *Sṛṅgara Srinatham* as an appendix, in pages 14 to 16. The donee's *gōtra* was Kasyapa and not Bhāradvaja, as stated in the text of the book (Vide, Sr. Sr., p. 112).

56. Sr. Sr., Vide, Appendix, p.

57. नष्टे श्रीपरिविष्णुस्य कल्याणगुणशालिनः

अकर्तृकाणां साङ्गानामाद्यानां वचसां निधेः

श्रीमद्विष्णुस्कार्यस्य पौत्राय ब्रह्मवादिनः

अष्टादशानां विद्यानामध्वन्यस्य महद्वसु

with the donee of the first set dated in Saka 1326. The name of his father Parahita seems to be the common title of the members of this family, his real name being Periyaviḷla. Periyaviḷla and Viḷayarya are strange names and are not common among the Andhras. Judged by their names they appear to have been Drāviḍa brāhmins.⁵⁸ If this surmise is correct, it is no wonder if the *gōtras* of the donees of the Ponnupalli records and those of the Akkalapūṇḍi and the Kaluvacōḡu grants are different. Then, how could the Drāviḍa brāhmins claim to be members of the same Parahita family? Parahitas of the Ātrēya *gōtra* were an old family. It was flourishing in the Andhra from almost the beginning of the Redḍi period. No such antiquity can be postulated, with the evidence available to us, to the Ponnupalli family. Members of the latter family were probably the pupils of the Parahitas, and learnt from them *Parahita-vaidyā*, a special school of medicine, probably relating to *sarpacikitsā* or *viṣa-vaidyā*, to be more comprehensive. Hence, they may be taken as Parahita's cultural descendants, who maintained and nurtured this medical art. In ancient times, there were such descendants in the sphere of religion (a pupil or disciple considered himself to be the son of his *guru*), and in the sphere of politics (a king's subordinate considered himself to be his son). In the same way, members of the Ponnupalli family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* appears to have styled themselves as the descendants of Parahita *Pāṇḍita* in the sphere of culture (medical art).

There is a treatise on Medicine in Sanskrit called "*Parahita-saṁhitā*"⁵⁹, in the Government Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras,

पुत्राय विष्णुवार्यस्य वेदवेदाङ्गवेदिनः
 आयुर्वेदश्च साष्टाङ्गं निनिर्गोषमधीतिनं
 फणिराजमहाभाष्यकविक्रिपापरमंष्ठिने
 कर्मब्रह्मपरामर्शमीमांसासामंस्त्यात्मने
 कणमुग्रधितग्रन्थिसिन्धुमन्थानभूभृते
 अक्षपादमतप्रेक्षपक्षमलीकृतचेतसे
 तस्मै काश्यपगोत्राय मिङ्गनार्यायधीमते
 शान्ताय शिवभक्ताय यजुराम्नायवेदिने...

—Ponnupalli grant, No. II, p. 16.

58. We find even to-day Drāviḍa brāhmins of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* at Ponnupalli.

59. The colophon at the end of this work (D.C.S.M. (Madras), Vol. XXIII, No. 13346) runs thus :

इति श्रीनाथपण्डितस्यकृतो परहितसंहिताया मष्टमखण्डे अष्टमाध्यायः ॥

ascribed to one *Srīnātha Paṇḍita* of the Parahita family. The work contains the *Aṣṭāṅgakāṇḍa* in eight *adhikāras*, of which the beginning is wanting in the first *adhikāra*. The names of the sections with the exception of the first which is unknown, are given below:

- 1
- 2 *Kaumāratuntrādhikāraḥ*
- 3 *Bhūtavidyādhikāraḥ*
- 4 *Dāhacikitsādhikāraḥ*
- 5 *Śalyādhikāraḥ*
- 6 *Sarvaśalyādhikāraḥ*
- 7 *Rasāyanādhikāraḥ*
- 8 *Vājīkaraṇādhikāraḥ*

Why this work was called Parahita Sāmhitā, and what the extent and speciality of this work was, have yet to be ascertained. *Parahitaviṣṇusiddhānta*, probably another work on Medicine, is alluded to in the colophon to the first chapter of *Nṛsimhanidānam*⁶⁰, a medical treatise written by a certain *Nṛsimha Paṇḍita* of unknown date.

We do not know if *Parahitasamhitā* and *Parahitaviṣṇusiddhānta* are allied works on the same subject, and if the latter is extant.

Rasa-vaidyā, or treatment of diseases with mercurial preparations, was greatly developed during this period, because of the impetus given by the Siddha cult of the Navanāthas. The Navanāthas and their disciples were experts in *Vādas* (metallurgical sciences), specially in *Rasavāda*. They used *Rasa* or mercury for curing diseases. In the *Rasakacchapuṭam*,⁶¹ a treatise dealing with the purification of mercury, and the preparation of different kinds of mercurial powders and medicines, the author Nāgēśa or Nāgārjuna gives, in the beginning of the work, a list of names of medical works *Rasa Śāstras* which he consulted in writing that work. We find, among the authors of these

60. Ibid, No. 18167.

The colophon runs thus :

इति श्रीप[ति]रहितविष्णुसिद्धान्तसागरादिसूर्यविरचित परिडित श्रीनृसिंहकृतौ
नित्यानन्दनानाशास्त्रसंमताद्यशीति वातनिदा[ने]नं(नाम) प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

61. Ibid, No. 18192.

ताक्षर्यं धन्वन्तरिव्यासं पीयूषं पारदं शुभम्
व्यालिनागार्जुनं चैव गोविन्दं लोकनायकम् ॥

works, Vyāli and Nāgarjuna, two of the nine Nātha Siddhas (Nava-nāthas) mentioned. The latter is described as *Rasa-Śāstra-nirmāta* in the Telugu work *Navanāthacaritra*.

An interesting feature of the times under review was the appointment of a special royal physician in each court, called the *prāṇācārya* (the guardian of king's life), to look after the health of the king. Parabita III was the *prāṇācārya* of Singaya Nayaka of Kōṅṇa. Lakṣmaṇācārya⁶² was the *prāṇācārya* of prince Bukka II, son of Harihararāya II of Vijayanagar. The kings of those days, being constantly under fear of Viṣa-prayōga, did not readily take food (sweets and other edibles), cloths, jewels and ornaments, sent to them by their subordinates or equals as tributes or presents, without getting them examined by an expert medical officer. This seems to be the reason for the appointment of a *prāṇācārya*, a special medical officer attached to the king. We find, in the ordinary Telugu kāvyas of the period, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra*,⁶³ works which have nothing to do with Political science, verses relating to *viṣaparīkṣa*, in a discourse on *rāja-nīti*, a prince ought to know.

Any account of literature of either Telugu or Sanskrit during the Redḍi period cannot be complete without referring to the literary activity, in the kingdom of the Rēceṅṇa chiefs of Rājukōṇḍa and Dēvarakōṇḍa. The Redḍi and the Rēceṅṇa kings vied with one another in extending their patronage to poets and scholars, and in producing literary works. Both were equals in maintaining political grandeur, in extending patronage to men of letters, in scholarship and military skill. If Singabhūpāla of Rājukōṇḍa was a *sarvajña*, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Kōṇḍaviḍu also had the same title. Poet Srinātha, the court poet of the Redḍi kings, visited the Rājukōṇḍa court also, and was honoured by the Rēceṅṇa chiefs. He was the cultural link, as it were, that connected Kōṇḍaviḍu and Rājukōṇḍa, the two rival houses.

62. Further Sources, I, No. 34-a.

63. “విధాన్ము లొరు లంపిన
నవని నొరు గుడువఁబెట్టి యతనికి జీర్ణం
బవు తెఱిగి భుక్తి గొనఁదగు
బ్రవిమలమతి భక్త్యభోజ్య పానీయాదుల్.

జనపతి యన్యన్య పాలుఁడు
పనిచిన భూషణసుగంధ పరిధానంబుల్
మునుమున్ను పూసఁగాదగ

జనయఁగ విషయంతుభంగు తెఱిగినదాకన్.” —Rk. Cr., III, vv. 18-19.

Singabhūpāla II, also called Kumārasīṅga, was a great Sanskrit poet and scholar, and the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a treatise on Rhetoric in Sanskrit. He was the son of Anavōta I, and grandson of Siṅga I. The term kumāra seems to have been particularly applied to grandsons named after their grandfathers. Anavōta I's grandson who was named after his grandfather, had also the name of Kumārānnavōta or Anavōta II. Himself a great scholar and poet, Siṅga II gathered round him noted scholars and poets, like Viśvēśvara and Appayārya. He quotes profusely in his work, prose passages and śloka in illustration of different *lakṣaṇas* from different dramas. Of these some dramas appear to have been written by himself and some by others. A majority of these works are not now extant.

Recently *Ratnapāñcalikā*, otherwise called *Kuvalayāvalī*, a drama written in Sanskrit by Singabhūpāla II, was discovered in the Travancore Palace Library, and published. This drama in four acts describes the marriage of lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Kuvalayāvalī. *Pratigandabhairava* and *khaḍganārāyaṇa*, the well known titles of Kumāra Siṅga, find mention in this work. This drama is stated to have been enacted on the occasion of the *vasantayātrāmahōtsava* of god Prasanna Gōpālādēva residing at Rājāsaila (Rajukonḍa). In this drama, the author describes himself as *lalitakavitāvilāsa - caturāṇana*. His protegee Bommakāṇṭi Appayārya pays a high compliment to Siṅga II by extolling him as *sarvajña* in his *Amarakośavyākhyā*.⁶⁴ He says that, if a work was examined by the *Lakṣya-lakṣaṇavēdi* Kumāra Siṅga, it

64. “विद्यदैवताततावकगुणे सर्वज्ञचूडामणे....”

—C. S. M. (Madras), R. 2672, p. 59.

“कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन तक्षयलक्षणवेदिना

शोधितश्चेदयं ग्रन्थः किं शोध्यं शोधकान्तरैः

कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन यः कदापि न शोधितः

स ग्रन्थः शोधितोऽप्यन्यैः किं व्यवहियते बुधैः॥

काव्यालङ्कारनानार्थतत्त्वभावितमानसः

कुमारसिङ्गभूपाल एक एवास्ति नापरः॥ — Ibid, R. No. 1401; R. N. 1170.

जैवातृकं बुधगुरुं निलयं कलानाम्

सर्वज्ञमूर्धमणिमाश्रितशुद्धपक्षम् ।

श्रीबोम्मकर्णयुपपदाङ्कितमप्पयार्य

सर्वेष्टितोषितसुरं द्विजराजमाहुः॥ — Ibid.

was unnecessary to go through it again, and that, if it did not merit the appreciation of Siṅga, it was of no avail even if it was corrected by others. Besides the two works *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* and *Ratnopāñcālikā*, Siṅga II also wrote *Sanḡīṭasudhākaram*,⁶⁵ a commentary on Śārṅga-dhara's *Sanḡīṭaratnākaram*.⁶⁶ This work also was recently discovered in the Mahārāṣṭra country and is now in the course of publication.

Now, let us see if we can fix the date of Siṅgabhūpāla's works. It seems that only the date of *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* may be fixed roughly, and not the dates of other works. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* was earlier in date than *Camatkāracandrikā* written by Viśvōśvara, the court-poet of Siṅga II. This is clear from the fact that Viśvōśvara frequently quotes the former in his work. Bhōganātha, the *narmasūci* of the Vijayanagar Prince, Saṅgama II, and the composer of his Bitraguṇṭa grant⁶⁷, dated in Śaka 1278 (1356 A.D.) quotes in his *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*,

65. Of this work the first chapter on *Śaralākṣaṇa* was printed at Calcutta in 1880. In this printed copy the colophon runs thus: '*Sīṅhabhūpalaviracitayam.....Sanḡīṭasudhākarakhāyam...*' But the colophon to the first chapter in the manuscript copy recently discovered, reads differently. According to this, the author of the first, third, and the fifth chapters is a certain Gaṅgadhara, son of Bhaṭṭa Ś'riṅga-nātha, the dharmadhikari of Maharajādhirāja Ś'ri Gopinātha, the ruler of the Narmadātapa country. But again the authorship of the second, fourth, and sixth chapters is attributed to the Andhramaṇḍaladhis'vara, Siṅgabhūpāla, son of Anavōta, who is no doubt Kumarasiṅga. It is difficult to account for this discrepancy in the colophons of this work, and to establish the identity of Gaṅgadhara. The usual practice of describing the genealogy of the author in the introductory verses is not followed in this work. In its stead we find the following verse.

अतिगम्भीरे विषये कतिपयवेद्येतिवद्ग्रन्थे

सम्यग्ब्याख्याकुशलः सर्वज्ञः सिङ्गभूपणकैः ॥

66. Śārṅgadhara, the author of the *Sanḡīṭaratnākara*, was the son of Sodhala, a contemporary and the Ś'rikaraṇādhipa of the Yadava king, Siṅghaṇadēva who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. R. G. Bhandarkar writes thus in his *Early History of the Dekkan* in connection with the above commentary: "There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Siṅga who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Siṅga appears, in all likelihood, to be Siṅghaṇa; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case"-(Vide. the *Early History of the Dekkan* III edition (1928), pages 194-195). The commentary in the above passage is, no doubt, the same as the one described above. Siṅga, "the paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle" was not Siṅghaṇa, the Yadva king of the Mahārāṣṭra country, but the Rēcerla chief, Kumāra Siṅga.

67. "सक्षमाचक्रदिशविलासि विभुना तिग्मांशुहारश्रिया

विश्रामक्षणविश्वरङ्गमयताकल्पं यशोज्योतिषाम्

another treatise on Rhetoric, verses from *Māgha* and *Camatkāracandrikā* illustrating *cakrabandha*⁶⁸. *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* must have been written about Śaka 1280, or Śaka 1300 at the latest. Before this date, Viśvēśvara completed his *Camatkāracandrikā*. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a still earlier work than *Camatkāracandrikā*, must have been written long before the latter one. Hence, it may be concluded that Singa II wrote his work, while he was a prince during his father's reign, some time about Śaka 1290, that is, 1368 A.D.

Next to Singabhūpāla, his son Ravu Mādhava Nāyaka (Māda Nāyaka) has to be mentioned among the king-poets and scholars of the Rōceṇḍa family. The stone record of his wife Nāgāmbikā at Nāgaram, a village to the north of Rājukoṇḍa, reveals the fact that Mādhava wrote in Śaka 1349, *Rāghavīyam*,⁶⁹ a commentary on *Śrīmad Rāmāyaṇa*, and offered it at the lotus feet of god Śrī Rāma. This work is now lost.

As already stated, Viśvēśvara, the author of the *Camatkāracandrikā* was patronised by Singa II. He was a pupil of Kāśīśvaramiśra, the author of *Rasamīmamsā*, now extinct. Viśvēśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā* is purely a *lakṣaṇagrantha* in eight *vilāsas*. The verses in this work illustrative of the several *lakṣaṇas*, are all in praise of the author's patron. While giving an estimate of the work, Dr. V. Raghavan writes,

विद्वत्कान्ति मुरापहप्रविशदाविर्भूतकृत्स्नागमा
मांधाता न च तद्विशेषविदुषा याति द्विषां नोपमाम्(?) ॥

" This round (of the *Cakrabandha*) reads *Camatharajyōtsna*, seventh round reads *Visvapatikavi*, and the ninth round reads *Singaprabhuyasah* " quoted from Sri M. Doraswamaiya's article on "*Singabhūpāla: His date*", in T.S.V. Vol. I pp. 51. 56, Sri Doraswamaiya writes thus: " Bhōganātha is the elder brother of Viḍyārāyaṇa, the great minister of the Vijayanagara empire. *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* was written during the reign of Harihara II (1380) of Vijayanagar. Viśvēśvara appears to be a scion of the Viḍyārāyaṇa family from the author's genealogy given in *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*, and of the same Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and this with his great learning has commanded an honorific mention in Bhōganātha's works. " Ibid, p. 54.

68. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 21 ff.

69. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 12 p. 45, v. 17.

शाकाख्येनिधिवाधिरामशशिगेप्यन्दे प्लवङ्गे शुभे
मासेप्याश्वयुजे रघूद्वहपदे यो राघवीयाह्वयाम्
टीकामर्षपटुप्रबोधघटनामाणिक्यपुष्पाञ्जलिम्
कृत्वा राजति रावु माधवन्पो रामायणस्यश्रियं ॥

'The most noteworthy part of this work is its treatment of *rīti*..... He (Viśvēśvara) combines Rudraṭa and Daṇḍin, adds something himself and christens *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍīya* and *Pāñcālī* as *Kōmale*, *Kāṭhina* and *Mītra*..... Another approach is that of *camatkāra*, which is poetic delight which comprehends all poetic elements from *Guṇa*, and *Śabdālaṅkāra* to *Rasa* and *Dhṛmī*. It is on the basis of this *camatkāra* which is *lōkōttarāhlāda* that Jagannātha gives his most comprehensive definition of poetry.....Almost the first regular treatise on Poetics to make approach through this *camatkāra* is *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśvēśvara".⁷⁰

There were some more poets of the Rōceṣa court to be taken into account. One of them, Nāganātha, son of Paśupati Paṇḍita, and a pupil of Viśvēśvara, was the author of the drama, *Madanavilāsa Bhūṇa*. He was the court poet of Anavōta I and the composer of his Ainavolu stone record⁷¹ dated in Śaka 1291, i. e., 1369 A. D. It is likely that Paśupati Nāganātha, the court poet of Anavōta I was the author of the drama, *Anavōtanāyakiyam*, now extant, referred to in Kumāra Siṅga's *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*.

Peddana Pōtarāja, the minister of Mādā Nayaka I, was the author of the Umamahēśvaram stone record⁷² of his master, dated in Śaka 1298. The verses in this record bear eloquent testimony to his scholarship and poetical talent.

Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya was another great scholar-poet who adorned the court of Siṅga II. He wrote a commentary⁷³ (*Amarakōṣavyākhyā*) on the *Amarakōṣa* of Amarasiṃha. From this *vyākhyā* we come to know that he had another name, Māra Pōta. It is likely that his full name was Pōtappaya which, in ordinary parlance, became Appaya.

70. Vide Dr. V. Raghavan's excellent article on "The *Camatkāracandrika* of Viśvēśvara", in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVI, Pages, 131-139. Could this Viśvēśvara be Viśvanātha, the brother of Nṛsiṃha, the author of the drama *Kaṇḍarvī*? Viśvēśvara also belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (Vide, T. S. V., Vol. I, p. 54). The nearness in time between Viśvēśvara and Nṛsiṃha, and their common *gōtra* may lend some weight to the suggestion of the identity of the former with Viśvanātha, brother of the latter poet.

71. Vide Vv. Cr., Appendix No. 4 pp. 20 ff.

72. Ibid, No 10, pp. 35-36, v. 32.

73. व्याचष्टामरसिंहनाथरचितं ग्रन्थं निघण्टूत्तमम्

ख्यातं शिष्यहितार्थमप्यसुधीः श्रीमारपोताभिधः ॥

—C. S. M., (Madras), R. 1401 (End.)

Another poet of the Rēceṣṭra court was Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa. *Pratāpacaritra*, a late quasi-historical Telugu prose work, purporting to describe the history of the Kakatiyas of Waraṅgal, states that he was one of the poets of Pratāparudra's court. Though much reliance cannot be placed on this work, yet, there is reason to believe that he flourished in the post-Kakatiya period also. (Vide, chapter on Religion above and Telugu literature below). He must have been a contemporary of the Rēceṣṭra chief Siṅga I. This conjecture finds confirmation from another piece of evidence. A śloka⁷⁴ in praise of Harihara I in the *Prasaṅgaratnāvalī*, a Sanskrit work of the latter half of the fourteenth century, suggests that Śākalya Malla was for some time in the Vijayanagar court. From the *Guruparaṁpara-prabhāva*⁷⁵, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work, we come to know that he was in the Rēceṣṭra court also, though it is not definitely known if he was there either in his early or later life, either after, or before his stay at Vijayanagar.

Śākalya Malla was the son of Śākalya Mādhavasudhi. He wrote a grammar on the Sanskrit language, two kāvyas, *Nirṣṛṭhya Rāmāyaṇam*, and *Udāra-Rāghavam*, and a lexicon by name *Avayaya-saṅgrha-nighaṇṭu*, of which the grammar and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷⁶ are now lost; *Udāra-Rāghavam* and *Avayayasāṅgraha-nighaṇṭu* are now extant.

74. “अहो नारद शक किंकनुगतो भूलोकमालोकि तुम्
को राजा भुवि विक्रमी हरिहरोधत्तो कियन्मण्डलम्
आपूर्वाण्वमापरार्णवमसावण.....
पूर्णस्तत्कृपया गजेन्द्रविजयी शकल्ल(ह्य)मल्लः कविः॥

—Mss. No. 5—4—10; and 7-6-17.

75. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222.

76. He is known to have written a Sanskrit grammar and *Nirṣṛṭhya Rāmāyaṇam* from the Telugu works of Appakavi and Marigaṇṭi Siṅgarācārya, very late Telugu poets.

“సంస్కృతమునకు నాంధ్రభాషకును దొడ్డి
లక్షణములు శాకల్యమల్లన సుధీంద్ర
విన్నకోట పెద్దన సుకవి ప్రముఖులు
క్షీతి నొనర్చిరి లోకోపకృతికి బెక్కు.”—Ap. Kv.

“మును రామాయణమున్ నిరోష్ఠ్యముగ నింపుల్మొల శాకల్య మ
ల్లన తా సంస్కృతభాషక జేసె నన నాలాగుక జెవుల్ నిండఁగా
వినుటే కాని ధరితిపై నిజముగా వీక్షింప లే దట్టి దే
దెనుగుంజేసెద నెల్లడం గవులకుక దృష్టాంతమై యేర్పడక.”—Dn. Cr.

The *kāvya Udāra-Rāghavam*, as is now available, is incomplete and contains only nine *sargas*. The ninth *sarga* stops with the story of *Śarpaṇanāsikācheda*. It is from the colophon of this work that we come to know that he was the son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa.⁷⁷ *Avyayasamgrahanighaṇṭu*⁷⁸ was a lexicon of *avyayas* or indeclinables. From this lexicon we come to know that Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa had the title *caturbhāśākavitāpitāmahaṅka*, which suggests that he was a poet in four languages.

These were about the chief Sanskrit poets that flourished, and the works they produced, in the times under review.

Religious works, particularly *stōtras*, *aṣṭakas*, and *gadyas*, written by early poets, find frequent mention in the Telugu works of this period and were very popular. In this category particular mention should be made of works like *Nilakaṇṭhastava*, *Mahimnastōtra*, *Anāmayastava*, *Halāyudhastōtra*, *Malhaṇastava*, *Samsāramāyāstava*, *Malayarājastōtra*, *Bāṇagadya*, *Kālīdāsagadya* and so on. Pālkuṭiki Sōmanātha mentions these works in his *Paṇḍitārādhyaacaritra*. *Nilakaṇṭhastōtra* was particularly very popular during this period among the Saivas. The Telugu poets, Śrīnātha and Pōtarāja, also mention this *stōtra* in their works, along with some others.

Pratapacaritra also corroborates the fact that he was the author of *Nirōṣṭhya Rāmāyaṇa* (Vide A. S. P. P. pp. Vol. VII p. 298-99.) Śākhavelli Mallikarjunabhaṭṭa, mentioned in the manuscript copies of this *Pratapacaritra* (this was also published in the Śaivapracaripi series, anubandham 3, Waraṅgal, p. 60) is no other than Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa.

77. “इति श्रीमत्सुखस्वप्ना कलितरघुनाथदत्तवरप्रसादसहजसारस्वत
श्रीशकल्यपदाङ्कितमाधवसुधीतनय कविमल्लाचार्यविरचिते
उदारराधवे महाकाव्ये...”

Vide, M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on Tamil manuscripts Vol. I pp 3-4 (1896-97). Also Bhandarkar's list of Sanskrit manuscripts (1893).

78. The colophon of this work runs thus :

“इति चतुर्भाषाकविनापितामहाङ्क शकल्यमल्लुभट्टविरचि
ताव्ययसंग्रहनिधयदुः समाप्तः”

TELUGU LITERATURE

With the re-establishment of independence in the country, Telugu literature entered on a new phase of developmet. Before this period it found favour only with *maṇḍalikas* or feudatory chiefs, while Sanskrit enjoyed royal favour and patronage from the sovereign lords of the land. Kings lavished their patronage on Sanskrit scholars and poets. It was traditional for kings of sovereign status to patronise Sanskrit and Prakrit. Kings of the Telugu country also adhered to that custom. The reputed Andhra Satavāhana monarch Hāla, himself a great poet in Prakrit patronised Prakrit poets. The Viṣṇukunḍins, the independent rulers of the seaboard of the Andhra country, encouraged Sanskrit learning. Janāśraya Mādhavavarman of this dynasty wrote *Janāśrayi Chandas*, a treatise on Prosody, in Sanskrit. The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī, the successors of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, granted several *agrahāras* to brāhman scholars who were experts in Vēlas and Sāstras. The Kākatiya monarchs of Waraṅgal also supported Sanskrit scholars and poets, while their subordinates patronised the Telugu poets.

Supporting Sanskrit had been one of the conventional duties of the sovereigns of the land from ancient times. Contrary to this custom, the Eastern Cālukya king, Rāja Rāja I, supported Telugu learning and encouraged Nannayabhaṭṭa, his court poet, to translate the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into Telugu. It was the only welcome deviation from the prevalent custom prior to the Reḍḍi period. In fact, with the birth of the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, Telugu attained the dignity of being the vehicle of poetic thought. It became classical. From the time of Rāja Rāja I Cālukya, the Andhra *maṇḍalikas* the men of the soil, who owned their allegiance to the Cālukya Cōla monarchs (the descendants of Rāja Rāja's son, Kulōttuṅga Cōla I), took up voluntarily the duty of supporting their native language Telugu as against Sanskrit, and accepted dedication of Telugu works. Ever since that time, the subordinate *maṇḍalikas* of the coastal Andhra country took pride in patronising Telugu poets, and well earned the title of *sukavikīra-sahakāras*. The stone records of the *maṇḍalika* subordinates of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contain many Telugu poems of great merit, which can well stand comparison in poetic beauty, diction and *alaṅkāra* with any classical Telugu poem produced during that age. Hence, from the beginning of the mediaeval period which witnessed great many changes in religious and social spheres, Telugu, the language of the common man, found ready support in the courts of the

subordinate *maṇḍalika* families. Political subjection affected the Telugu literature also, and lowered its rank and status from that of Sanskrit and Prakṛit. Sanskrit, the language of the Vēdas and the Śāstrās, the fountain-heads of Hindu culture, having been supported by the sovereign kings of the land, enjoyed a sovereign status, and Telugu was relegated to a secondary rank. Suzerain lords and Sanskrit scholars looked down upon the Telugu poets and Telugu literature, and were loathe to recognise the merit of the Telugu poetry. This attitude of the Sankritists and independent monarchs towards Telugu literature continued till the time of the revival of the Hindu monarchy in the post-Kakatiya period.

In the period under review, along with the rise of the Redḍi power wielding the suzerain authority over a great extent of territory, Telugu also emerged from its subservient position, and proudly occupied an equal, if not a superior, status to Sanskrit, and shared the royal patronage equally. The Redḍi kings lavished their liberality equally on both the Sanskrit and Telugu poets. The triumph of the people and the nobles of the land in winning their freedom and independence was not a little responsible for this change in outlook. The people of the land were successful in overthrowing the mighty Delhi Sultānate, and in re-establishing their right over their beloved country; and Telugu, the language of land, asserted itself and won its due place in the academic field. With the appointment of the Telugu poet Śrīnātha as the *Vidyādhikāri* in the court of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Telugu definitely scored over Sanskrit. Śrīnātha, the greatest Telugu poet of the age, was the examiner of scholarship in both Sanskrit and Telugu languages of those who visited his patron's court.

Another important factor that contributed to the rise in status of the Telugu poet is the crushing defeat of Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the greatest Sanskrit scholar-poet of the age, at the hands of Śrīnātha, his Telugu contemporary. This one incident was eloquent in declaring the efficiency of scholarship in classical languages also of the Telugu poet. In fact, it was a thorough knowledge and mastery in Sanskrit that helped one to become a great Telugu poet. This thorough study of both the languages also contributed to enhance the prestige of the Telugu poet and raised him in the estimation of the general public, as well as of the scholarly world. For the first time in the literary history of the Telugu country, the Telugu poet shedding his inferiority complex, raised his head high and enjoyed proudly the royal patronage extended to him by the sovereign lords of this period.

This was the most important and welcome change that came over Telugu in the period under review. Because the Telugu poet of this age gained equal status in the royal court and shared royal patronage with the Sanskrit poet, great honour was done to him in later times as being borne in a palanquin by an emperor of no less a standing than Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Telugu literature produced during this age fully reflected the spirit and conditions of the times. The times necessitated the diffusion of the Hindu religion and religious principles, and the consolidation of the Hindus in a united front against the aggressive Islām, which had already become a menace to the Hindu life and religion. Educating the common people in the *dharma* of the land was a necessity. As a matter of fact, the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, written by the poet-seers, Nannayabhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji, already prepared the ground. That Telugu work attained popularity in the Andhra country, from Warāṅgal to Nellore, propagated the principles and precepts of the Hindu religion, and became a mighty, though subtle, force in the land, in the unification of the Andhra people. It imparted knowledge, both secular and spiritual, to the common people, and trained them to have a common religious outlook, moral code, and a set of principles that shaped and guided their worldly life. The *Andhra Mahābhārata* laid, in fact, the foundations on which the structure of Andhra culture was built, and prepared the ground for the religious unity in the Andhra land which was essential to resist successfully the aggression of Islām.

The Telugu poets of this age sought to consolidate still further what was achieved before. The temporary Muslim occupation of the country impressed upon the leaders of the Hindu thought the necessity to train the common man to be brave and daring, and yet noble and religious minded. With this end in view, Telugu literature took the lead to popularise and propagate the new turn the religion had taken, and all that the new religious cults stood for and represented. The *Kūṭilasa* and the *Vaiṣṇaṭha*, the final ideal abodes after death, for the pious Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas respectively, and the charming *svarga* for heroes who died in battle and virtuous persons leading a religious life, were the bewitching temptations placed before the people, and hells of different kinds with innumerable sorts of torture and punishments, were held out as the proper abode of the sinners and the irreligious, who did not live a life in accordance with the accepted principles of religion. A perusal of the works produced during this age will show how well the Telugu literature accomplished the task assigned to it.

Telugu poets tried their best to present to people the *dharma* as envisaged and propounded by the two important cults, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in as concrete a form as possible, with the help of Purāṇic themes, and the stories of kings who staked their all to achieve an object or to fulfil a religious vow, and thereby acquired name and eternal fame. In this way, the Telugu literature of the period tried to educate the common man in *dharma* as the sole means and basis to achieve the object in life, placed before him the great ideal of *mōkṣa*, final emancipation, and encouraged him to follow the example of the heroes of the *kāvya*. It was the privilege of the Telugu poet of this age to instruct the common man to develop a broad religious outlook, to make him strong in head and heart to resist successfully the onslaught of the invading fanatic Muslim, and to sacrifice his life voluntarily, and unflinchingly if necessary. The impermanence of life, and the permanence of fame, and all-potent virtues were placed before people to induce them to rise to the occasion. This aim and object made Telugu literature descend to the level of the ordinary man. Telugu works, like *Paṇḍitārāḍhyacaritra*, *Vikramārkaacaritra*, *Sinhāsanadvāprīmśika*, *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Keyūrabāhucaritra* and *Śōḍaśakumāracaritra*, all these fired the imagination of people and impressed upon their mind that life was worth sacrificing for a noble end either temporal or spiritual. They induced the readers and hearers to do great deeds and to achieve the objects they sought for. Faith in the vows taken, the *vratas* performed, the deities worshipped, the *mantras* chanted, or the religious practices observed, was inculcated by the religious and biographical works, like *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇam*, *Bhāgavatam*, *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Padma Purāṇam*, and *Harivaṃśam*, *Vīrabhadra vijayam*, *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, *Haravilāsam*, *Śivarātrimahātmyam*, *Rukmāṅgadacaritra*, or (*Ēkādāśivratamahātmyam*), *Haricandracaritra*, and *Navanāthacaritra*. *Sthalamāhātmyas*, or legendary accounts of holy places, such as *Kāśikhāṇḍam*, the *Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam* and the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* (*Dākṣārāmāyaṇa*), the prominent works of this period, which sang the glory and sanctity of Kāśī, Śrīraṅgam and Dākṣharam (East Godavari district), drove home the geographical unity of the Hindus under the pretext of religion, and encouraged one and all to go on pilgrimage and travel for acquiring merit. These legends about holy places current in the country, induced people to visit them and get absolved of their sins. In this way, all forms of literature tried to create a religious unity in spite of the difference in cults, and to evolve a common code of religious practice. The Telugu poet generally made admirable use of the old material, traditional stories of ancient kings of the land, and Purāṇic themes and interpreted them in accordance with the tenets of neo-Hinduism.

The new outlook in literature brought about some innovations, notable among them being a new style, for narrating old themes with power and vigour, and for presenting them as lucidly as possible. The Telugu poet individually evolved a technique of his own, a variation in style, by employing dexterously the Telugu, and the Sanskrit words, and the *śabda* and *artha alaṅkāras*. The next innovation was realistic descriptions in consonance with the theme. To make the *kāvya* interesting and appealing to the senses, nature for the first time was also brought into play in a romantic fashion. The Telugu *kāvya* of this age was made appealing with vivid descriptions of nature. We find in the extant Telugu *kāvya* the Cakōra birds (Greek partridges) merry and feasting on the nectar of the moon; and mild breezes carrying fragrance of flowers which they had looted while passing through flower gardens, blowing gently over a pair of secret lovers, or the new married couples in royal palaces. By the time we come to the Reddi period, Telugu, which drew its inspiration before from the classical Sanskrit, well established its reputation as a language of poetic expression.

Errā Pregaḍa :

The first poet known to us to have adorned the court of the Reddi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu was Errā Pregaḍa, also called Sāmbhudāsa. He was the son of Sūrya or Sūranārya of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra*. His forefathers seem to have been the natives of Vēgināḍu. His grandfather is said to have been one of the *ṛtti*-holders of Karāvartī¹ in Vēgināḍu. Later on, his forefathers migrated to Pākanāḍu, south of the Guṇḍlakamma and settled at Guḍlūru (Kandukur taluk, Nellore district). Errā Pregaḍa was a great devotee of Siva. He was consequently known as Sāmbhudāsa. His guru was a famous Śaiva teacher, named Saṅkaraśvamin. While living at Guḍlūru, Errā Pregaḍa became the favourite poet of Prōlaya Vēma's brother, Mallā Reddi, who rewarded him amply. After the foundation of the Reddi kingdom, Mallā Reddi took him to his brother Vēma, and presented the poet to him. Since then Errā Pregaḍa became the court-poet of the Reddi kings of Addaṅki.

1. “వేచినాటం గరావర్తి వృత్తి మంతుఁ

జనఘ్నుఁ డెఱపొత్తనూరి కంసారిచరణ

కమల మధుకరపతి సారవిమలయశుఁడు.” *Nr. Pr.*, I, v. 15.

Karāvartī seems to be a mistake. There is no village called Karāvartī in Vēgināḍu. There are villages bearing a similar name to it. They are Kākarapartī and Rāpartī. I believe Karāvartī is a mistake of the scribe for Kākarapartī which is an *agrahāra* still in existence. Errā Pregaḍa was fifth in descent from his ancestor Bhīmamantri, the recipient of many honours from Coḍa II (S'aka 1084—S'aka 1093) of the Durjaya family of Velanāḍu.

Errā Pregaḍa's works are known to be four in number, namely (1) the portion of the *Aranyaparva* of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* which was left unfinished by Nannaya Bhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji; (2) *Lakṣmī Nṛsimhāvatāram* or *Nṛsimha Purāṇam* (3) *Rāmāyaṇam* and (4) the *Hari-vamśam*.

It is not known when and under whose patronage Errā Pregaḍa translated *Aranyaparvaiśaṃ* into Telugu. This work brought him great name and fame in the literary circles. In translating this portion Errā Pregaḍa followed the method adopted by the previous authors of that work, and made it almost indistinguishable in style from what had been written by his predecessors. The style of Errā Pregaḍa in his *Vanaparvaiśaṃ* is on a par with the two great and individual styles of Nannayabhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji. The dignity of the style, his skill in translation, and his proficiency in both Sanskrit and Telugu, earned for him the title of *Prabandhaparamēśvara*,² and an equal rank with the other two eminent authors. It is interesting to note that Errā Pregaḍa completed the *Aranyaparvaiśaṃ* of the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, not in his name but, in the name of Nannayabhaṭṭa who dedicated his work to the Eastern Calukya king, Rāja Raja I. These three authors of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* have the distinguishing common term, *Kavitrāyam* and were the guides of the later classical Telugu poets, who strictly followed their example in the matter of language, grammar, prosody and application. The completion of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was strictly in keeping with the spirit of the age. In the political sphere, the Andhras emerged successfully from the dark period of suffering and foreign domination, and in the literary sphere, with the translation of the portion left out of the *Vanaparva* in Telugu, the composition of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was completed. With the re-establishment of Hindu independence and the revival of the Hindu *dharma*, the *Mahābhārata*, the story of the successful struggle of the Pāṇḍavas against their opponents the Kauravas, was completed in Telugu, and presented to the Andhras in its entirety.

Errā Pregaḍa's next work is the *Nṛsimha Purāṇam*. He took the story of Lakṣmī Nṛsimhāvatāram from the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇam* as the theme of this *mahāprabandha*, and expanded it into a beautiful *kavya* which he dedicated to god Nṛsimha, the presiding deity of the famous holy place

2. “ఉన్నతి సంస్కృతాది చతురోక్తి పదంబులఁ గావ్యకర్తవై.
యెన్నికమైన బ్రహ్మంధ పరమేశుఁడనంగ నరణ్యపర్వతే
మోన్నయ మంధ్రభాష మజనోభ్యుప మొప్పుగఁ నిర్వహించి తా
నన్నయధర్మ తిక్కకవినాథుల కెక్కిన భక్తి పెంపునకొనె” —Nr. Pr., I, v. 17.

of Ahōbalam, in the Kurnool district. Though the precise date of the composition of this work is not known, it was certainly written after the completion of the *Vanaparvaiṣam* of the *Mahābhārata*m, for the latter work is referred to in the former.

From his later work *Harivamśam*, Errā Pregaḍa is known to have written a work on *Rāmāyaṇa* at the request of Prōlaya Vēma. A stone record³ of Śaka 1320 at Kandukūru, belonging to Rāca Vēma, grandson of Mallā Redḍi, also corroborates this fact. This work exists now only in name. Many verses, however, from this *Rāmāyaṇa* were quoted in works on Prosody, that is, *lakṣaṇagranthas*. Particularly, Kūcimañci Timmakavi, a Telugu poet of the eighteenth century, cited many verses⁴ in his *Sarvalakṣaṇasārasaṅgraham*, from this *Rāmāyaṇa*, not mentioned by others. It is probable that he possessed a copy of this work to quote so elaborately. If this surmise is correct, it may be concluded that this *Rāmāyaṇa* was extant till his time.

The *Harivamśam* was the last work which Errā Pregaḍa had written at the request and under the patronage of Prōlaya Vēma. Probably, this was the only work which he dedicated to his patron; for the poet describes herein Vēma's family-glory. The *Harivamśam* consisting of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara bhāgas* is Errā Pregaḍa's *magnum opus*. It reveals his austere personality. Essentially, he was a pious devotee. He does not use hyperbole even while describing his patron, which is a rare quality seldom found in the poets of this age. The work leaves the impression on our mind that the poet endeavoured also to instruct in the objective representation of life in addition to delight the age in which he lived. Literature had a purpose and was a means to achieve an end. Errā Pregaḍa's *Harivamśam* breathes out the gentle fragrance of simplicity and subjective devotion.

Śrīgiri :

Another poet patronised by Prōlaya Vēma was Pramathakavi Śrīgiri, popularly known as Śrīgiri Ayyangāru. Ayyagāru or Ayyangāru is a Telugu term of respect suffixed generally to the names of Śaiva or Vajśnava ācāryas. He was a late contemporary of the Kakātīya monarch Pratāparudra and an early contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma. A record⁵ at Mōgallu (Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district) dated in

3. N. D. I., II, Kn. 95, v. 8.

4. Śrī Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu collected all these verses in his article entitled *Errā Pregaḍa Rāmāyaṇamu* in the Telugu journal *Bharati* (June number, 1939)

5. Ep. Coll., No. 754 of 1920.

Śaka 1237 corresponding to the cyclic year Rākṣasa, registers gift of lands to this Śrīgirikavi, and proves his contemporaneity with the last Kākatiya monarch. Another undated record⁶, at the same place, of the time of king Ana Vēma, registers a gift of lands again to the same poet, probably by the king himself. This king is identical with Prōḷaya Vēma. This Pramathakavi Śrīgiri seems to be the same as Śrīgirikavi, the author of the story of the Navanāthas, in *padya bandhas* (verses) mentioned by Gaurana in his work *Nava Nāṭha Caritra*. Śrīgiri outlived to witness the re-establishment of the Hindu dharma by the Musunūri chiefs and Prōḷaya Vēma.

Jakkana :

Another poet of the coastal region belonging to this period was Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka-caritra* describing the valiant deeds of king Vikramārka of Ujjain. Jakkana's patron Siddhaya, son of Jannaya and grandson of Siddhana of the Vennelakaṇṭi family, is described as having been prosperous by the grace of god Bhairava of Bellamkoṇḍa (in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district). It is likely that Bellamkoṇḍa was the native place of Siddhaya, the patron of Jakkana. He was a great accountant in the service of Vallabha Cāmanāmātya, an officer of Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar. Among the rulers of Vijayanagara there were two kings bearing the name of Dēvarāya, of whom Dēvarāya I ruled from 1406. A. D., to 1422 A. D., and his grandson Dēvarāya II, from 1422 A. D., to 1446 A. D. The Telugu work, *Vikramārka-caritra* does not furnish any clue to identify which of the above two kings was the contemporary and overlord of Siddhana, the poet's patron. Consequently, the date of Jakkana has not yet been satisfactorily settled, in spite of some attempts by Telugu scholars. Some synchronistic facts, mentioned in the introductory verses of *Vikramārka-caritra*, in the course of the description of the genealogical descent of Siddhana to whom the work was dedicated, enable us however to know roughly the time of Jakkana and his patron.

Jakkana is said to have been the grandson (*manumaḍu*) of Peddayamātya,⁷ a great poet, scholar, and a contemporary of the Telugu Cōḍa king, Tirukalādēva of Nellore. There is considerable difficulty in the identification of this Tirukālāraja also; for, there were two kings of Nellore bearing this name; the first was Cōḍa Tikka⁸ I, father of Manumaśiddhi II, the patron of Tikkana Sōmayāji, and the other was

6. Ibid, No. 754 of 1920.

7. The suffixes *amatya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, do not generally mean anything. It was a custom among the members of the Āgavēla sect of brāhmins of this age to add these terms as suffixes to their names.

Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II, and grandson of Tikka I. Tikka II ruled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. As Jakkana states that he was the grandson of Peddayāmātya, it seems reasonable to identify the latter's patron Tirukālādēva with Tikka II. The following facts also indicate that he was probably Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II, and grandson of Tikka I. Sūraṇa Sōmayāji's grandson, Siddhana, father of Jannaya and a contemporary of the grandfather of poet Jakkana, is said to have been the *prathāni* of Nannayagandhavārāṇa (the mast elephant of Nannaya). We have to ascertain who this Nannayagandhavārāṇa was. According to Kētana's *Daśakumāracaritra* Bāca or Bhāskara, son of Siddhana, the paternal uncle of Tikka Sōmayāji, and minister of Cōḷa Tikka I, was a Nannayagandhavārāṇa. Nannaya in the phrase Nannayagandhavārāṇa seems to be the father of Tripurāntaka,⁹ the minister of Cōḷa Tikka. This Nannaya does not seem to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavārāṇa, to whom Siddhana, father of Jannaya, was the *pradhāni*; for, he would be too early to be the latter's contemporary. There was a chief of Nellore, probably of the Telugu Cōḷa family, by name Nane (Nanne or Nannaya) dēva Mahārāja, whose record¹⁰ is dated in Śaka 1197. This Nānēdēva, or Nannayadēva, appears to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavārāṇa whose *pradhāni* was Siddhana. In the light of the above facts it seems reasonable to think that Jakkana's grandfather Peddayāmātya and Siddhana's grandfather Siddhaya were contemporaries. Computing from Tikka II at the rate of thirty years on an average for each generation, say from 1285 A. D., we arrive at 1375 A. D., for the approximate date of Jakkana. Jakkana in this way comes to just about the beginning of the reign of Harihara II. Harihara's son, Dēvarāya I, was already a grown up prince ruling the Udayagiri Rājya, with Udayagiri as his capital, in Śaka 1304 (1382 A. D.). It seems therefore certain that Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana was a contemporary of Dēvarāya I. In whatever way we may reckon, Jakkana cannot come to the time of Dēvarāya II. Siddhana's master Vallabha Cāmanāmātya, must have been an officer of Dēvarāya I, while he was ruling the Udayagiri Rājya^{10a}.

If Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana, was an officer of Dēvarāya I the ruler of the Udayagiri Rājya, his paternal uncle, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya, alias Bhāskara, who is said to have received an *agrahāra* from

8. Tikka is only a variation of the term Tirukkālatti (dēva). Tiru means Ś'ri and Kālatti is Kālahasti. Tirukkālattidēva means Ś'ri Kālahastidēva, that is, God Kālahasti's varṇa of Kālahasti. The father of Manumasiddhi was named after that God. Tirukkālattidēva changed in common parlance into Tikkadēva.

9. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 847.

10. N. D. I., I. A. 29, p. 239.

10a. *Ibid* II, Kn. 40.

king Reḍḍi Vēma, could be no other than Prōlaya Vēma, or his son Anavēma. This Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana was removed from his great-grand father, Sūrana Sōmayāji by four generations. Sūrana Sōmayāji according to the introductory verses in the *Vikramārkaacaritra*, was the recipient of the village of Eddanapūḍi as an *agrahūra* from Rājendra Cōḍa, who is identical with the Velanāṇṭi chief, Rājendra Cōḍa II (1161 A. D., to 1181 A. D.). If Sūrana Sōmayāji is taken to have been a junior contemporary of Rājendra Cōḍa II, his great-grandson, Bhāskara, comes almost to the time of the Reḍḍi king, Prōlaya Vēma (1180 A. D. plus 120 = 1300 A. D.). So, if Reḍḍi Vēma was a contemporary and patron of Vennelakaṇṭi Bhāskara, his nephew, Siddhana, must have certainly lived in the time of Dēvarāya I".

Of Jakkana's works, only *Vikramārkaacaritra* has come to light. Of the three varieties, (1) *prākhyātamulu*, stories that are well-known, (2) *utpādyamulu*, stories originally created, and (3) *mīśramamulu*, those written with a blending of the first two varieties" of story compositions, Jakkana took up the third variety, in order to satisfy the desire of his patron Siddhana who preferred such a theme; and hence this story of king Vikramārka in *prabandhaśāyā*. The quality of his poetry is high and it has an individuality of its own. The descriptions he indulges in are delightful to read. He skilfully weaves into his stanzas the Telugu adages and proverbs very appropriately in suitable contexts.

Jakkana's patron Siddhaya also was an author". However, his works have not yet come to light. Siddhana's father Jannaya is said to have composed a *Śataka* in praise of God, Dēvakītanaya (Kṛṣṇa), and won his favour".

An old work called *Dēvakīnandana Śatakam* of unknown authorship, is extant in the Telugu country. Each stanza in it ends with the *mukūṭa* "Kṛṣṇā ! Dēvakīnandanā !" It is likely that its author was

11. Dēvarāya I ruled the Udayagiri Rājya as its governor in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A. D. As Udayagiri was an important fortress, only princes of the royal blood were appointed as its governors from its inception.

12. Vk. Cr., I, v. 27.

13. "నవరసంబులయందు నవ్వ కావ్యంబులు
కవిజనంబులు మెచ్చుగా నొనర్చె..."—Ibid, I, v. 50.

14. "పరమహృద్యంబైన పద్య శతంబున
దేవతీతనయు విధేయుఁడ నేనె" —Ibid, I, v. 44.

Jannaya. There was another poet of note in the family of Vennelakaṇṭi Siddhana, who flourished in the early Reddi period. He was Bhāskara or Sūrya alias Sūrana. Jakkana informs us that this Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya was patronised by the Reddi king, Vēma. Sūrya, is described in the *Vikramārkaritra* as *Veda-Śāstra-sompāna* and *Kavindrakuñjara*¹⁵. None of his works is extant.

Vennelakaṇṭi people were a learned family of poets and scholars. They rose to fame during the Reddi period. Themselves being poets, they supported great poets like Jakkana. Sūrana, the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of the sixteenth century, states that he was a descendant of the Vennelakaṇṭi people,¹⁶ who dedicated their works to king Vēmaya Anavōta Reddi, that is, Anavōta, son of Prōlaya Vēma. He does not, however, name the poet patronised by Anavōta Reddi. Nor does he mention the name of the work dedicated to him.

Annaya :

Another poet, Annaya of the same Vennelakaṇṭi family, wrote a Telugu kāvya called *Sōḍasakumāracaritra*. Very few copies of this work are extant. They are wanting in the beginning, *kṛtyādi*, of the first *āśvāśa*, which is usually devoted to a description of the author's family, or that of the poet's patron. We are thus deprived of the account of the author's family. The author Annaya dedicates his work to his own father, addressed as Ana Sūrya. Besides very many lacunae in the portion now extant, the third and fourth *āśvāśas* of the book also are lost. This work does not therefore help us to know if there was any relationship between the author's family and the family of Jakkana's patron Siddhaya; both, however, belong to the same Harita-sa-gōtra and to the Vennelakaṇṭi family. It seems to be hazardous to propound any theory identifying Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya referred to by Jakkana with Ana Sūrya¹⁷ father of Annaya, the author of *Sōḍasakumāracaritra*. *Sōḍasakumāracaritra* may, however,

15. Ibid, v. 62.

16. “ఈ నిఖిలంబు మెచ్చ నమరేశ్వరదేవుడు చూడ నృష్టవే
చీనది సాక్షిగా ననికి నిల్చిన రామయ్య గోధూవిభూత
గానమఁ దోలి వెన్నదది కాదిన వేమయ యన్నవోతధూ
జానికి నత్తుబంధము లానంగిన వెన్నెలకంటివారలొ” —Vn. Pr., I.

17. No doubt it is tempting to do so. It is in a way possible to say that both the Sūryas are identical, but the available evidence does not fully support such an identification. In some of the stanzas in the *Sōḍasakumāracaritra* Ana Sūrya is also mentioned as Annaya Sūrya. It is thus evident that Ana in Ana Sūrya is not a meaningless prefix; but really the contracted form of Annaya. Ana Sūrya

be assigned to the period under review. Judged by its diction, theme, and the tenor of descriptions, this *kārya* cannot be assigned to a period later than the middle of the fifteenth century. It might even be an earlier work.

Annaya compares his father Sūrya with Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, Bhōja, Jagadēkammalla and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara, kings who were renowned for their patronage of letters¹⁸, and scholarship. Kṛṣṇa Kandāra might

generally mean Sūrya, son of Annaya. According to this interpretation Sūrya, the father of the author of *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra*, cannot be identified with Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya, mentioned in the *Vikramārkacaritra* of Jakkana; for, the father of the latter was Siddhana and not Annaya. It is possible to interpret Annaya Sūrya as Sūrya, grandson of Annaya. This usage, though rare, is not altogether uncommon in the Telugu country. Examples may be cited in support of the usage. Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, that is, Viṭṭhala, grandson of Rāmarāja, is one such example from the history of Vijayanagar. It is unnecessary to multiply examples occurring in epigraphical literature. On this analogy, Sūrya might also be taken to be the grandson of Annaya of the Vennelakaṇṭi family. Jakkana's *Vikramārkacaritra* does not come in our way, if such an interpretation is given, for, Jakkana does not mention the great-grandfather of his patron, Siddhana. In this way, we can tide over the difficulty, and say that both the Sūryas referred to above are identical. But the works under reference, namely *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra* and *Vikramārkacaritra*, do not subscribe to this identity. Annaya, the author of the former work, describes his father Sūrya as a great minister well-versed in *Nīti* (*navapati-nayavidya-nartaki-nāṭyarāṅga*, II. v. 186; *Sri Bhargava-Kaṁandaka Vaiḍhārasavōpadhāya-Vasavamantri prabharaviḍamba-dhiguṇa sōbhila śaḍ-ṁṇya*"—VII, v. 1), as a sun in destroying the darkness namely the enemy forces, and as a *nūtana Bharatācārya*, skilled in cleverly illustrating the secrets of dance (*Nāṭya*), as described by Kōhala and others *Nāṭakamulka Kōhalaḍi - nāṭyarahasyōlghaṭana-nipuṇāprajña-paṭava-caturya*"—VIII, v. 91). Nowhere does Annaya state that his father was a poet. Nor does Jakkana describe Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya as a *Bharatācārya*, and a great minister, an adept in the *Nīti Śāstras*. Hence it cannot be said that both the Sūryas, father of the author of *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra* and Siddhana's paternal uncle, were one and the same.

18. “సరసానందన సత్క-ళాగమ పరీక్షా కృష్ణకందార భా

స్వర నానారసభావ నిర్మ ధనభోజిత్వ విద్యానిరం

తర గోష్ఠీజగదేకమల్ల బహు శాస్త్రగ్రంథ సిద్ధాంతవి

స్తరవిజ్ఞానకవిత్వత్తత్త్వలనా సర్వజ్ఞ సోమేశ్వరా.”—Sd. Cr., VII, v. 128.

In the above verse, each of these kings is praised for a special trait of his own. Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, i. e., the Raṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, is said to have been an adept in *sattatāgamapariḥṣa*. Bhōja was skilled in *bhasvarananarasabhavanirmathana*. Jagadēkammalla was renowned for his *vidyanirantaragōṣṭhi*, and Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chalukya king of Kalyāṇa, is extolled as *bahusāstra-grantha-siddhanta-vistara-vijñāna-kaviratatavakalana-Sarvajña*. *Abhilaṣitarthacintamani* alias *Manasollasa*, the encyclopaedic work of the latter king, appears to have been popular during the period under review.

be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III¹⁹ of Mālkhēḍ. who ruled from 939 A. D., to 966 A. D., Bhōja was the king of Dhārā and the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, a work on Rhetoric. Jagadēkamalla was the father of the Western Cālukya king, Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara, and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara was his great-grandson Bhulōkamalla Sōmēśvara. Thus the *kāvya* came into existence after the twelfth century. The reference to the supernatural powers of the Siddhas, adverted to in the stories, the singing of the *Pārvatīkalyāṇa* during the celebration of a marriage, and some other things described therein, clearly indicate, as already stated, that this was a *kāvya* of this period.

The author Annaya wrote this work on the model of the *Daśakumāracaritra* of Kōtana and *Keṃurabāhucaritra* of Mañcana. This work narrates the stories of sixteen youths, sons of the king, ministers, purohita and generals, in a charming style which differs considerably from the other story *kāvyas*. The difference in style between the old Telugu works and works of this period is apparent when one peruses the *kāvyas* of this period, works which were intended to catch popular imagination. These *kathā-kāvyas* represent in a way the several experiments in style to present themes to readers in as popular a manner as possible, without lowering the standard and dignity of the *kāvyas*, and conforming, at the same time, to the general rules of rhetoric, observed in composing a Sanskrit *kāvya*, the model for the Telugu poem.

The ascetic's staff, sandals, and quilt possessing magical powers, that we come across in *Vikramārka caritra* and *Śōḍaśakumāra caritra*, are indicative of the beliefs of common people in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and Yōgis, which are mostly due to the Siddha and Yōgic cults²⁰ prevailing in the period.

19. In this connection it should also be stated that the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa of Dēvagiri, is also called Kṛṣṇa Kandāra. If it is held that the author of the work has not mentioned these kings in chronological order, Kṛṣṇa Kandāra may be identical with the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa. However, as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king is known as Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, I prefer to identify the first king in the verse with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Kandāra is the Prākṛit form of the word Kṛṣṇa. He was also called Kṛṣṇa Kannara in popular parlance. In the *duprīda kāvyā Nava natha Caritra* written by Gaurana of this period there is a story about king Kṛṣṇa Kandāra (Vide, *Nava Natha Caritra*, pp. 262 ff.

20. Vide, Chapters, III and IV, on Religion and Social Customs.

Ananta:

Anantāmātya of Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, son of Tikkana and a native of Perumagūru situated in the doab formed by the Kṛṣṇā, the Bhīmarathī, and the Malāpahā, was a poet of this period. He was the great-grandson of Bayyana, who was a poet of no mean ability, and who received the title of *Bhavya bhārati*, from Tikkana Sōmayāji. His father, Tikkana, a devotee of god Andhra Vallabha of Śrīkākuḷam, spent his time in worship. Ananta's brother, Ciṭṭana, was also a poet. None of his works or those of his grandfather, Bayyana, have come to light. Ananta's native place, Perumagūru," is identical with the present village of Penamakūru in the Bezvada taluk, Kistna district. His guru was the great Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, Gōvinda Cakravarti, son of Tirumala Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, popularly called Nallānu Cakravarti. Gōvinda Cakravarti had four elder brothers, named Tiruveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubala Cakravarti and Śrīdēva Cakravarti; all of them were the gurus of some local chief or other, and propagated Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country.

21. The late S'ri K. V. Lakṣmanarao places this village Perumagūru somewhere in the Nizam's dominions, identifying the Bhīmarathī and the Malāpahā with the rivers of the same name in the Raichur doab (A.V.S., Vol. II, p. 1008). This identification is not tenable. It is expressly stated that Ananta's father, Tikkana, was a worshipper of god Andhra Vallabha of Śrīkākuḷam in the Kistna district. His guru was, as will be shown later, a native of the Guntur district. Hence, Ananta also might have been a native of the coastal region. This supposition gets confirmed if the rivers Bhīmarathī and the Malāpahā are located in this region. The doab formed by the Bhīma, the Malāpahā and the Kṛṣṇā should be sought for either in the present Kistna district, or in the Guntur district. It is interesting to observe that both the rivers, Bhīmarathī and Malāpahā, are mentioned in the grants of the Redḍi kings and the Musunūri chiefs. One must admit that the Redḍi kingdom did not extend its power far into Teliūgāna so as to include the Raichur doab. The village of Prōlavaram granted by the Musunūri chief, Kāpaya Nāyaka, is situated on the banks of the Malaghnī, that is, Malāpahā. This village is in the Gudivada taluk, Kistna district. The river Bhīmarathī forms the southern boundary of the village Īppugallu (Vide, part I, p. 111, f. n. 3) granted by king Anavēmā Redḍi. Īppugullu, which is no other than the present Īpugallu, is in the Bezvada taluk of the same district. Again, the river Malāpahāri, the Malaghnī of the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka referred to above, is mentioned, in the passage describing the boundaries of the village of Drūjavaram (the modern Jujjūru in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district), granted by king Anavēmā Redḍi to brāhmana. So, the Malāpahāri and the Bhīmarathī are found in the Kistna district itself. It seems therefore, reasonable to look for Perumagūru on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. I am inclined to identify it with the present Penumakūru in the Bezvada taluk (Kistna district). Penumakūru seems to be the corrupt form of Perumagūru, a developed variant of the old Peruvaṅgūru of the Eastern Caḷukya grants (Vide, Ep. Rep. 1914, para 6. p. 84).

Ananta was the author of three works, namely, *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Chandōdarpaṇam* and *Rasābharaṇam*. Of these the first mentioned work is a *kāvya* containing many interesting stories about Bhōjarāja, king of Dhārānagara. Ananta dedicated this work to god Nṛsimha of Ahōbalam. *Chandōdarpaṇam* is a treatise on Prosody, written after *Bhōjarājīyam*.²² *Rasābharaṇam*, the last work in four *āvalāsas*, is a *lakṣaṇa-grantha* treating about Sṛṅgāra and other *rasas*. The date of its composition is given as Śaka 1356 or 1434 A. D. The author dedicates this work to the god of Dhruvapaṭṭaṇa, on Tuesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (Tuesday 25th January, 1435 A. D.). This seems to be the second Telugu work on Rhetoric, the first being the *Kāmyālakṣārācūḍamaṇi* of Vinnakōṭṭa Peddana.

Ananta appears to have written *Rasābharaṇa* in his middle age or in his later life, long after *Bhōjarājīyam*. Anantāmātya's guru, Gōvinda Cakravarti, the youngest son of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, and the brother of Tirruveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, figures very early in a record²³ dated in Śaka 1318 at Kāreṃpūḍi (Palnad taluk, Guntur district), which is still the abode of his descendants. Gōvinda Cakravarti's father, Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti also, is mentioned in two undated records²⁴ at Rōmpicherla (Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district). An inscription²⁵ at Chiyyavaram dated in Śaka 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year, Pārthiva, records the gift of that village to the Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, *Ṣaḍḍarśanaśāstha-panācārya* Tiruvengala Cakravarti by Sambēṭa Yeṛakamparāja, one of the Vijayanagar officers. These records referring to the members of the Nallāṇḍi family clearly show that Anantāmātya lived in the early half of the fifteenth century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Śrīnātha and his patron, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu. In his *kavi-stuti* which is a conventional feature of the *kāvyas* of this period, Ananta refers to the preceding Telugu poets, of whom Eṅṅaya-mantri, that is, Eṅṅā Pregada was the latest.

Ananta's was a new experiment in poetry. He was not sure whether it would secure approbation and win recognition at the hands

22. “శ్రీనిధి చక్రవర్తి గురు శేఖర పూర్ణకటాక్షలబ్ధ సు
భాసుఁ డనంతధీమణి లనన్మణి భోజనరిత్ర) చెప్పి ల
శ్రీనరసింహుఁ గూర్చిన పుస్తకముడు వేడుకతో నొనర్చు ఛం
దోనుతయోగి హృద్విమలతోయజమూర్తి కనంతమూర్తికిన్.”—v. 132.

23. Ep. Coll., No. 556 of 1909. It records the decision of Gōvinda Cakravarti regarding certain sectarian privileges conferred on Baḍagulavāru of Palnāḍu.

24. Ibid, Nos. 300 and 301 of 1915.

25. Loc. Rec., Vol. XL, p. 516.

of his elder contemporaries in the field of literature. He, however, feels satisfied by assuring himself that the indistinct words of young children would delight parents more than the mature grand speech of their elder sons, and that, though his work cuts a new path, it would gain the appreciation of the public and serve them well, like the old classics, because the theme happens to be the account of the great king, Bhōja, who was an *ādirājasamāna*, equal to early kings, the stories narrated were instructive of *dharma*, and above all, god Nṛsimha, the lord of Ahōbala, was its *kṛtāpati*.

Peddana :

The various attempts to mould the Telugu *kāvya* in order to make it attractive to readers, encouraged the growth of another kind of literature, namely, works on Rhetoric. Sanskrit *kāvya* was still the ideal form of literary composition that dominated the field, and the Telugu poet had no option except to adopt it and model his *kāvya* in accordance with the rules laid down in the Sanskrit works on Rhetoric to win the approbation of scholars. Already Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa*, Bhōja's *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*, and Viḍyānātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* acquired great renown in the Telugu country. They were very popular and were studied by scholars, both Sanskrit and Telugu. Their prototype *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*, the first work on Rhetoric in Telugu, was written by Peddana of the Vinnakōḷa family. He belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and was the court-poet of the Cālukya prince, Viśvēśvara of Elamañci in the Kāṇṇa country, and dedicated his work to his patron. The date of Peddana, as well as of his patron Viśvēśvara, is definitely settled by the Pañchadhārāla pillar inscription of the latter. This inscription²⁶ written in Sanskrit, records the construction of a maṇḍapa in the Dharmalingeśvara temple at Pañcadhārāpurī (modern Pañchadhārāla, in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1329, that is, 1407 A. D., by king Viśvēśvara. This record contains a verse which covertly alludes to the date of a victorious battle fought by Viśvēśvara against his enemies. The words employed therein yield a double meaning. While outwardly glorifying Viśvēśvara's valour, the verse informs us that the king defeated the Audhra army near Sarvasiddhi in Śaka 1324, corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu.²⁷ An exact Telugu

26. Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 164 ff.

27. Ibid, XXV, pp. 885 ff.

गतिवाहुशक्तिभूमिनिमपिगणयत् सर्वसिद्धिपथभग्नम्।

सति चित्रभानुसाक्षिणिधरणीवराहादधावदन्त्रबलम् ॥ v. 24, p. 170.

rendering²⁶ of this stanza with the same pun on words is found in the *Kāvyaṭaṅkāracūḍamaṇi*. Since the same stanza is found both in the inscription and the Telugu work, it is likely that Peddāna was the composer of the record as well. *Kāvyaṭaṅkāracūḍamaṇi* may, therefore, be said to have been composed after this event, subsequent to Śaka 1324, that is, in the early years of the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

The verses in the *Kāvyaṭaṅkāracūḍamaṇi*, composed in praise of king Viśvēśvara, to illustrate the *kāvya-guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*, highly testify to the poetical talents of the author. They are very simple and yet beautiful, and even without a theme this work is delightful to read on account of its poetic beauty.

Śivalēṅka Kommana :

Kommana was one of the poets patronised by prince Doddā Redḍi, son of Allāḍa Redḍi, of Rājamahēndravaram and the donor of the Koṅkuduru plates, dated in Śaka 1352.

Kommana is the author of two Telugu works, namely, *Vīra Māheśvaram* and *Śivalilāvilāsam*. Of these two, the former is now lost and its existence is known from some of the verses quoted in *lakṣaṇa-granthas*. Only one dilapidated and incomplete copy of the latter work, *Śivalilāvilāsam*, containing only the first two *āśvāsas*, is extant, and now preserved in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The first *āśvāsa* of the work containing a description of the patron's family is full of lacunæ. Many stanzas in the introductory portion are lost and even the remaining ones contain many big gaps. Portions of a great many stanzas even in the second *āśvāsa* are moth-eaten. What little information could be gathered from the introductory verses in the first *āśvāsa*, is very valuable, as it confirms what has already been known from other sources about the conquests of the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram. The author of this history was successful in securing another copy of this rare manuscript through the courtesy of his friends. This copy also is incomplete though it contains one more *āśvāsa* than the previous copy. This copy, however, is very valuable as it furnishes some important information regarding its author Kommana, lacking in the previous copy. This advantage, however, is vitiated by the loss of the portion in the new copy describing the family of the author's patron,

28. “చతురపాయ బాహు శక్తి క్షమావలిఁ
బాజవిడిచి చిత్రభాను నాక్షిఁ
బాతె సర్వసిద్ధిపద మేది ధరణీప
రాహునునకు నోడి రాచకదుపు.” —VII, v, 41.

Dodḍa Reḍḍi. The introductory portions in both the extant copies thus supplement each other to some extent and furnish valuable information regarding the patron's, as well as the poet's family. So, these portions in both the extant copies are blended together, arranging the respective stanzas in the two copies in their proper places, and the complete version of the introduction as now available is appended to this chapter. The details given below about the poet are taken exclusively from the new copy secured by the author of this work.

Sivalenka was the surname of Kommaya, the author of the *Śivalilāvilāsam*. He was the great-grandson of Gaṅgaya Singanārya, that is, Singanārya, son of Gaṅgaya, and grandson of Nis'saṅka-

Gaṅgaya
|
Singaya
|
Nis'saṅkaya
|
Abbaya =
Ambamāmbā
|
Kommaya
(author)

mantri, and son of Abbamantri and Ambamāmbā. He belongs to the Śrīvatsa *gōtra*, and Āpastamba *sūtra* and to the *Vyāvarṇīcarāṇa*. His descent from his great-grandfather is shown in the margin. His great-grand father Singaya is said to have accepted dedication of the *Subhadrākalyāṇam* by a certain poet, Ūraya, in the presence of Türkaya. The identity of both Ūraya²⁹ and Türkaya has yet to be established. Poet Kommaya furnishes no particulars either about his father Abbaya or his grandfather Nis'saṅkaya. Nis'saṅkaya is no

doubt identical with Sivalenka Nis'saṅkanāthayya mentioned in an inscription³⁰ in the temple of god Mahānandīśvara near Prōlavaram (on the western bank of the Gōḍavari in the West Godavari district), dated in Saka 1330, corresponding to the cyclic year Sarvadhari. This record registers that Nis'saṅkanāthayya purchased some land from a brāhman of Kroppāka for god Mahānandagiriṅga. It is interesting to note that Nis'saṅkanātha's grandson, Kommaya, also is represented by another inscription³¹ of the same date at the same place, wherein he is referred to as Nis'saṅka Kommaya. The record furnishes details of the land in Kroppāka purchased by Annadēvarāja, son of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja, and granted to the temple of Mahānandīśvaraṅga and its *sthānapati*, Nis'saṅka Kommaya. We thus come to know that he was the *sthānapati* of the temple of Mahānandīśvara at Prōlavaram, and a contemporary of Annadēva Cōḍa. These two records are of great importance to the history of Telugu Literature, as they enable us to know precisely the date of Kommana.

29. Could he be the ancestor of Ūre Dēcaya?

30. Ep. Coll., No. 292 of 1920.

31. Ibid, No. 293 of 1920. The name is wrongly written as Nis'saṅku Kāmaya for Nis'saṅka Kommaya.

Following the convention set up by the previous Telugu poets, Kommana offers his respectful salutations to poets till *Erra Pregaḍa*.

There appears to have been some cynics in his day. It was usual for them to decry the writer for his lack of knowledge of Sanskrit, if he wrote a poem in Telugu, and of Telugu, if attempted in Sanskrit. They derided the poet that there was nothing new in the poem if written in old classical style, saying that whatever was stated, was all there before. They did not even lend their approval and recognition to a poem attempted on new lines breaking away from the past. Jakkana also corroborates the above statements. These statements indicate the mental attitude of the Sanskritists and orthodox people of the day towards the Telugu poets and the flourishing state of Telugu poetry. In spite of such cynics as these, common to all times, there were many poets of note who composed many works. A great number of Telugu works of this period was lost owing to political revolutions and wars, and to the ravages of time. The works that have actually come down to us are very limited in number, not even a fraction of the output of the age. As was the case with Anantāmātya, Kommaya also felt difficult and small before great poets, both contemporaries and predecessors. In defence of writing his work *Śivalilāvilāsam* he puts forth the plea, that the ants also go the same path that the elephants tread.

Tripurāntaka :

Tripurāntaka, also called Tippana, was of the Ravipāṭi family. He is known to have written four works, namely, *Tripurāntakōḍāharaṇam*, *Madanaviṇayam*, *Candratārāvaḷi*, and *Ambikāśatakam*. Of these all are lost except the first work, an *udāharaṇa grantha*. His other works are known only from the extant anthologies²² and *lakṣaṇa-grathas*, wherein some stray verses are cited from his works as examples, to illustrate a rule concerning poetics or a grammatical point. Tripurāntaka is also said to have written a Sanskrit drama by name *Prēmābhirāman* which is also lost.

Four verses from his *Tārāvaḷi* and three from his *Ambikāśatakam* are quoted in the anthologies of Pedapāṭi Jagannāthakavi and of an unknown compiler. Two more verses from his *Ambikāśatakam* are found in the Telugu work, *Prayōgaratna-karam*. All these are found in the *Prabandharatnamālā*, edited by 'Sri Pandit Prabhakara Sastri Garu. *Tripurāntakōḍāharaṇam* was edited and published at first by 'Sri Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi Garu and later by 'Sri Nidadavolu Venkatarao Garu with an excellent informative introduction.

Evidence is lacking to determine the date of Tripurāntaka. A *cāṣu* verse,³³ attributed to Tripurāntaka in praise of a certain Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri (Rāyana Bhāskara), is quoted by Appakavi (a late Telugu poet of the eighteenth century) in his *Appakaviyam*, a work on Prosody. This verse suggests that Tippana was a contemporary of Rāyana Bhāskara, governor of Vinukonda, whose identity and date have not yet been settled. However, another *cāṣu* verse³⁴ enables us to know that a certain Rāyana Bhāskara was an officer of Kāṭaya Vēmā Redḍi, the prime minister and generalissimo of king Kumārāgiri Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu. Another Rāyana Bhāskara was the governor of Vinukonda and Koṇḍapalli, and the recipient of many *agrahāras* and other honours from the Redḍi king Anavēma.³⁵ It is probable that both the Rāyana Bhāskaras, one, the contemporary of king Anavēma Redḍi, and the other, of his successor's minister, Kāṭaya Vēma, were identical. Tripurāntaka must have, therefore, been a contemporary of either king Anavēma or Kumārāgiri, most probably the former.

33. “సరి బేసై రిపు డేల భాస్కరులు భాషానాథపుత్రా) వసుం
ధరయం దొక్కఁడు మంత్రి) యయ్యె వినుకొండ నాయనామాత్యభా
స్కరుఁడో యా నయినక- సహస్రికరశాఖలే వవే యున్న వే
తిరమై బాసము చేయునో రిపుల హేతిక- వేయునో పోయునోక.”

—Ap. Kv., III, v, 59.

34. “కలయఁ బసిండిగంటమునఁ గాటయ వేమసమక్షమందు స
త్ఫలముగ రాయని పృథునిబాసఁడు వాసిని వాల్లమోతలక-
గలుగలు గల్లుగల్లు రన గంటకమంతులగుండె లన్నియుక-
జుజు జుజు జుజు రనె సత్కవివర్యులు మేలుమేలనక.” —Ct. Mn., I.

35. “ఘనతరౌదార్యదీక్షాకల్పితానల్ప
కరనిబద్ధసువర్ణకంకణుండు
ఆసేను శీతనగాంతరరాట్నభా
మధ్యవిశ్రుతకీర్తిమండలుండు
కొండపల్లివిన్న కొండ దుర్గద్వయా
దేశప్రజావనధీయుతుండు
సకలావసీకసంతానయాచిత
వస్తుప్రదానప్రవర్తనుండు
అన్న వేమమహీశదత్తాగ్రహార
మదకలాందోళికార్యసమృణివిశేష
భూషణాద్యవృథాతివిభూషితుండు
భాను లేజుండు రాయనభాస్కరుండు.”

Vallabharāya :

Vallabharāya was a remarkable poet of this age. He was the first dramatist known to us till now in Telugu. His drama *Kriḍābhīrāmam* is of the variety of the *vidhī*, one of the *daśarūpakas*. All that we know of him is only from this single work which furnishes the author's genealogy, and some clues to know his approximate date.

From the introductory verses of this poetical drama, we come to know that the author's family hereditarily served the kings of Vijayanagar. The author's great-grandfather Candramātya was the minister of king Peda Bukkarāya, evidently, brother of king Harihara I of Vijayanagar, and Liṅgamamantri, brother of the author's grandfather, served under Harihara, who was no other than Harihara II, son of Peda Bukkarāya. The author's father, Tripurāntaka also, was a junior contemporary of Harihara II, and served him as the superintendent of his treasury of precious stones (*ratna-bhāṇḍāra-sādhikāra-pragalbhu*), and the mast elephant of the governor of the fortress of Vinukoṇḍa³⁶ (*Śrutarparvatadurga-mahāpradhānārād-gandhagajambu*). It is clear from this that Vinukoṇḍa, originally a fort of the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, formed, later on, after its conquest by king Bukka I during his eastern campaign³⁷ undertaken about Śaka 1286, part of the Vijayanagar kingdom about Śaka 1294,³⁸ and its governor was a subordinate of the Vijayanagar kings. Subsequently, the Redḍi king, Anavēma, recovered his lost possessions from his Vijayanagar contemporary, Harihara II, about Śaka 1299, the date of Anavēma's Śrīsailam record.³⁹ A verse⁴⁰ in a Telugu kāvya informs us that Rāyanamantri Bhāskara (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri) was the governor of Vinukoṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under king, Anavēma Redḍi, and was the recipient of several royal honours from his lord, as stated before, in another context. It is probable that, after his re-conquest of this region, Anavēma appointed Bhāskara as governor of Vinukoṇḍa. Bhāskara continued in office during the reign of Anavēma's successor also.⁴¹ If Tippana was an officer attached to the fort of Vinukoṇḍa, it must be after its subjugation by the

36. “గంధవతీ సృష్టిర పురుషస్మరపాద బిసప్రసూన పు
ష్పంధయచక్రవర్తి శ్రుతపర్వతమర్గమహాస్రధానరా
హ్లాంధగజంబు తిప్పన.....” —Kd. Rm., v. 22.

37. Mack. Mss., No. 15-6-19, *Kaifiyat of Duvvapaḍu*.

38. Ibid, No. 15-3-11; *Kaifiyats of Chāṅgalaviḍu* in Ēruva and Akkapalli.

39. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

40. Vide, foot note 85 above.

41. Ct. Mm., I, p. 76. See f. n. 34 above.

Vijayanagar kings and before its re-conquest by king Anavōmā Redḍi. So, it is certain that Tippāna alias Tripurāntaka flourished about Śaka 1294, that is, 1372 A. D. His son Vallabharāya, the author of *Kṛiḍābhirāmam*, must have been a contemporary of king Anavōmā and his successor, Kumāragiri Redḍi, and lived about Śaka 1320, that is, in the last decade of the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

Kṛiḍābhirāmam is said to be an adaptation of the Sanskrit drama *Premābhirāmam* written by Rāvipaṭi Tippāna. As *Premābhirāmam* is lost, it is not possible for us now to know whether the author closely followed the original text, or showed any originality of his own in any aspect. This drama is in the nature of a dialogue between two friends Gōvinda Mañcana Sarma, a brāhman, and Tiṭṭibha Setṭi, a vaiśya voluptuary, about the diverse entertainments, amusements, and all that they happened to witness in the course of their ramblings from morn to eve, through the highways and lanes in the exterior and interior parts of the city of Waraṅgal, the capital of the Kākatiya monarchs. It beautifully depicts the social life of the period, their tastes, sports, entertainments and so on. At the end of the work we are told that this drama was enacted by a dramatic troupe belonging to Dōrasamudra (Dwārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala Ballālas) on the occasion of the festival (probably annual) of god Bhairava of Mōpūru (in the Cuddapah district). It may be noted in this connection that Vallabharāya was the lord of Mōpūru including its three hamlets. "

Singana :

Singana of the Maḍiki family was another poet of this period who was patronised by the Telugu chiefs whose dominion lay in the Telingāṇā of the Hyderabad State. He was a native of Maḍiki, a village (Pedda Maḍiki as it is also called, in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Gadavari district) on the eastern bank of the river Gōdāvari. He was the son of Ayyalāmātya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Singāmbikā, and the daughter's son of Kommana, son of the famous Telugu poet, Tikkana Sōmayāji.

Singana's father Ayyalāmātya was the minister of Toyvōṭi Anavōta, king of the Rājamahēndravaram". We find one Anavōta,

42. Kd. Rm., v. 28.

43. ".....వేదికదేశంబులూ"

నేపాకు రాజమహేంద్ర) పురికి

నధిసతి లోయ్యేటి యనవోతభూపాలు

మంత్రియై పాజ్యనంపదలఁ బొదలి..." — Vs. Rm., I. v. 33.

son of Rāja Nāyaka and a cousin of Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, mentioned in the latter's Prōlavaram grant⁴⁴ dated in Śaka 1267, as ruling from his capital Toyyēṅu. Toyyēṅi Anavōta appears to be no other than the chief of the same name, son of Rāja Nāyaka and lord of Toyyēṅu. Anavōta ruled Rājamahēndravaram as the representative of his cousin, Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka. In fact, we have an inscription⁴⁵ of Anavōta, son of Rāja Nāyaka, at Daksharam registering his gift to god Bhīmēśvara. The portion referring to the Śaka year in the record is lost, but its equivalent cyclic year Sarvajit is clear. Since Anavōtā Nāyaka was a cousin of Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka and of Kāpaya Nāyaka, there is no difficulty in taking the Śaka year equivalent to Sarvajit to be 1269 (that is, 1347 A.D.). This was the date of Ayyalamantri, the minister of Toyyēṅi Anavōtabhūpa. His son must have therefore flourished about the end of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era.⁴⁶

Maḍiki Siṅgana was the author of four works namely, *Padma Purāṇam* (Uttarabhāgam), *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam*, a philosophical work, *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, an anthology of verse on *Nīti* (Polity) culled from various works then extant, and *Daśamaskandham* (tenth chapter) of the *Bhāgavatam*. All these works are now in existence.

44. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX (1934), p. 262; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, II.

45. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1294.

46. The following verse giving the date of composition of the *Padma Purāṇam* is found at the end of a few manuscripts:

“అకరయగానల మృగాంకళకవత్సరములై పరగు శార్వరిని బుణ్య
పాత్రకటితమార్గశిరపంచమిని బొల్పు నుడుపాలసుతవాసరమునందున్
శ్రీకరముగా మడికి సింగన తెనుగున రచించెఁ దగఁ బద్మపురాణం
బాకమలమిత్రశిరరాంశువుగఁ గందసచివాగ్రజీకి మంగళమహాశి.”

According to this, the date is Śaka 1342, corresponding to the cyclic year Śarvārī, Wednesday, the 5th tithi of the month of Mārgasīra. The fortnight, whether it was the bright half or the dark half, is not stated. The date is irregular as the fifth tithi in the said month does not fall on Wednesday in any one of the two fortnights. This verse, found only in a very few manuscripts, seems to be an interpolation; for, the age of Maḍiki Siṅgana at the time of the composition of the *Padma Purāṇam* would be seventy three, even if he is taken to have been born to Ayyalamantri in Śaka 1269, the date of Toyyēṅi Anavōta's Daksharam record. If this date in the *Padma Purāṇam* is accepted, a still later date to his *Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* has to be postulated. This does not seem to be the case. If he were such a late poet, he would have certainly mentioned Errā Pregaḍa in his *kavi-stuti*. The date given in the *Padma Purāṇam* does not seem to be correct.

Singana dedicated all his works, except the second one, to Kandayāmatya, son of Abbayāmatya, the great-grandson of Gannaya, an officer of the Kakatiya monarch, Gaṇapatidēva, of Waraṅgal. The poet's patron, Kandayāmatya, was the minister of Muppa or Muppiḍi Nayaka, son of Teluṅgurāya of the Gurajāla family, who ruled the country of Sabbi Naḍu on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in Telāṅgānā with Rāmagiri as his capital. Singana dedicated his *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* to god Ahōbala. It is he who first attempted to write a complete philosophical work in Telugu in simple, yet chaste, style, so that it might be understood by the general literate class of the Andhra public. This work is no doubt a free Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit work, *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*; yet the poet had so skillfully translated it as to make it appear to be an original work. Of course, Singana was not the only poet to do so. Every Telugu poet beginning from Nannaya Bhaṭṭa was a past-master in this kind of translation of Sanskrit works; so much so, they appear more to be original works rather than translations, because of the discretion they exercised in translating the Sanskrit work, and of the care they had taken to observe the idiom, phrase and the innate beauty of the Telugu language.

Śrīnātha :

Śrīnātha was the greatest poet of the age. He was a genius who was proficient in the mysteries of the art of Telugu poetics, and had a complete command over the Telugu language. No one, in the age under review, was better aware of the power and charm of the Telugu expression and idiom, and their innate musical sense than he. Consequently, whatever he had written, was full of vigour and literary charm, and the terms he used, echoed the sense and spirit. He even created new terms to convey the full sense and spirit of the ideas which he wanted to express, if the old ones appeared to be found lacking. He did not hesitate to make use of ordinary terms and expressions from the colloquial tongue though not sanctioned by grammarians, if they served his purpose well. He successfully experimented in creating new literary fashions, and in hammering new styles in Telugu poetry with the material extant, and Telugu verse, particularly in *Sīsa* metre, attained such a perfection in his hands that any scope for further improvement seems to be hardly possible. In a variety of ways he made it run in accordance with the spirit and *rasa* which it conveyed. The quality of his poetry is very high. It has its own individualistic features. His style is lofty and chaste, and his *saṁāsas* (grouping of words) masterly and dexterous, and imagery clear and perfect. His verses in *Sīsa* metre are very charming to read, and are characterised by a grandeur of their own, by their

musical rhythm and melody, powerful yet balanced expression, smooth and majestic run, and literary charm; hence, they became models for the succeeding generations of Telugu poets in composing verses in that metre. Śrīnātha's influence on the later poets was really amazing; for, the latter imitated him in a number of ways, in respect of diction, in the manner of beginning and ending a verse, and in the ornate way of happily combining Telugu and Sanskrit words in phrases and *samāsas* so as to produce melodious and yet powerful literary effect. Śrīnātha did not hesitate to transgress some of the old literary conventions observed till then by Telugu poets in general in the composition of a *kāvya*, particularly in respect of the selection of themes, and of the hero of the poem. He made Telugu poetry extremely popular by his works, and his very interesting *cāṭus* or stray verses composed on diverse subjects, and raised it high in the estimate of both the scholars and nobles of the country. Śrīnātha was thus an epoch-maker, and with him began a new age in the literary history of the Andhras.

Śrīnātha, son of Māraya and Bhīmāmbā was a Yajurvēdin and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. As was the case with many of the Telugu poets of this period, he did not mention his surname anywhere in any of his works. His grandfather was Kamalanābha, lord of Kalpattana,⁴⁷ on the sea coast, not yet satisfactorily identified, and a contemporary of Kākatiya Śārvabhauma, evidently Pratāparudra, the last Kākatiya monarch of Waraṅgal. He was given the titles *kavitāvidyūdihara*, *sarasasāhityacakravarti*, and *Padma Purāṇa-saṅgrahakaṭākavyaprabandhādhipa*. The last phrase suggests that he had accepted dedication of the work *Padma Purāṇasaṅgrahakaṭākavya*, now extinct. Nor do we know the author of that work, *Padma Purāṇasaṅgraha* and the language in which it was written, whether Sanskrit or Telugu.

Śrīnātha's native place is not definitely known. The statement *Pākanāṭiṇṭivāḍavu bāndhavuvāḍavu*,⁴⁸ a member of the Pakanāṭi house or

47. “కనకకృష్ణధరధీను వారిధిరతీ కల్పట్టణాధీశ్వరున్
ఘనునిం బద్మపురాణసంగ్రహకర్త కావ్య పరిబంధాధిపున్
వినుమ త్కృతీసార్వభౌముఁ గవితావిద్యాధరుం గొల్తు నా
యనుఁగుం దాతఁ బదాత శ్రీకమలనాభౌమాత్య చూడామణిఁ.”

—Bh. Pr., I, v. 10.

According to some scholars Kalpattana is the village Kalapaṭam in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district, and according to some others Kalipattanam in the Narsapur taluk, West Godavari district. Others identify it with Kṛishnāpaṭnam in the Nellore district.

48. పాకనాటింటివాడవు బాంధవుడవు
గమలనాభుని మనుమడ మమలమతివి ...” —Ibid, v. 28.

family and a relative to boot, has given rise to many conjectures by many Telugu scholars. This remark was made by Beṇḍapūḍi Anna-mantri, minister of Allaya Vēma Redḍi of Rajamahēdravaram, while requesting Śrīnātha to dedicate to him his *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*. The phrase, *Pakanāḍiṇīvāḍuvu*, is interpreted by scholars to mean that Śrīnātha was a native of Pakanāḍu, the country extending from the foot of the Śrīsaḷam (Kurnool district) to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

In this connection, we have to take note of Śrīnātha's two statements, one a phrase, namely, *Karnāṭadeśa-kaṭaka-padma-vana-heḷi* (a sun to the forest of lotuses of cities or towns of the Karnāṭa country) and the other, a passage *nā-karīṭvambu nijamu Karnāṭa-bhāṣa* (true, the language of my poetry is Karnāṭa)⁴⁹. These statements show that he was a native of the Karnāṭa country and that his language was Karnāṭa. These are really paradoxical statements, for, all the works he had written are in Telugu, and he was an Andhra by birth, having had all his relations in and connections with the Andhra country. Hence, his statements referred to above, constitute really a puzzle in the Telugu literary history. Many attempts were made in vain to solve this knotty problem.

Śrīnātha's statements lead us to conclude that he was a native of Karnāḍu or the country of Karnāṭa. This does not mean or represent the Canarese country of the present day. The Andhra country consisted, in ancient times, of many *janapadas*, or *nāḍus*. Of such *nāḍus* of the Andhra country, known from inscriptions and Telugu literature, Karnāḍu, Karnāṭa or Kanna viṣaya, was one. It comprised in ancient times the Nandikotkur, Kurnool, and partly, Nandyala taluks of the present Kurnool district⁵⁰. This country seems to have owed its name

49. “పా”యమింతకు మిగులఁ గైవొ”లనుండఁ
గాశికాఖండ మను మహాకృంధ మేను
చెనుఁగుఁడే సేదఁ గల్గూటచేత కటక
పద్మవనహేళి శ్రీ)నాథభట్టుసుకవి”. — Ks. Kh., I, v. 7.

“ప్రా”క్షిఁ బరికింప సంస్కృతభాష యందు
పలుకునుడి కారమున నంధ్రభాషయందు
రెవ్వ రేమన్న నందు) నా కేమి కొఱత
నాకవిత్వంబు నిజము కల్గూటఁగోస.” Bh. Pr., I, v. 15.

60. See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's article on *Karnāṭa* in JAHRS Vol. X, pp. 89-99. A record, dated in Ś'aka 1285 at Ś'rīsaḷam in the Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district, enumerates some of the villages included in this district (కర్నాటకావని). (Ep. Coll.,

to the Karṇi kings of the Sātavāhana family. In this Kanna viṣaya lies a ruined ancient fort called Satānikōṭa, a corruption of *Sātavāhanikōṭa*. It is, however, certain that the term Karṇāṭa was originally applied to a portion of the Andhra country lying on the southern banks of the rivers, Tuṅgabhadra and the Kṛṣṇā. Palkuriki Sōmanātha's *Basava Purāṇam*⁶¹ mentions Gobbūru (in the Kurnool taluk), the native place of Saṅganamātya, the *śrōta* of that work, as the diadem to the Karṇāṭa-dēśa. The Vijayanagar feudatory, Teluṅgurāya, whose dominion, according to the location of the records⁶² of his family, lay in the Nellore and Guntur districts, that is, in portions of Pakanāḍu and Kammanāḍu, is said to be a native of Kannaḍa dēśa⁶³ (*Kannaḍa-dēśa-māṇḍula Saṅburāyani koḍuku Teluṅgurāyaṇḍu*). This clearly shows

86 of 1915). This inscription seems to be the same as that given from the Mack. MSS by Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya in his article. This district Karṇāṭa seems, as he rightly thinks, to be the same as the Kanna, three hundred of the Western Chalukya records. It is likely that the whole of the country ruled by the Sātavāhanas went by the name of Karṇāṭa, as stated by Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya (Karṇi + Naḍu = Karṇiṇaḍu or Karṇaḍu, the country of the Satakarnis). Even as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Christian era, the country extending from almost the Kaveri in the South to the Kṛṣṇa in the north was called Karṇāṭa.

51. “నావుడు భక్త జనావలియాజ్ఞ
వావిరిఁ దలమోచి వక్త్రంతుఁ గవిత్
పాటింపఁదగిన కర్ణాటభూమికిని
గోటీర్మమె యెప్పు గొబ్బూరి రనం

గురుపరతంతుండు గొబ్బూరివిభుండు

నంకనామాత్యుండు జగదుపకారి... —Bs. Pr., I, pp. 3 and 4.

52. A record of Teluṅgurāya, dated in Śaka 1350, is found at Santaravūru in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district (V. R. II, no. 128). His father's record dated in Śaka 1348 is found at Kūcipūḍi in the Podili taluk, Nellore district (N. D. I., III, P. 26). There is a village named Teluṅgurāyapuram in the Amakur taluk, Nellore district. Another village Teluṅgurāyani Pedda Kranāla, which is identical with the village of Kanāla in the Nandyal taluk, Kurnool district, finds mention in a Vijayanagar record of Śaka 1481 (Ep. Coll., No. 258 of 1936). Another late record of Teluṅgurāya dated in Śaka 1364 (Ep. Coll., No. 758 of 1922) is discovered in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district. His son Tirumalayya dēva's inscription, dated in Śaka 1405, is also found in the same Bapatla taluk. These records clearly attest to the territory over which they ruled. This family of chiefs had nothing to do with the Canarese country of the present day. So, Kannaḍadēśa referred to in the Siṃhāchalam record of Teluṅgurāya is no other than the Karṇāḍadēśa of Palkuriki Sōmanātha's *Basava Purāṇa-śrōta*, Gobbūri Saṅganamātya. A record of the Vijayanagar monarch, Devārāya II, dated in Śaka 1363, says that Udayagiri lies in the centre of the cities of the Karṇāṭa (N. D. I., III O. 72, p. 1020).

that *Karṇāṭa* (*Kannāḍu* or *Kannāḍadēśa*) extending towards the east, overlapped portions of *Pakanāḍu*, and *Kammanāḍu* in the period under review. Probably *Prāṅgnāḍu*, a corruption of the compound term *Prāk* (which means east) and *Kannāḍu*, is reminiscent of *Kamṇāḍu* or *Karṇāṭa*. *Prāṅgnāḍu*, *Tūrpunāḍu* as it is otherwise called in Telugu, can be easily located with a reference to *Musuṇḍūru*⁵⁴ which was situated in it. This village is identical with *Musuṇḍūru* in the *Kāvali* taluk, *Nellore* district. Similarly, the term *Karṇakamma*, applied to a sect of *Andhra brāhmins*, is suggestive of *Karṇaviṣaya* or *Karṇāṭa*, which, as noted already, overlapped *Kammanāḍu*. The *Karṇakamma brāhmins*, like the *Vēgināṭis*, the *Velanāṭis* and the *Āruvēla-kammes*, seem to have derived the name of their sect from their native country of *Kammanāḍu*, a sub-division of *Karṇa viṣaya* or *Karṇāṭa*, extending as far as the coast. A consideration of the foregoing facts leads us to conclude that, at one time, *Karṇaviṣaya*, *Kamṇāḍu* or *Karṇāṭa*, overlapped portions of *Pakanāḍu* and *Kammanāḍu* in the *Nellore* and *Guntur* districts respectively. *Srinātha* seems to have been a native of this overlapping region. This was probably the reason for *Beṇḍa-pūḍi Annamantri* to address *Srinātha* as *Pakanāṭiṇivāḍavu*, and for the poet to address himself as *Karṇāṭadēśa-kaṭaka-padma-vana-heṭṭi*. If this argument is approved, then, *Srinātha* may be justified in styling *Karṇāṭa* as the language of his poetry.

Though the time of *Srinātha* is definitely known, the dates of his birth and death are still conjectural. However, his *cāru* verses current in the *Andhra* country for the past several centuries, suggest that he was a ripe old man at the time of his death, particularly two of his verses, one,⁵⁵ describing the deplorable state in which he then was, undergoing corporal punishments in his old age for inability to pay the stipulated amount of tax to the then government, and the other, which is said to have been composed by him in his last moments. In this latter verse⁵⁶ *Srinātha* mentions a number

54. Ibid, No. 179.

55. Vide, Pt. I, p. 284.

56. “కాకి కావిశ్వేషుఁ గలిసె వీరారెడ్డి
రత్నాంబరంబు లేరాయఁ డిచ్చు
రంభగూడెఁ చెనుంగురాయరాహుత్తుండు
కస్తూరి కేరాబుఁ బ్రస్తుతింతు
స్వర్గసుడయ్యె విస్సనమంతి) మఱి హేమ
పాత్రాన్న మెవ్వనిపంక్తిఁ గలదు

of his patrons, kings, nobles, and ministers, by whom he was honoured and patronised and who were already dead and gone. These are (1) Virā Redḍi, that is, Virabhadra Redḍi, king of Rājamahēndravaram, (2) Paṇṭa Mailāra, (3) Teluṅgurāya, (4) Vissanamantri, and (5) Bhāskara, all reputed for their liberality, and who honoured Śrīnātha by gifts of valuable jewels set with gems, and cloths, and musk for the life of luxury he had led, by bearing his daily expenses, and by giving him sumptuous dinners served in gold plates. The dates of almost all these patrons are fairly known to us. With the help of the two verses referred to above we can fix tolerably approximately the last date of Śrīnātha.

Śrīnātha was first patronised by king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu, in whose court he held the position of *Vidyādhikāri*. He drafted all the grants (gift-deeds) issued by his patron, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the earliest of which, the Ponnupalli grant⁵⁷, bears the date, Saka 1326 Tārāṇa, and the latest, the Rudravaram grant⁵⁸, Saka 1341. After the downfall of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, Śrīnātha went to Rājamahēndravaram, and became the court-poet of king Virabhadra Redḍi who ruled till Śaka 1360, or to a little later date. He was thus the poet laureate of the Redḍi court for well nigh thirty-four years.

Śrīnātha's last date can be approximately known, as stated already, from a reference to his other patrons and his verse describing his difficulties.

Paṇṭa Mailāra, son of Mummaḍi Redḍi, was the Vijayanagar feudatory of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar who came to the throne in Saka 1344. His inscriptions⁵⁹ yield the dates, Saka 1346 and Saka 1351. His last date is not known. It is, however, certain that he died before Saka 1404; for, an inscription⁶⁰ at Chadalavāda (Ongole taluk, Guntur

కలాసగిరిబండ మైలారవిధుఁ దేసి

దినపెచ్చు మేరాణ్ణ తీర్పుఁగలఁడు

భాస్కరుఁడు మున్నె దేవునిపాలి కరిగెఁ

గలియుగంబున నెఱ నుండఁ గష్టమనుచు

దివిజకవివరు గుండియల్ దిగ్గరనఁగ

నరుగుచున్నాఁడు శ్రీనాథుఁ డమరపురికి.”—Ct. Mm., I, p. 188.

57. Loc. Rec., Vol. 43, pp. 267 ff., and Vol. 43, pp. 26 ff.

58. C. P. No. 7 of 1919-20,

59. N. D. I., III, O. 104, pp. 1090-91; C. P. No. 18. N. D. I., I, pp. 156-164.

60. N. D. I., II, O. 80, pp. 951-52 ff.

district) records that an *agrahāra*, formerly granted, through Praudha Dēvarāya, by Paṇṭa Mailāra Redḍi to god Raghunātha of Chadalavāḍa, was revived in that year by Timmā Redḍi, son of Hindūrāvu Suratrāna Sariyapalli Timmā Redḍi.

Telūngurāya, son of Sāmburāya (Sāmparāyani Telūngādhīsa), was another Vijayanagar feudatory, whose inscriptions⁶¹ furnish the dates Śaka 1350, Śaka 1360, Śaka 1364, and Śaka 1366. Telūngurāya also died before Śaka 1405; for, an inscription of his son Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārāya discovered at Nūtalapāḍu (Guntur district) supplies the year Sōbhakrt, which corresponded to Śaka 1405.

We know nothing about Śrīnātha's other contemporary, Vissana-mantri. He is mentioned in the *cātu Sisamālikā* enumerating the thirty-two great persons of the *niyōgi* sect, reputed for their great liberality; but no particulars about him are given there.

The other person in the *cātu* verse, mentioning Śrīnātha's contemporaries, is Bhāskara who must have been his younger or elder contemporary. The line relating to him in the verse suggests, by the term *munne* used in it, that he died probably before all the others mentioned therein. So, Bhāskara must have been Śrīnātha's elder contemporary. He seems to have been no other than Rāyana Bhāskara, the governor of Vinukōṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under kings, Anavēma Redḍi and Kumāragiri Redḍi.⁶²

The above facts lead us to conclude that Śrīnātha led an active literary life from the early years of the reign of Kumāragiri, till a few years after the death of Telūngurāya. His *cātu* verse referred to above describing his downfall, shows that the rulers of the country treated him cruelly, inflicting on him even corporal punishments and other indignities, without showing him any respect. If we could trust to the authority of the *cātu* verse in its entirety, and accept as correct and un-exaggerated the description of punishments narrated therein, then the presumption is that it was a foreign government, obviously of the Gajapati monarchs of Orissa, who treated Śrīnātha so inconsiderately, not the Vijayanagar or the Redḍi rulers, who earlier had treated this poet-ambassador, with such signal honour.

Soon after ascending the throne, after overthrowing the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaṇṇiga and founding the Gajapati dynasty at Cuttack, Kapilēśvara extended his power towards the east and west along the

61. See foot note 52 above.

62. See foot notes, Nos. 34 and 35 above.

coast. He conquered the coastal region of the Telugu country about Śaka 1370.⁶³ The date of the earliest record⁶⁴ of his subordinate, Gaṇadēva Rauturāya in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, is Śaka 1376. To undergo all the punishments and indignities detailed in the *catu* verse, Śrīnātha seems to have lived to about this date, which may be accepted to be the upper limit of his life. On the assumption that he lived to a ripe old age, his date of birth may be placed in the early years of the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, say about 1378 A.D. (Śaka 1300). He thus seems to have held the proud position of *Vidyādhikāri* in the Koṇḍaviḍu court early in his life.

Śrīnātha was a versatile and prolific writer. He seems to have been endowed with the gift to compose Telugu poems from very early in his life, even before he entered his teens, for, we come to know from one⁶⁵ of his verses recounting his works, five in all, namely (i) *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, (ii) *Śālīvāhanasaptasati*, (iii) *Śṛṅgāra Naisadham*, (iv) *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, and (v) *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* in a chronological order, that he had written the first of these at a time when the hair had not grown long enough to unite in a modest tiny knot (*kūkaṭi-muḍikīnai kurulu kūḍanināḍu*), that is, in his boyhood. He wrote the second work, *Śālīvāhanasaptasati*, probably a translation of some of the selected verses from Hāla's *sattasāi*, when he had a sprouting moustache, at the time of his blossoming youth, that is, about the end of his teens; and the third work *Śṛṅgāra Naisadham*, while he was in the full bloom of his youth (*ninḍu-javvananibuna*),

63. Vlde, Pt. I, p. 193.

64. Ep. Coll., No. 76 of 1917.

65. “చిన్నారి పొన్నారి చిలుతకూకటినాడు

రచియించితి మనత్త రాట్పురిత్ర

నూనూగుమీసాల నూత్నయకౌవనమున

శాలివాహనసప్తశతి నొడివితి

సంతరించితి నిండుజవ్వనంబునయందు

హర్షనైషధ కావ్య మధ్యభాష

శృంగారనిర్భరవయఃపరిసాకమునఁ గొని

యాడితి భీమనాయకుని మహిమ

బ్రాహ్మయమింతకుఁ మిగుల గైవ్రాలకుండఁ

గాకి కాఖండమనుమహాగ్రంథ మేను

తెనుఁగుఁజేసెదఁ గర్ణాటదేశకటక

పద్మ వనపేళి శ్రీనాథ భట్టుసుకవి.” —Ks. Kh. I, v. 7.

probably when he was thirty-five or forty years old. *Bhīmaśvara-Purāṇam* was written when he was in the prime of life (*prauḍha-nirbhara vayah-paripākamuna*), which may be taken to be fifty years of age or thereabouts. As there is a reference in the *Bhīmaśvara Purāṇam* to the eastern *gōpura* of the temple of god Bhīmaśvara at Dākṣhāram, built by Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya (the date of which as mentioned in an inscription⁶⁶ is Saka 1350) it is certain that the above work was composed after that date. He states that he composed the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, when his age had not yet much advanced (*prāyamaṇṭaku-gaivṛālak-uṇḍa*) in all likelihood when he was at the age of sixty years.

Besides these works there are also some others so far known, namely, *Haravilāsam*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*,⁶⁷ *Dhamañjayaviṇḍayam*⁶⁸, *Śivatrātmahātmyam* and *Palnāṭiviracaritra*. There might even be many more which we do not yet know⁶⁹. Even some of the works mentioned

66. S. I. I., Vol. IV. No. 1381 (Saka 1350).

శాకే పుక్రవాణవిశ్వగణితే సంవత్సరే క్షీలకే
కావ్యకృతః శనివాసరే సుకృతధీః శ్రీయత్రమన్త్రీశ్వరః
దాక్షారామజభామలిక్ష్మపూతః శ్రీససగోదాతటే
ప్రచీగోపరమగడపం సమకరోద్రమ్యం శిలనిర్మితమ్ ॥

“సాగ్ధికావప్య గోపుర సాగ్ధికామున
సప్తమనసింధుసోపానసరణి కలనం
దీప్య భవనంబు భవయజేప్రసగర
మంత్రీదేవయ యన్నయామాత్యవరుణు.”—Bh. Pr., I, v. 74.

67. Bs. Pr. (p), I.

“విరచించె జైమిని వేదపాదస్తవం
బొక పాదమున వేదయుక్తి నిర్మి
హరభక్తి జై దిక్కులని శుభ్రులిడి చెప్పె
బ్రతిభ సోమేశుఁ డారాధ్య చరిత
సరివి శ్రీనాథుఁ డాచరిత పద్యప్రబం
ధము నేనె ద్విపదలు రచించు నిలిపి...”—v. 18.

68. Dantuluri Baparaju in his *Mūrtitrayōpakhyānam* writes :

“శ్రీనాథ సుకవీంద్రుచే ధనంజయవిజ
యంబను సత్కావ్యమంది వెలసె
.....దంతులూరి, గన్నభూపాలమాళి దోగ్గర్వశాలి.”—J. A. S. P., Vol. V, p. 819.

The author's ancestor is said to have been Harisima Kṛṣṇa of Dhanyavāṭi, the progenitor of the Kōṭa chiefs of Dhamañjaya *gōtra*. (Vide, Pt. I. p. 271).

69. There is also a *Ramayāṇa* in song (రామాయణము; పాట), which is attributed to Śrīnātha (Vide, J. A. S. P., Vol. IV. p. 895).

above are not now extant; for, his *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, *Śālivāhanasaptati*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* and *Dhamañjayaviṣayam* exist only in name.

From a reference to the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* in the introductory verses in the *Haravilāsam*, it is certain that the latter was written after the former. Similarly, from the introductory verses in the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, we come to know that Srinātha had already written his *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*. *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* seems to be his last work. The works Srinātha had written, and the kings and nobles to whom they were dedicated, are given below in a tabular form:

No.	Name of the work.	To whom it was dedicated.
1.	<i>Maruttarāṭcaritra</i>
2.	<i>Śālivāhanasaptati</i>
3.	<i>Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra</i>	Pregaḍayya, brother of Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri.
4.	<i>Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham</i>	Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.
5.	<i>Haravilāsam</i>	Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi.
6.	<i>Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam</i>	Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, minister of Allaya Vēmā Redḍi.
7.	<i>Kāśikhunḍam</i>	King Virabhadra Redḍi of Rājama-hēndravaram.
8.	<i>Dhamañjayaviṣayam</i>	Dantulūri Gannabhūpāla, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of Dhānyavāṭi.
9.	<i>Śivarātrimāhātmyam</i>	Mummaḍi Sāntayya, a devotee of Sānta Bhikṣavṛtti Yatisvara of Srisailam.
10.	<i>Palnāṭiviracaritra</i> (Some portion, if not all)

It is likely that Srinātha entered the court of Koṇḍaviḍu and became its poet laureate, only after dedicating his *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* to Pregaḍayya, and through the good offices of his brother, Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

It might be after the downfall of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, that he wrote his works, *Haravilāsam* and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*,

when he was devoid of any royal patronage and dedicated them to Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi and Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya respectively. There was no love lost between the two houses of Rājamahēndravaram and Koṇḍaviḍu. It might be that the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram were at first unwilling to entertain Śrīnātha, the poet laureate of their enemy, however eminent a poet he might have been. Their minister, Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, must have somehow helped Śrīnātha in getting him the patronage of his masters.

The date of *Śivarātrimahātmyam* has not yet been fixed even approximately, although scholars are unanimous in their opinion that it was Śrīnātha's latest and last work. In a way its date can be fixed. Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya, the guru of Munmaḍi Śāntayya, was the head of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha*, one of the Saiva *maṭhas* situated on the holy Śrīśaila mountain. An inscription⁷⁰ on the outer wall of the eastern *gōpura* (of the Mallikārjuna temple) on Śrīśailam, dated in Saka 1371, Vibhava (wrong for Sukla), records the revised rates, more reduced than in ancient days, of tolls levied on oxen, horses, asses, and other animals coming to Śrīśailam, as settled by Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti Yatisvara, mentioned above. Therefore, *Śivarātrimahātmyam* dedicated to Śāntayya, a disciple of that guru, was probably written about Saka 1371. This date is quite in keeping with the chronological scheme given before for Śrīnātha's works.

Two outstanding events in Śrīnātha's life, which have a bearing on the literary history of the country, have to be noted here: one is his victory over the Kavisarvabhauma Gauḍa ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the poet laureate of the Vijayanagar court, and his consequent *abhiṣeka* in gold, in the Pearl Hall (*mutyālāsala*) in the Vijayanagar court, by the Vijayanagar monarch, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and the other his visit to the court of Sarvajña Siṅga, the Rōceṅḷa king of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, and his fetching from the Rōceṅḷa chief, Kaṭāri Liṅgama Nāyaka, the sword of the Redḍi kings, named *Nandikanta Pōḷurāju Kaṭāri*. The identification of ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and Sarvajña Siṅga, and the dates to be assigned to the events mentioned above, have become knotty problems, since there were more than one person bearing those names. There has been much controversy about these problems in the Telugu press for a long time, and no final word has yet been said about them.

Let us consider first about the date of Śrīnātha's victory over Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and his *kanakābhiṣeka*. A *caṭu* verse⁷¹ of Śrīnātha addressing Śārada, the goddess of learning, to sustain his name, just before his visit to the court of Sarvajña Singa of great fame, has been current in the Andhra country from ancient times. The following is a free English rendering of that verse.

O Śārada! Multitude of good qualities, you bathed me with *dīnara ṭaṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the lord of the South; you made me break the bell-metal drum of Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa; you made me establish the title of *Sārvabhauma* in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāsaktirāya; you helped me to compose the great Andhra *kāvya*, *Natsūda*. I wonder how, hereafter, you are going to sustain my fame, presiding over the full court of Rāvu Singa Mahipala of mighty intellect.

As is evident, the verse relates to his *kanakābhiṣeka* after his success in the contest with Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa. After defeating Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha assumed the title of Kavi-sārvabhauma, till then borne by the vanquished adversary, in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāsaktirāya, who was probably a judge presiding over the contest. Soon after this victory, Śrīnātha was bathed in *dīnara ṭaṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the Vijayanagar monarch. From Śrīnātha's other verses we come to know that the Vijayanagar monarch was Prauḍharāya or Prauḍha Dēvarāya. It is thus evident that Śrīnātha, Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and Prauḍha Dēvarāya were all contemporaries. There were four kings of Vijayanagar who went by the name Prauḍha Dēvarāya, whether it was an actual name or a title, namely, (i) Dēvarāya I

71. “దీనారటంకాలఁ దీరమాడించితి

దక్షిణాధీశు ముత్యాలశాల

పలుకుతోడై తాంధ్రభాషామహాకావ్య

సైవిధగ్రంథసందర్భమునకుఁ

జగులగొట్టించి తుదృఢవివాదపౌధి

గౌడడిండిమభట్టు కంచుధక్కు

చంద్రభూష క్రియాశక్తిరాయలయొద్దఁ

బాదుకొల్పితి సార్వభౌమవరుడ

పెటలు పెప్పించెదో నన్ను నింకమీఁద

రావుసింగమహీపాలు ధీవిశాల

నిండుకొలుపున నెలకొనియుండి నీవు

సరస సుహృదికురంబ శారదాంబ.”

—Ot. Mm., I. pp. 116-117.

(Śaka 1328 to Śaka 1344), (ii) Dēvarāya II (Śaka 1344 to Śaka 1366) and Dēvarāya III (Mallikārjuna, Śaka 1370 to Śaka 1386). As the fourth Prauḍha Dēvarāya was not a contemporary of Śrīnātha, he need not be taken into consideration.

Ḍiṇḍima was the title of some poets patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs. They were three in number, namely: Ḍiṇḍima Kavi-sārvabhauma, Aruṇagirinātha I alias Sōṇādrinātha I, son of Rājanātha I and Abhirāmāmbikā; his son Ḍiṇḍimakavi Rājanātha II; and his son Kumāra Ḍiṇḍimakavi Aruṇagiri or Sōṇādrinātha II. These were the authors of three works, *Sōmarallīyōgānanda-prahasana*, *Sūlūvābhyudāyam*, and *Virabhadra vijayam* (a *ḍima*) respectively. These works inform us that a certain Nṛttarāja alias Kaviprabhu, a native of Parēndrāgrahara in the Gauda country, defeated a certain Nāgaṇakavi in the court of Ballāḷa. His son was Rājanātha I, and his grandson, Aruṇagirinātha I. Rājanātha I married Abhirāmāmbikā, sister of Sabhāpatibhaṭṭāraka, and a daughter of Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu who is described as *brahmāṇḍabhāṇḍapicaṇḍamaṇḍalita-Vijayaḍiṇḍimacāṇḍiman*. So, this Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu was the maternal grandfather of Aruṇagirinātha I. According to the *Vēdāntadēśikavaiḍharaṇaparakāśikā* of Doḍḍa-yācārya of Cōlasīngapuram, Vēdāntadēśika is said to have had a philosophical disputation with kavi Ḍiṇḍimasārvabhauma. As Vēdāntadēśika⁷² was a contemporary of Vidyāranya-guru and Harihara I, Ḍiṇḍimakavi whom he defeated, seems to be the father-in-law of Rājanātha, and a contemporary of Nṛttarāja, the adversary of Nāgaṇakavi, the court poet of Ballāḷa III.⁷³ Ḍiṇḍimakavi, the father-in-law of Rājanātha I could not have been the opponent of Śrīnātha, for he flourished very early. Neither Nṛttarāja, nor his son Rājanātha I, are known to have the title, Ḍiṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma from the works of their descendants. So, Śrīnātha's contemporary has to be selected from out of the three scholars, Aruṇagirinātha I, his son Rājanātha I, and his grandson Aruṇagirinātha II, who were all Ḍiṇḍimakavis stated already.

72. "The *Maṇipravāla* commentary of the *Vaiḍharaṇaparakāśika* asserts that Vēdāntadēśika was born in Śaka 1191 (1269 A. D.) and lived to write the praises of Gōpaṇārya, who re-instated the Rāṅganātha image at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka 1293, that is, 1371 A. D. This would assign to him an age of over 102 years. The same authority also asserts that he died in Śaka 1293. These statements require more minute examination. As regards the date of Gōpaṇārya's inscription, there is absolutely no doubt. It has been edited in quite a masterly way by Dr. Huittzsch, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 322." — T. A. Gopinatharao's *History of Srivaiṣṇavas*, p. 42, f. n.

73. I. A., Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 134. See also T. A. Gopinatharao's article on *Vivekapatramala*, which is some times known also as *Vibhagapatramala*.

A perusal of *Sōmaravallīyōgānanda-prahasana* written by Aruṇagirinātha I shows that the work was written while Dēvarāya was ruling the earth. It was in the reign of Dēvarāya II that Saḷuva Narasiṃha politically rose to prominence, the date of his earliest record⁷⁴ being as early as Saka 1359 Piṅgala. He is generally believed to be the author of the Sanskrit kāvya *Rāmābhyudayaṃ*. But the fifth canto of this kāvya contains a verse which reveals that it was written by Diṇḍima kavindra Sōṇādrinātha, son of Rājanātha and Abhirāmāmbikā, that is, Aruṇagirinātha I. In addition to this fact, we also come to know that the *Rāmābhyudayaṃ* was an earlier work than the *Mahānāṭaka* or *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi* of Immaḍi Dēvarāya⁷⁵ (Dēvarāya II). These facts clearly prove that Aruṇagirinātha I Diṇḍima Kavindra sārvaabhuma was a contemporary and court poet of Dēvarāya II. He seems to have been also a contemporary of Dēvarāya's father, Vīra Bhūpati, otherwise called Vīra Vijaya Bhūpati, whose reign came to a close in Saka 1346; for, an undated inscription⁷⁶ of the time of Vīra Bhūpati furnishes the interesting information that the king made a grant of some land at Muḍiyanūru (Tirukkoyilur taluk, South Arcot district) to a son of Aruṇagirinātha, evidently Aruṇagirinātha I, for naming him Bhūpaṇa after the king. The name, Bhūpaṇa, is an equivalent of Rājāṇa or Rājanātha. We already know that Rājanātha II was the son of Aruṇagirinātha I. King Vīra Bhūpati was pleased to make a gift of some land to Bhūpaṇa, son of Aruṇagirinātha, since he was named after himself. Evidently the gift was made sometime after the *nāmakaṇaṇamahōtsava* of Bhūpaṇa (Rājāṇa), probably when he was a boy. The foregoing facts prove that Aruṇagirinātha I was the first Diṇḍima Kavisārvaabhauma, patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs, and that he was a contemporary of Vīra Bhūpati and his son Dēvarāya II (Sakā 1344 to Saka 1366). Srinātha's adversary must, therefore, have been either Aruṇagirinātha I or his son Rājanātha II.

Kāśikhāṇḍam and *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* are the only two kāvyas extant, in the colophons of which Srinātha mentions his title, Kavisārvaabhauma, which he assumed after defeating Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa. There is a reference to his *kanakābhiseka* also in the *Kāśikhāṇḍam* at the end of the seventh canto (*Karnāṭa-ksitipāla-mauktika-sabhākavirāt-saṃstutya-cāritra*). *Kāśikhāṇḍam* was dedicated to king Virabhadra Reddi who ruled till Saka 1360, or a few years later. Therefore, the event of the defeat of Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa must have taken place in the interval between the time of *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* and that of *Kāśikhāṇḍam*, that is,

74. Ep. Coll., No. 743 of 1909.

75. A. R. Sarasvati's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 19, p. 60.

76. Ep. Coll., No. 267 of 1935.

between Saka 1350 and Saka 1360. These dates confirm that the Piṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma defeated by Śrīnātha was no other than Aruṇagiri-nātha I, and not his son Rājanātha II.

Now, let us take the next problem of Śrīnātha's visit to the Rājukoṇḍa court. Only once did he visit the court of Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla of the Rōceṅḷa family, king of Rājukoṇḍa, on a mission from the Koṇḍaviḍu court. He is said to have been sent there to fetch the sabre of the Redḍi kings, called *Nadikanta Pōṭaraju kaṭāri*, which prince Liṅgamanēḍu, son of Mādā Nāyaka II of the Rōceṅḷa family, had taken away before as a trophy, after gaining a victory over the Redḍi kings, in one of their expeditions against the Redḍi kingdom. There were three kings bearing the name Siṅga in the Rōceṅḷa family. One was Siṅga I, son of Eṅga Dacā Nāyaka. He did not have the title, Sarvajña. Of the other two who were both Sarvajñas, Siṅga II, the grandson of Siṅga I, and son of Anavōṭa Nāyaka I, ruled the kingdom from Cir. Saka 1306 to Cir. Saka 1321, and Siṅga III, the grandson of Siṅga II and son of Kumārānnavōṭa II, from Saka 1347 to Saka 1363 or a little latter. The identity of Sarvajña Siṅga who honoured Śrīnātha has now to be settled. Śrīnātha visited the court of Sarvajña Siṅga after defeating Gauḍa Diṇḍima bhaṭṭa, as has been known from his *cāṇu* verse alluded to above. He addressed Sārada, the goddess of learning, just before entering the Rōceṅḷa court. So, the date of his visit to the court of Siṅga has to be placed between Saka 1350 and Saka 1360. From this it is evident that Siṅga who honoured Śrīnātha, is identical with Siṅga III, son of Kumārānnavōṭa, that is, Anavōṭa II.

As tradition informs us that Śrīnātha visited the Rōceṅḷa court only once, it seems likely that he went to the court of Liṅgama Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa on his return journey from Rājukoṇḍa, and fulfilled his mission of bringing back to the Redḍi kings their sabre, *Nadikanta Pōṭaraju kaṭāri*. There are many *cāṇu* verses on Liṅgama Nēḍu in the *Velugōṭṭivāri Vamśāvali*, mentioning some chiefs, whom either he vanquished or befriended. Of these Sambeṭa Pinna⁷⁷ of Śaka 1350, Saḷuva Tipṭa⁷⁸ of Śaka 1355, Pōḷēpalli Bukka⁷⁹ of Saka 1404, are known to us from their inscriptions also. Liṅgama Nēḍu was also a contemporary of Prauḍha Dēvarāya, Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmany II, the Gajapati, and Allaya Vēma.⁸⁰ A reference to the dates of some of these contemporaries, enables us to note that the active

77. Loc. Rec., Vol. XXXVI, p. 495.

78. Ibid, Vol, XXXVII, p. 115.

79. Ep. Coll., No. 35 of 1933.

80. Vl. Vm. pages 48-53.

military career of Liṅgama Nēḍu began sometime before Śaka 1350. Early in his life, only when he was twelve years old, according to the *Velugōtivarī Vamśāvalī*, he led an expedition to Koṇḍaviḍu, probably in the fag end of the reign of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. It was probably in this expedition that he had taken away *Nandikanta Pōtarāju kaṭari*.⁸¹

The Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram felt it a stigma on their valour to let their sword remain with their enemies, the Rēceḷa kings. So, they wanted to regain it by peaceful means by sending Śrīnātha to their court as their ambassador on this mission. Śrīnātha accomplished this task with great tact and skill. He pleased Liṅgama Nēḍu with his learning and poetical talents. There are many *cāpu* verses on Liṅgama Nēḍu current in the country, which are attributed to Śrīnātha. Liṅgama Nēḍu wanted to reward Śrīnātha adequately, without minding that he was the court-poet of his bitter enemies, the Redḍi kings. Śrīnātha probably took this opportunity to fulfil his mission. He requested Liṅgama Nēḍu to return the sabre of the Redḍi kings, and said that he wanted nothing more. Admiring the poet's loyalty to his patrons, the Rēceḷa chief returned the sabre and sent away the poet, bestowing upon him many valuable presents. This seems to have been the trend of events relating to Śrīnātha's visit to the Rēceḷa court.

Śrīnātha's was a stormy life. He rose like the glowing morning star. He shone like the radiant Sun casting his influence far and wide. He set in a dark cloud of misery. Everywhere when patronage had failed, he leased a farm and took to agriculture; but there he was a misfit and a miserable failure. He could not pay the stipulated tax to the Government. Consequently he was subjected to many corporal punishments. Finally he died in penury.

Śrīnātha was one of the greatest poets of the Andhra land. He was the first Telugu poet who had travelled through out the length and breadth of the Andhra country, though it might have been for seeking patronage of nobles and kings in different parts of the country, and eke out his livelihood. He lived a princely luxurious life. He recorded in his numerous *cāṭus* composed during his perigrinations, some of the customs and manners that excited his interest, of people living in different localities in the country, and impressions of places which he had visited. Some of his *cāṭus* written on diverse subjects, high and low, noble and ignoble, are full of literary charm, fine imagery, humour and sarcasm, though some of them on Śṛṅgāra are not in good taste, judged according to the modern standards. By his interesting *caṭu* verses and by the literary charm of his

81. Ibid, p. 89.

works, he was able to evoke a country-wide interest in the Telugu poetry, and love for it in the minds of people. He was thus not only a court-poet of the Reddi kings, but in a true sense, the first Andhra national poet.

The review of Telugu literature of the age of the Reddis is not complete without taking note of the Telugu works, written by poets that flourished in the Rēceṣṭa kingdom of Teliṅgāna. So far as it is known at present they are five in number, namely, Paśupati Nāganātha, Ayyalārya, Gaurana, Koṟavi Gōparāja and Bammara Pōtarāja (Pōtana).

Paśupati Nāganātha :

Paśupati Nāganātha or Nāganātha, son of Paśupati, is the author of the Telugu work *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which is now lost. He is identical with Nāganātha kavi of the Kauśika *gōtra*, son of Paśupati Paṇḍita, and the composer of the Ainavōlu inscription² of Anavōta I, son of Singa I of the Rēceṣṭa family, dated in Śaka 1291. That he is the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in Telugu, is known from a verse from this work, quoted in an anthology in the library of the Telugu Academy.

Ayyalārya :

Ayyalārya, another Telugu poet patronised by the Padma Velama kings of the Rēceṣṭa family of Dēvarakoṇḍa, is the author of a portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. A perusal of the closing verses and the colophons at the end of different *kāṇḍas* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, reveals the fact that those *kāṇḍas* were composed by different authors, namely, Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, Kumāra Rudradēva and Ayyalārya (or Ayyalamantri), though the title connotes that really *Bhāskara* was the only author of the work. The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is the work of two authors, of whom one is Ayyalārya. He finished the portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, left unfinished by Huḷakki Bhāskara for reasons unknown to us. When some of the *kāṇḍas* of Bhāskara's work were lost or mutilated, the authors mentioned above seem to have completed them again, each in his own name, the portion or *kāṇḍa* he had completed. It is not also known if all these different authors were contemporaries. We are primarily concerned here with Ayyalārya whose date is roughly known to us. From some of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, it is known that Ayyalārya completed the remaining portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of this work at the command of his patron, Vēdagiri Nāyanimṅaru, that is, Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa, son of Mādhava or Mādā Nāyaka I. The date

of Vēdagiri's father, Māda I, is Śaka 1298. An inscription⁸⁸ mentioning Vēdagiri Nēḍu is dated in Śaka 1329. His protege Ayyalārya must have therefore flourished about that time. He is not known to have written any other works.

The colophon at the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* enables us to know that Ayyalārya was the son of Appalārya, younger brother of Śākalyamalla Rama (Vīra) Narasiṃha, that is Rāma (Vīra) Narasiṃha, son of Śākalyamallubhaṭṭa.⁸⁹

Gaurana :

Gaurana, a native of Teliṅgānā, was the son of Pōcāmbā and Ayyalārya of the Gautama *gōtra*. He is the author of two extant Telugu kāvyas in *dvipada* metre, namely, *Hariscandracaritra*, dealing with the story of Hariscandra, one of the six noted Indian emperors of mythological fame, and *Nava Nātha Caritra* dealing with the adventures of Nava Nāthas, and *Lakṣṇadīpika*, a Sanskrit work on poetics. The introductory lines of the Telugu kāvyas referred to above, as well as the introductory verses in the *Lakṣṇadīpika*, provide us the clue to fix the date of this poet approximately by stating that his father's elder brother, Peddana Pōtarāja (Pōtarāja, son of Peddana) was the minister of Siṅgaya Mādhava, (Mādhava, son of Siṅgaya) of the Rēceṅṇa family. These Rēceṅṇa chiefs, as we already know, were the rulers of Teliṅgānā, whose capitals were Rācakonḍa and Dēvarakonḍa. Gaurana's time may be fixed from a reference to the date of Siṅgaya Mādhava. There were two kings of the same name Mādhava, both being the sons of chiefs bearing the same name Siṅga. They were Mādhava I, son of Siṅga I, and Mādhava II, son of Siṅga II, who was otherwise called Sarvajña Siṅga and Kumāra Siṅga. The dates of these two Mādhavas are definitely known to us from their inscriptions. The Umāmahēśvaram inscription⁹⁰ of Mādhava, son of Siṅga I, is dated in Śaka 1298 (1376 A. D.), and the latest date of Mādhava II furnished by his records⁹¹ is Śaka 1351 (1429 A. D.). At the end of the Umāmahēśvaram inscription there are some ślōkas and a Telugu prose passage. Two of the ślōkas refer to Peddana's son, Pōtarāja (Peddana Pōtarāja), who is described therein as *sarvadhārmī* and the *rājyāṅgakadhurandhara*. In one of the ślōkas he is stated to have got composed the record relating to the temple of Śiva, to which Māda I made a gift, and

88. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1100.

89. Vide, section above on the Sanskrit Literature. See also the learned article on *The date of Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa and its authors* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the An. An. for Vikrama (1940).

90. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 10.

91. Ibid, Appendix, No. 12.

the composer's name is given in another verse as *Māyisudhī*, skilled in *padavākya-pramāṇa*. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude from these verses that Peddana Pōtarāja was probably the minister of Mādhava I and not of Mādhava II. If the date of Peddana Pōtarāja is Saka 1298, the date of Gaurana, his brother's son, may be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century of the Saka era.

Gaurana was a Śaiva by religion. The Śaiva Telugu poets of the Andhra country that preceded Gaurana, had developed a new school of their own, and set up new traditions in Telugu literature. The Śaiva poets freely made use of the *deśi* metres in kāvyas as against the classical ones, in order that it might also be set to music beside its being read, and *dripada* was the favourite metre they employed. They had freely drawn from the spoken tongue, and yet were bound by ordinary rules of grammar, though transgressing them occasionally. The diction of their kāvyas which differs greatly from that of the kāvyas of the non-Śaiva school, is peculiar, and did not always win the approval of later grammarians. However, the Śaiva poets created a popular literary movement, and the art of their kāvyas is more realistic than that of the kāvyas of the other school. The Śaiva school of Telugu literature has thus some distinguishing features of its own. Gaurana's works are no exception to this dictum. His style is vigorous, imagery perfect and the flow of his verse smooth and running. Some of his lines are crisp and profound with meaning, and read like aphorisms. They have passed into adages in common tongue.

Gaurana dedicated his *Nava Nātha Caritra* to Mukti Śāntarāya of the Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha, to whose devotee, Mummaḍi Śāntayya, Śrīnātha dedicated his work, *Śīvarātri-māhātmyam*. Gaurana and Śrīnātha thus seem to have been contemporaries. In fact, one *Nava Nātha Caritra* in Telugu written by a certain Śrīgiri kavi, was already in existence before Gaurana's time. But that was a *padya prabandha* and not a *dripada* one. At the command of Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti-rāya Gaurana took the same subject for his theme, and re-wrote it in *dripada* metre.

All the three works of Gaurana, namely, *Harīścandra-caritra*, *Nava Nātha Caritra* and *Lakṣṇadīpika* are extant. He is known to have written also another poetical work, *Navagrahastaram*, a *stōtra* on the nine *grahas*, which is now lost. Two verses from this work are quoted by Pedapāṇi Jagannātha kavi, a later poet, in his anthology.

Kogavi Gōparāju :

Gōparāju, son of Kāmaṇbikā and Kusavarāju of the Kogavi family, was a native of Teliṅganā and belonged to the Harita-sa-gōtra,

He was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, minister of the Durjaya chief, Prithviśvara of Velanāḍu who ruled from Cir. Saka 1104 to Cir. Saka 1126.

Gōparāju's father was the minister of Raṇā Malla whose identity has not yet been settled. As Gōparāju was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, he may be assigned to the middle or latter half of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era, calculating at an average of thirty years per generation. This conclusion is supported by another fact. Bācirāju and Siṅgana, two of the five sons of Abbaya, eldest brother of Gōpaya, grandfather of Gōparāju, are said to have been ministers to king, Anavōta Kumāra Siṅgaya (that is, Kumara Siṅga, son of Anavōta), obviously of the Rēceḷa family of Rājukoṇḍa. This Kumāra Siṅga, who is identical with Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla II, author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*, ruled from Cir. Saka 1330 to Cir. Saka 1346.

This identification of Kumāra Siṅga furnishes the clue to fix approximately the date of Gōparāju. If Bācirāju and Siṅgana, and Kasavārya flourished in the early half or in the middle of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era, Gōparāju also may be assigned either to the middle or the early latter half of the same century. He becomes thus a contemporary of Kumārānavōta, or his brother, Mādhava II whose dates range till Śaka 1351.

Gōparāju is the author of the Telugu kāvya, *Simhāsanadvātrimśika*, containing thirty-two stories about king, vikramārka of Ujjain, related consecutively by the thirty-two images sculptured on his throne, to king Bhōja of Maḷava, every time when he came to ascend it. This is the only work known to have been written by the author. The author himself states that this work is not an independent one, but a translation of an old Sanskrit work which is now lost. As one of the stories contained in this work, happens to be a close adaptation of a story⁸⁷ found in the Jain work, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, either the original author of this work in Sanskrit, or our Gōparāju, the translator himself, seems to have incorporated in this work stories relating to kings other than Vikramārka also, taken from other sources, and attributed them to that classical hero. Though this work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit work, it is difficult to detect it to be such.

The *Simhāsanadvātrimśika* is a remarkable kāvya, unique in many respects. The author maintains a vigorous style throughout the poem and the expression is crystal clear. The whole poem is

87. Vide, Chapter V on Games And Amusements, VII p. 437, f. n. 60.

characteristic of the realistic social atmosphere of the times, though the stories narrated therein were of bygone days. This happens to be one of the very few works which furnish a fund of information regarding the social life of the period in which the author lived. As the information which he supplies, tallies exactly with that furnished by the accounts of foreign travellers who visited South India at this period, it may be reasonable to suppose that Gōparāju himself brought into his kāvyā a realistic touch, by attuning the stories he described to the social life of his period. The author exhibits his encyclopaedic knowledge on whatever subject he describes in his work, and provides us with many technical terms then in use relating to wrestling, archery and the like, some of which have died out since.

Bammera Pōtana :

The ancestors of Pōtana, alias Pōtarāju or Potanāmātya, were originally natives of Bammera in the Nalgonda district (Hyderabad-Teliṅgānā), about thirty miles distant from Waraṅgal. As Waraṅgal (Ekaśilānagara) was the secondary capital of the Padma Velama kings of the Rūceṅṅa family of Rajukonda, and the primary capital of their predecessors, the Musunūri chiefs, Pōtana or his forefathers seem to have migrated to that place, and lived there.

Pōtana was the son of Lakkama and Kēsana and belonged to the Kaundinya-sa-gōtra and to the Āpastamba sūtra. He is the author of three works, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, *Andhra Mahābhāḡavatam*, and *Vīrabhadravijayam*, which are all extant.

The first work, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, furnishes the clue to settle the date of Pōtana. He wrote that work on a vōśya of his patron Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla. Some Telugu scholars contend that the author of this *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam* could not have been Pōtana for the simple reason that, as he was a great devotee, he could not have stooped to write this work on a courtesan. This argument, based as it is, more on sentiment than on unimpeachable evidence, has no historical basis. There is no evidence to show that Pōtana was a great devotee even from his youth. It is likely that he wrote this *daṇḍaka* in his youth, sometime after he entered the court of his patron, Sarvajña Siṅga, to please him. As wisdom dawned on him gradually, on observing the ways and whims of kings and princes of those days, he withdrew himself from the impure and choking atmosphere of the royal court, and preferred to lead a peaceful life of an agriculturist, severing his connection with kings and royal courts.

Pōtana's patron, Sarvajña, is described in the *daṇḍakam* as the son of Kumarānnavōta and the grandson of Rayu Siṅga Mahāpāla of the Rēceṅḍa family, and as having been served by Vasanta Bhūṇāla. It is then obvious that Pōtana's patron was Sarvajña Siṅga III, son of Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), and the ruler of Rājukoṇḍa. This identification is confirmed by an inscription⁸⁸ of these chiefs at Little Conjeevaram, Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district, dated in Śaka 1359, corresponding to Pīṅgala. This record registers the gift of four *dvārapāla* images, Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa, at the second and third *gōpuras* respectively, and of the two pinnacles of gold for the car by Vasantarāya, son of Anavōtā Nāyaka, and brother of Siṅgama Nāyaka. Vasantarāya, Anavōtā Nāyaka and Siṅgama Nāyaka of this record are identical with Vasantāvaninātha, Kumarānnavōta, and Sarvajña Siṅga respectively. It seems to have been customary among the Rēceṅḍa chiefs to prefix the term, *kumāra*, to the name of the grandson named after his grandfather, to distinguish one from the other. Hence, we find the names, Kumāra Siṅga (Siṅga II), and Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), in the genealogy of the Padma Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa. So, Pōtana patronised by Sarvajña Siṅga (Siṅga III) must have also flourished about Śaka 1359 (1347 A.D.), the date of the Conjeevaram record referred to above.

Pōtana's *Virabhadra vijayam* does not stand comparison with his other great work *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam*, even though it is generally stated that it was his last work. Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*, a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhāgavatam*, is his *magnum opus*. This great work also shared, for causes unknown to us, the same fate as the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. There is a traditional story current in the country that Pōtana buried his *Bhāgavatam* underground, to save it from destruction at the hands of Sarvajña Siṅga III, to whom Pōtana refused to dedicate that work, probably after he left his court, and this is adduced as the cause for the decay of some of the portions—the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth *skandhas*—which were later on completed by some Telugu poets, namely, Gaṅgana, Ērcūri Siṅgana and Veligandala Nārāya, a pupil of Pōtana himself. This story seems to be a pure myth. It has no historical basis. The real truth for the mutilation or destruction of this work seems to be in the extremely disturbed political condition of Teliṅgāna in the time of Pōtana, and his early patron, Sarvajña Siṅga. From the fag end of the reign of the Bahmanī Sultan, Ahmad Shāh I, whose rule lasted till 1435 A.D. (Śaka 1357), and during the next two successive reigns, Alā-ud-Dīn II and his son Humāyūn Shāh, the whole of Teliṅgāna was thrown

into much confusion, owing to ravage and rapine consequent on the wars between the kings of Rājakoṇḍa and Devarakoṇḍa, and the Bahmanī Sultans of Bīdar. In fact, Rājācalor Rājakoṇḍa, the chief capital of the Rēceḡla kings, was, according to the Muslim historians, assigned as a feudal fief⁸⁹ to the Bahmanī princes even as early as about 1435 A.D. Telingāna was overrun by the Bahmanī generals many a time; even Waraṅgal was sacked, and it often changed hands. The Rēceḡla kings tried their best to regain possession of their lost territory, and to drive away the Mussalmans from Telingāna with the aid of other Hindu kings. This political condition of Telingāna during this period, in which one's own belongings, family, and even life, were insecure, seems to have been the main cause for the mutilation of some of the *Skandhas* of Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*.

Pōtana dedicated his *Bhāgavatam* to god Śrī Rāma. He had the title *sahajapāṇḍitya*, which shows that he acquired proficiency in the Telugu language and poetics by his self-effort. Pōtana's poetry is mainly devotional in character. He is at his best when describing a devotional episode. He intensely felt the emotions of a devotee whom he described and went into ecstasy, while singing the glory of god Viṣṇu. Hence, his work, *Bhāgavatam* may be aptly termed as a devotional lyric. Pōtana had such a mastery over the language that *śabdālāṅkāras*, like *yamaka* and *anuprāsa* and others, crept into his poetical lines without effort. In spite of these *śabdālāṅkāras* his poetry has a fine finish and an innate beauty about it, characterised by its sweetness and melody. The flow of his poetry is smooth, and his style vigorous and supple. Pōtana's imagery is superb. He can make us realise the spirit conveyed by his poems intensely. He pressed the figures of speech into service so as to make his imagery perfect. The *śabda* or the sound of words dexterously employed, echoed the sense and the spirit. One can point out many instances in this work where this effect is clearly visible. In his later life when he wrote his *Bhāgavatam*, Pōtana was a *bhakta* practising *bhaktiyōga*. He was, therefore, able to add devotional fervour to Telugu poetry.

The period under review ends with Pōtana. His work, *Bhāgavatam*, stands as a symbol indicating the surging Vaiṣṇava revival in the Telugu country, both in the Telingāna and in the coastal Andhra country, at the close of this period. The *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam* of Pōtana marks the swing from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism, which dominated the latter half of the Vijayanagar period.

89. J. S. King - *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 73.

LITERARY COURT

The Reddi kings, like their predecessors, continued the splendid traditions of protecting and encouraging art and letters. Poets and philosophers vied with one another in arranging literary debates under the auspices of the royal court to establish their own especial supremacy. Such occasions were very popular, and they brought to the audience hall, the scene of the disputations, the most learned men of the land and the highest officers of the State. There was as much excitement as in the royal tournaments and success in the contest brought the victor kingly favour and grant of lands. No doubt, when one great scholar advanced the theory, *siddhānta*, assertion, and while his opponent sought to shatter it by *pūrvapakṣa*, refutation, by counter arguments, the court was struck with wonder and flushed with untainted joy at the feats of intellect and memory exhibited by them. Some of the chief literary feats and entertainments are given below :-

(i) Composing one hundred stanzas (a *Śaṭaka*) extempore in a *ghaṭikā*, a period of twenty four minutes, in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, Saurasēnī and others, that is, in the eight kinds of Prākṛit languages.

(ii) To describe offhand a thing or subject in the required way, in the required *dhātus* (verbal roots), and *rasa*, within the given time limit.

(iii) To repeat a poem (probably a passage also) after hearing it read only once, twice, or thrice.

(iv) To perform any kind of *avadhāna* (a feat requiring great attention, memory and skill). There were *aṣṭāvadhānas* and *śatāvadhānas* (attending simultaneously to eight, and one hundred things respectively). There were experts who performed *citrāvadhānas* in the *Yajur Veda* also.

(v) To read a verse in the manner of a *gitikā* musical composition, with time and tune.

(vi) To tell by intuition names concealed, deeds secretly done before the entertainer, and the *bhāvas* in the mind of the questioner, that is, thought-reading.

(vii) To compose poems altogether omitting a set of letters generally *ṣṭhyas* (labials) prohibited by the questioner and some *mātras*, prosodial instants or units in metre.

(viii) *Samasyā-pūraṇa*, that is, completing the remaining portion of the stanza with the given part, which contains generally queer and, at times, apparently an incongruous and silly idea, to form a single rational theme.

These entertainments were not the innovations of this age. Most of them were already popular for at least a few centuries past in the courts of Indian kings. But all these performances were given in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The poets of the mediaeval period in the Telugu country cultivated these arts in Telugu also, and the courts of kings and nobles during this period were lively with such performances. Such entertainments and feats were given by scholars and poets, specially proficient in them. Scholarship and skill never went without being amply rewarded. Peddayāṁātya, grandfather of Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka-caritra*, is said to have been an expert in all the above mentioned feats⁹⁰. Stories regarding the *samasyas* given to Śrīnātha in some of the courts of the kings of this

90. “సంస్కృతపాకృత కౌరసేన్యాదుల
 ఘటికలో నొకశతకంబు జెప్ప
 బ్రహ్మసనపకరణ భాణాది బహువిధ
 రూపకంబులయందు రూఢి మెలియ
 జక్క చతుర్భుజ చతుర్ముఖ రాధిక
 క్షుద్ర కావ్యములు పెక్కులు రచింప
 నంద్రకవిత్వంబునందు బ్రబంధంబు
 మేలుగాఁ దన్వెల్లులు మెచ్చు జెప్ప
 నిమ్మల నేరీతి నేధాతువుల నేమి
 రసమున నైన వర్ణనము సేయ
 సరి నేకసంధా ద్విసంధా త్రిసంధలఁ
 కొడరినఁ బొరిఁ బొరిఁ గడవఁ జనువఁ
 నెవ్వఁ డే యవధాన మెలుంగు నయ్యవధాన
 మున వాని కెంచుక ముల్లసూప
 వృత్త కందముఁ గందపుష్పంబునుఁ జను
 ప్కందంబు మొదలుగాఁ గలుగు గర్భ
 కావ్యవర్గముఁ జెప్పఁగాఁ బ్రబంధంబులు
 గొత్తలు పుట్టించుకొని విభింపఁ
 గా నక్షరచ్యుతకంబు మాత్రాచ్యుత
 కంబు బంధచ్యుతకంబు నామ
 గోప్యంబులుఁ గ్రియాగోప్యంబులును భావ
 గోప్యంబులును జెప్ప గోప్తీయందుఁ
 బద్యంబు గీతికార్పణ నేగి జనువంగ
 నెల్లవిద్యలనందు లెలుంగ నేర్చు

period, and the stanzas completed with the given parts by him, are still current in the country." The literary court, or *gōṣṭhi*, as it was then called, was a pleasant and attractive feature of the royal courts of this age.

Accepting dedication of a work from any poet was another great festive occasion. It is natural to be such, as it was considered to be one of the *Saptasantānas*. It was the custom of those days for one desiring a *kāvya* to be dedicated to him, to invite a poet and request him to dedicate his work to him. When the poet agreed to the proposal, as it was usually the case with a great many poets, the *krtibharta* of the work honoured him with fragrant betel (*karpūra tāmbūla*), accompanied by valuable presents of silk cloths, gold jewels set with precious stones, and so on, according to his status. Grants of land or even of *agrahāras* were at times given. The poet thereafter described in glowing terms the genealogical descent of his patron recounting the glory and achievements, of the patron and his ancestors if there were, any, in the introductory portion of the work. The introductory portions of the Sanskrit and Telugu works, which were dedicated to nobles and kings or their officers, thus form valuable source-material for the re-construction of our past history.

ననుచు నెల్లారి తిరు కాళమనుజవిభుని
సమ్మొఖమ్మన సాహిత్యసరణి మెఱసి
మహిమఁ గాంచిన పెద్దయామాత్యసుకవి..." —Vk. Cr., I, v. 20.

The author Vennelakantī Annaya also adverts in his work, *Sōḍasakumara-caritra* to some of these intellectual feats of skill (vi, v. 13):

“అష్టభాషల మధు రాసు విస్తర చిత్ర)
కవితలు చెప్పు సత్కవులు మెచ్చు

... ..

శూతనరీతుల ధాతువిభ్రమముల

రసములు మెఱయు వర్ణకము వాడు

నేత్రరాజుంబుల నేకధ యుడిగినం

దడఁబాటులేక యేర్పడఁగఁ జెప్పు

నోలి నవధానములు వేనవేలు నూపు..."

91. It is said that, when once Śrinātha visited the court of the Rēcerla chief, Siṅga of Rājukonda, the following *saṁāsya* was given to Śrinātha by a Bhaṭṭa in his *aṣṭhana*.

“మక్కవో నక్కవో ఫణివో కోఁత్రివో పిల్లివో బూతపిల్లివో.”

This is reported to have been completed by the poet as shown below, very creditably:

The literary court of the kings of this period was a veritable *viśvakalāpariṣat*, where skill in various arts was tested and duly rewarded. It is worthy of note that many of the kings of this period, in spite of their pre-occupations with administration and almost incessant warfare, found time to devote themselves to pursuits of literature and art. The most stormy period of our history had bequeathed to us the legacy of precious literary treasures. The mind as well as the body was highly active in the period under review.

“తక్క-క రావుసింగవసుధావసుఁ డగులక్కగ మిచ్చువో
 దిమ్మలలేని కన్లుని, దధీచిని, భేచరు, వేల్పుమానుఁ, తెం
 పెక్కిన కామధేనువు, శిబీందుని నెన్నెదు భట్ట! దిట్టకై
 కుక్క-వో నక్క-వో ఫణి-వో శోఁటి-వో పిల్లి-వో బూతపిల్లి-వో.” —*Ch. Mm., I. p. 117.*

APPENDIX

Introductory portion of the *Śivalilāvilāsam*

Till now only one incomplete copy of *Śivalilāvilāsam* has been available, which is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. This copy contains only the first three *āśvāsas*. Even in this copy, the introductory portion in the first *āśvāsa*, generally containing a description of the genealogical descent of the poet, or of the poet's patron, or of both, is not complete. The few verses in the extant introductory portion without a beginning and with a great many mistakes and lacunae here and there, describe the genealogy of Allāḍa's son, Doddā Redḍi, to whom this work was dedicated, and furnish much new historical information otherwise unavailable, regarding the Redḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

I was able to get another, though incomplete, copy of this rare work through Vidvān Ogēti Venkata Subbarao garu of Hyderābad, to whom the grateful thanks, not only of mine, but also of the Andhra Public, are due. This copy contains the first three *āśvāsas* with an incomplete introductory portion. It is interesting to note that this portion contains verses describing the descent of the author. Thus, the introductory portions in the two copies now available, though not complete, furnish much information about the author of the work as well as of his patron. I give below, without any emendation of the text the extant introductory portions in the two copies, having combined them together into a single one.

శ్రీదనరార మొక్కిన గిరింద్రవరాత్మజ వేచ్చుకా (?) వేళ త
త్పదనముల్లనన్న ఖరవర్షణవీధులఁ దేజరిల్లి యే
కాదశమూర్తి భేదములఁ గన్నలపండువు నేయు శంభుఁ డా
హ్లాదకరుండు గాచు మన యశ్శయ దొడ్డనృపాల శేఖరుకా. ౧

ఏనిక మోమున నెనఁగుపావని తల్లి

కొండలరాయని కూర్మిపట్టి

నెలచేరుచుక్క యాదలఁ దాల్చు నేర్పరి

నాటువకెక్కు మిన్నేటి నవతి

మూఁడు చూపులవేల్పు ముడుసలి యిల్లాలు

ముత్తైదువలలోన మొదలిపేరు

కడ చనువులయందుఁ గనుపట్టు...కటి

వెండి గుబ్బలియింట నుండువడఁతి

ప్రకట శుభ నద్గ నిజ సాదపద్మనికట

చంచరీకాయమాన చంచదవతంస

కలిత గీర్వాణి

[దొడ్డవిభుని].

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[అతులమ *] రందబృంద సముదంచిత నాభినవాజ్జపట్నద

శ్రుతులఁ దదంతర స్థిత సరోజభవానన నా (సా?) మకోమల

శ్రుతులు నిజకృతు (?) ల్బుడము సొంపును బెంపు వహింప మెచ్చు న

చ్యుతుఁ డఖలేశ్వరుండు మనుచున్ దయ నల్లయదొడ్డభూవరుఁ.

నిలుకడ దియ్యంపు నలుపునఁ దగువాఁడు

జనకుండుగానుండు చతురవాణి

కలువలఁ దనరాక నలరింపఁగలవాఁడు

తమ్ముండుగానుండు తలిరుఁబోణి

యింతుల నెలయింప నెనఁగుపంతమువాఁడు

నాథుండుగానుండు నవలతాంగి

వలపుల వెదచల్లు వన్నెతూపులవాఁడు

తనయుండుగానుండు వనజగంధి

నరవికాస చారు వాసనాంభోరుహ

హర్మ్య రమ్యతల విహారలోల

హృదయకమల కమల యిచ్చుగావుత లక్ష్మ

విభుని దొడ్డనృపతి కభిమతములు.

క్రేష్టతర ప్రభావ సవిశేష గుణాద్భుత భావచాతురీ

నిష్ఠను విశ్వభూతగణ నిర్మిత మొప్ప ఘటించి లోక బం

హిష్ట చరిత్రఫేలన మెయిందగు పద్మభవుండు నిర్జర
జ్యేష్ఠుండు గాచు నల్లవరు దొడ్డుకుమార సృపాలరత్నమున్.

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మహనీయ గంధ సంబంధ గుణంబులఁ

గరమొప్పు వికచ పంకజముతోడ

శ్రవణ ప్రియాదాస సరసభాషితములఁ

బ్రకటిల్లు రాజకీరంబుతోడ

నానాగమార్థ నిర్ణయ గుంభసంబులఁ

జదురొందు నూత్న పుస్తకముతోడ

సరిగమపదనిన స్ఫురిత స్వసంబులు

వివరించు మంజుల వీణోతోడ

మెఱయు శ్రీహస్తములతోడ నెఱసి సకల

భువన పరిపూర్ణ విభ్రమంబునఁ దలిర్పు

చుండు దేవి వాగీశ్వరి యొనఁగుగాత

కోర్కు లల్లయ దొడ్డన ఖోణిపతికి.

పూని దివానిశలును భువ

నానీకముఁగావఁ బ్రోవనగు భాను సుధా

భానులు హితంబు లిత్తురు

మానుగ నల్లాఖ్యుదొడ్డ మనుజేంద్రునకున్.

వేల్పులకెల్లఁ దా వేల్పుగు నొడయండు

పనుల యంకిలిఁ దీర్పు ప్రకటులాఁడు

చదలేటినవతి యచ్చపు కూర్చిబిడ్డండు

నెలపువ్వుఁ దలఁదోపు నెరకు(ఱపు?)లాఁడు

వణఁకుగుబ్బలిరాచవారికి మనుమండు

ముక్కంటి నలరించు ముద్దులాఁడు

పాపజన్నిదము లేర్పడఁ దాల్పు పాపండు

కొక్కుఁబోతెము(తును?) తోలు పె(నె?) కుక్కలాఁడు

గండయుగ మండనా.....

మద[జనాలోల]

గాన సుముఖుండు శ్రీభద్రగణముఖుండు

మనుచు నల్లయ దొడ్డకుమారవరుని.

౮

ఖగమున్ లుబ్ధకుఁ డేసినంత నిజశోకం బుర్విలో నద్భుతం
బుగ సుశ్లోకముఁ దాల్చె నేఘసునిచే బుణ్యార్థసంపాదకం
బగు రామాయణ మేనుధీనుతునిచే నాహుతం బొల్చె బే
ర్రి గడు స్థిఱుగ నట్టి యాదికవి వాల్మీకిం బ్రశంసించెదన్.

౯

చతురామ్నాయములున్ జగత్రయము మెచ్చన్ వ్యక్తముల్ చేసి త
త్ప్రతిమంబై పొలుపారు భారతము నుత్పాదించి నానాపురా
ణ తతుల్ నిర్మల ధర్మబోధనధురీణఖ్యాతి నిర్మించి సం
తతమాహాత్మ్య విలాసుడై వెలయు వేదవ్యాసుఁ గీర్తించెదన్.

౧౦

పటుసమ్మోదమున స్ఫుజింతుఁ గవితాపారీణు బాణు న్సము
త్కట వాణీజలమేఘు మాఘు నుతవిద్యాస్తేఘు సోము నివ్వశం
కటవిద్యారవి భారవిం జతురరేఖాభాజునిం భోజుఁ బ్ర
స్ఫుట లక్ష్మీకరు భాస్కరున్ సతతతేజోభాను భాను న్మదిన్.

౧౧

నన్నయభట్టుఁ గావ్యరచనావిదుఁ డిక్కన సోమయాజి న
చ్చిన్న మహాత్మ్య సంవిదితశేషముని నెఱ్ఱయ ప్రెగడ స్సము
త్పన్న నవప్రబంధ రసభావకు నింపుగఁ బ్రార్థనాంజులుల్
మున్నగ నాత్మలోఁ దలఁతు (మువ్వర మువ్వర బోలు ?) పుణ్యులన్.

౧౨

బుధులఁ గమనీయ కవితాం

బుధులఁ గళావిధుల భావపూర్ణేందు వచో

విధులఁ బ్రణుతింతు నెప్పుడు

నధునాతన కవుల మతిజితాంబరకవులన్.

౧౩

ఆకల్పంబుగఁ దూర్కరాజు కన నూరాఖ్యాకుచేత స్సుభ
ద్రాకల్యాణ మనం దనర్చు కృతిరత్నం బొప్పఁ గైకొన్న ను

శ్లోకు స్మృతపితామహున్ బుధజనస్తోతవ్య దీవ్యధ్వజో
తేనకున్ గంగయ శింగనార్యుః దలఁతున్ ధీనిర్జరాచార్యునిన్.

౧౪

మాతాతన్ విలసద్గధీ(భీ)రకలనామాతాత సాదృశ్య సం
ధాతన్ యాదవనాథ పాదజలజ(జాత?)ధ్యాతః జీ ఎం(యం?)బ్బికా
చేతః పుష్కరిణీమరాళము సురుశ్రీమూలమున్ మంగళా
స్వీతజ్ఞానమయాత్మునిం దలఁచెదన్ నిశ్చంక మంత్రీశ్వరున్.

౧౫

మజ్జనకు తత్త్వదర్శి న
ముజ్జనకుని సబ్బనచినముఖ్యుని దలఁతున్
సజ్జన సౌముఖ్యుని ను
ద్యజ్జయ హరినిభుని సంబమాంబావిభునిన్.

౧౬

ఇలఁ జలిచీమరీతి ఖలుఁ డెవ్వరి మర్మములై సఁ బట్టునే
దలఁ దెగిపోవునప్పుడును దా విమవం డదిగావునన్ పృథా
క... (లన?) నిరూఢులై బుధులఁ గారియఁ బెట్టుచు నుండునట్టి పె
ద్దలదెస యేనుబోవ నెడదప్పులనుండి సమస్కరించెదన్.

౧౭

తెలుఁగని చెప్ప సంస్కృత విధిజ్ఞతలే దని సంస్కృతంబునన్
బలుకఁ దెనుంగు నేరరని ప్రాక్తన మాగ్ధమునంద నచ్చినం
గలవది మున్నునంచు నొకకై వడిఁ గ్రొత్తగఁ గూర్చి గేని పె
ద్దలు వ(ఃప) నిగోరటం(రం?)చు మహిఁ దజ్ఞులు నాడును రల్పధీయుతుల్.

౧౮

కలిత మహాకవింద్ర కృత కాన్య సమర్థపదార్థ మర్మముల్
తెలియఁగలేక చీకటియె తెంపుగఁ ద్రవ్వదు రహ్మాహా కడున్
ములుచలు కొంద అట్లయగు ముందట నున్నను పుట్టుఁజేఁకు లు
జ్వలమణిదర్పణాంతర లసత్ప్రతిబింబముఁ గాన నేర్తులే.

౧౯

న. అని క్రమంబున నిష్టదేవతాప్రార్థనంబును బురాణ నవీన కవి
కీర్తనంబును గురుజనాభివాదంబును బలప్రకార నిరూపణంబును సముచితంబుగా
జరిపి యాత్మగతంబున,

౨౦

ఇల సలఘుకపులు కబ్బం

బులు లక్షలు జెప్పినారు ము న్నని నాకున్

వల దుడుగఁ గావ్య రచనము

చెలఁగి కరులు నడచుతోవఁ జీమలుఁ జనవే.

౨౦

క్రొత్తగ నర్థముల్ దలఁచి గుంభన శబ్దములు న్విచిత్రతా

యత్తత నుల్లసిల్ల నిది యచ్చట నచ్చట నర్హవర్ణముల్

మెత్తిన నూలుకొల్పి రసమేళన మొప్పగఁ జెప్ప కూరకే

కత్తర బెత్తరల్ బెనచి కారులు కబ్బము లన్న నవ్వరే.

౨౧

పుర భూపర్తువు లంబుజాస్త హిమరు క్పుతోదయంబు ల్గ్రహీ

ధర మంత్రాహవముల్ వివాహరతియాత్రల్ ద్యూతపానాంబుధుల్

విరహాంభోవనలీల లుత్తమరసావిర్భావ భావక్రియా

సరణిం జెప్పఁదగున్ బుధుల్ గరము మెచ్చన్ సత్ప్రబంధంబులన్.

౨౩

వ. అని తలంచి యుదంచిత రచనా చమత్కృతిఁ గలుగ నొక్క
సత్కృతి నిర్మించు తలంపుననుండు సమయంబున,

౨౪

... ..
... ..

శ్రీవత్సాన్వయ శేఖరుండవు సదా శ్రీరామచంద్రానుకం

పావర్ధిష్ఠ శుభాన్వితుండవు . ఆ(శుభా)పస్తంబనూత్ర క్రమ

వ్యావర్తి చరణ ప్రసిద్ధుండవు రమ్యార్థాష్టభాషాకవి

త్వావిర్భావ విధాధురీణుండవు కొమ్మామాత్య నీ విమ్మహిన్.

౨౫

చతురుండవు పూర్వకవినాథ సస్మహత్వ

మహితుండవు సర్వబుధలోక మానసియ

చరితుండవు గాన నింపునఁ జలుపవలయుఁ

బెంపు గల్లంగ నస్మదభీష్ట మొకఁడు.

౨౬

కొడుకు వనము చెఱువు గు [డి*] నిధి నల్లిలు

కావ్య మనఁగఁ గీర్తికారణములు

జగతిఁ గలవు సప్తసంతతు లందులోఁ

గరము కీర్తిగరము కావ్యమొకఁడె.

— ౨౭

చెలువుగ భవ్యకావ్యములచేతన యారమవా(రఘురా?)మముఖ్యులు
జ్వలమగు బెంపుఁ గాంచి గరువంబున మించిరి [తా*]రు నేడునుం
గలరుకదా యశోధనులు గావునఁ దత్క్రమ మాత్మ సంతయుం
దెలియఁగఁ జూచి యే గృతిపతిత్వముఁ బూనఁగఁ గాంక్షచేసితిన్.

— ౨౮

వింటిఁ బురాణముల్ గరము వేడుకతోడ ననేకభంగులన్
గంటి కృతార్థతా కలిత గౌరవ కాతుక మట్లనయ్యు ము
క్కంటి మహత్వ మేకతము గల్గద యెందువినంగ రొ(లొ?)చ్చగా
నంటిన సర్గవంశ చరితాదులచే నటుగాన నామదిన్.

— ౨౯

కేవల శివచరితము నే

బాసన వినఁగోరుదుం బ్రబంధనిధాన

శ్రీ వజ్రలఁగ వినిపింపుము

భావరసాలంకృతాంధ్ర భాషాసరణిన్.

30

వ. అని పల్కి కర్పూర తాంబూల జాంబూనదాభరణాదు లొసంగిన
సంగీకరించి యే సతని కిట్లంటి,

31

మును కృతు(?) లెంద రందరు సమున్నతి సందరె వార లీగతిన్
ఘనమతి పితృపూజ్యమగు కావ్యము మార్గముఁ గన్నవారె నీ
త్రినయన భక్తి[యుక్తి*]యు నుదీర్ణ వివేకము నింత యొప్పునే
యనఘత నుల్లసిల్లెద పుదారకవిత్వమహత్వసంపదన్.

3౨

వ. అని సంతసిల్లి యమ్మహానాయకుం గృతినాయకుం గావించి త
త్ప్రబంధరచనాభంగి సంగీకరించితి,

33

ఒప్పుగలచోట నొప్పిన నొప్పు మిగుల
తప్పుగలచోటఁ దీర్చినఁ దప్పు గలుగ
దొప్పు దప్పుగఁ దప్పును నొప్పుగాఁగఁ
గొనక కవులార నాకృతి వినఁగవలయు.

3౪

కృతిముఖ తిలకంబనఁ గృతి

పతివంశము ప్రస్తుతింతుఁ దగ భవనహిత

స్థిత పురుషోత్తమ లీలా

న్వితమగు జలధివిధమున వెలయున్.

31

శ్రీ తరుణీశ పాదసరసీరుహదేశము (పావనై?)క ని

రీత విశేషలీల నొక నిర్మలవంశము సంభవించె న

ర్వాతిశయ ప్ర (కీర్తిసముదం?)చిత సంచిత ఘణ్యగణ్యతా

న్వితవిభూతి నిర్జరధునీజలపూరముతోడి పాడియె.

32

లందు జనించి మించిరి సమగ్రనిరూఢిఁ గ్రమక్రమంబునన్

మందరధీరు లాగత సమస్త నిశా(విచా?)రులు సంతత ప్రజా

నందనకార్యకారులు గుణస్ఫుటహారులు ధర్మరక్షణా

మందవిచారు లంగజితమారులు దేనటు లత్యుదారులై.

32

వ. ఇవ్విధంబున నవ్విమలాన్వయంబున నూర్జిత కీర్తిలక్ష్మీశు లనేకులు
చుట్టి రట్టియెడ,

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ప్రభవము నొందె దొడ్డజనపాలుఁడు నిర్జరవాహినీ మహా

రభటి విజృంభణ ప్రకట కారటవీధర (?) సుప్రసన్నతా

విభవ వచోవిశేషపదవీపరిణాధగతి ప్రసిద్ధ స

త్యవక(త్సభిక?) విధి(ధే?)యమానసుఁడు బాలవిశాల గుణానుకూలుడై.

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ధైర్యసంధా పిబాధము కరుణలు కరుణలు

రఘుగోత్ర జలవిందురామ(య)

ధీగవాన(గుణన)త్వశక్తి జయవైభవములు

గురుభీమ బలహరి హరినిరూఢి

వాసభాగాగ్నేయన ధర్మ రక్షణా

లఘుససూదనకనాశనసమాఖ్య

ధనురయ శౌచసాదర లాక్షమాజురు

బుధ మరుద్గంగాంగభూవిభూతి

పొగడ నెగడు సఖిల భూస్థలి నానమ

త్సకల రాజమాళి మకుటరత్న

ముకురలబ్ధబింబ వికసత్పదాబ్జాత
సలలితుండు దొడ్డజనవిభుండు.

౪౦

అతనికి లోకపాలకులయంశమునన్ భువనైకవైభవో
న్నతఁ దగ జన్నమాంబవలనన్ జననంబు భజించె నల్లడ
క్షితిపతి యుగ్ర విక్రమ విశేష విభూష భుజస్థలీ సమ
న్విత సిత హేతి పాతిత వహిష్ట విరోధి వరాధి యోధయై.

౪౧

పెద్ద కోమటివేమ పృథివీశు నెనుసూచి
యతని సంపదలెల్ల నపహరించె
గౌడాధిపతిఁ గెల్చి గజపతిదళ విభా
ళాఖ్యాన బిరుదంబు నలవరించె
ఒడ్డాదివిభుఁ దోలి యొగి వాని యిండుల
పట్టులఁ ద్రవ్వించె బలువు చెఱువు
ధారాసురత్రాణుఁ బోర నిర్జితుఁ జేసి
కొల్లవట్టించెఁ ద ధ్వోటకములఁ
గేవలుండె తురంగరేవంతుఁ డవఘుళ
రాయమానమర్దరాయరాంక
దివ్య(భానుదీప్త!)మాన నిష్ప్రతాప(తీక!)ప్రతాప వి
హారి దొడ్డవిభుని యశ్వశౌరి.

౪౨

అల్ల విభుకీర్తి విభ్రమ
ముల్లసిలున్ సాంధ్యనాట్యయుత శర్వాణీ
వల్లభ జటాగ్రనట దు
త్ఫుల్ల ధునీ ధూర్తలహరి ధూర్ధరలీలన్.

౪౩

త్యాగప్రకారంబు ప్రాణ(?)గొడ్డంబుగా
చెలఁగు భేచరరాజుఁ జెప్పనేల
బాహువిజృంభంబు బకభంజనంబుగా
నెనఁగు మరుత్సూను నెన్ననేల
విక్రమం బర్థిత్య విధి నరూఢంబుగా
నెగడు నారాయణుఁ బొగడనేల

ప్రాభవం బఖలగోత్ర ప్రవాసకముగాఁ

దనగు సురాధీశుఁ దడవనేల

ననుచుఁ గొనియాడుచుండుదు రఖలజనులు

నిష్కలంకవిభాస నిర్దిద్రభద్ర

గుణ పరంపరారత్న భూషణ విభా స

మన్నితుండగు దొడ్డయ యల్లవిభుని.

౪౪

భరితశ్రీనిధి యచ్చుహీరమణుఁ డొప్పెం జోళ భక్తి క్షి తీ

శ్వర సూనుండగు భీమలింగ మనుజేశశ్రేష్ఠసత్పుత్రి భా

స్వరకారుణ్య దశాజనాననవిధానంధాత్రి వేమాంబికన్

వరియించెన్ బతిభక్తి గౌరవ దృఢవ్యాపార సత్యాంబికన్.

౪౫

అఖల బంధువులకు ననయం బభీషిత

ము లొనంగుఁ

దన పుట్టినిల్లు సొచ్చినయిల్లు వర్ధిల్లు

నాదిగరేభశ్వరి యగుచు వెలయు

ముంగిలి యెఱుంగని ముద్దరాలని తన్ను

బుధులెల్లఁ గొనియాడఁ బాలుపు మిగుల

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... .. ప్రత్యక్షపులున్

ధీరతులు దొడ్డయాన్న కు

మారులు జనియించి రలఘు మహిమాన్వితులై.

౪౬

౪౭

అందుఁ బ్రథమోద్భవుఁడు గొమ

రొందును శ్రీరామవిభుని యొరపున జగ్గళా

నందు . శ్రీవేమవిభుడు
 ప్రస్తుత సరణిన్.

౪౮

ఋహుళ జవాభంగ భాస్వత్కృమ తురంగ
 విహరమాణ తురంగ విలసనంబు
 మదనిర్ఘరాఫాల మహనీయ శుండాలు
 వితతాచలోత్తర విభ్రమంబు
 మకరో తమరాజి

భూరిరయోదార వీరగుణాకార

సుభట పయఃపూర శోభితంబు

నగుచు నిజబలార్జవము మర్యాద గడచి
 యన్యమండల ద్వి(ద్వి?)పము(ల) నా(లా?)క్రమింప
 నవని విభుడైన యల్లయవేమ విభుడు

... ..

౪౯

తగదా వర్ణననీయ నల్లయసుతున్ ధాటీసమాటీక న

ద్యగణీయక్రియ (? క్రమ)ర్ఘూటి ఘోటక ఖురవాతప్రణీత క్షతో

వగతక్షాశణ... ..

... .. సరస్వచ్చంద్రు వేమేశ్వరున్. ౫౦

వినతధరానాథ వీక్షణ కుముదపం

డంబు లుద్గమవికానంబు విడువ

పరిపంథిమేదినీపతిగర్వతిమిర సం

ఘంబులు

... .. చంద్రికౌఘంబులు

... .. దమ ప్రసాదంబు దొరుగఁ

బర మహీవల్లభ బిరుద నక్షత్ర పుం

జంబులు దమప్రకాశంబు విడువఁ

బరగు చలయాచలాధర భాగని...

... జృంభణాస్తంభనాస్తంభసరణి

తనకు నల్లయవేను ప్రతాపతరణి.

గీ ౧

ఆ రఘురాముఁ డానరసమగ్రత లంక విభీషణున్ యశం

బార

క్షారఘరాముఁ డాశ్రితుని సంగవ(చు?)భూపుని పుంగకౌరి (?) శృం

గారపుఁగోట నిల్పఁడె తగ్గ శరణాగత రక్షణాంకుడై.

గీ ౨

మత్స్యజనాశిపు మద మణఁగించి య

భంగు

మాకవరపు వాస మనుజవల్లభుఁ డోలి

పల్లవత్రినయనోద్భాసి యగుచు

సందాపురేశ్వరు నభు కాచ్చి యాబాంధ(శాంధ?)

కార జగజ్జ్యోతికరణి యగుచు

అంప యిచ్చుడిరాజు సొంపు మానెన్నిక(?)

మాన్ని . . యెక్కి-న (యేడు?) మాణియముల

ధరణిపులఁ గెల్చి తత్తదున్యండ బిరుద

సముదయములెల్లఁ దన యధీనములు గాఁగఁ

వెలయు నల్లభూపాలక వేమవిభుష

... ..

గీ 3

విశ్రుత సూనామగుచు మారియండ్లర

మం ... ముక్తాత పత్రంబు పూన

చిద్వల్లి బొబ్బిలి క్షీతినాథసుతులు సొం

పలర వెంజామరములు ధరింప

మల్దిలితిక్షమామండలేశ్వర మిత్రు

లలవడి పసిఁడిసంబెల (నహింప)

సంబెడ(ట?) నృపాత్మజ

లమర హేమవ్యజనములుఁ దాల్చ

నలిమరావనీనాథపూర్వకసమస్త
వివిధ సామంత రాజసంభవులుఁ నగిలి
యుభయ పార్శ్వములను గొల్వ నుండుఁ గొలువు
విభవజంభారి యల్లయ వేనుశౌరి.

గీర

చట్టులత నల్ల[య]వేమన
పటుధాటీ విజయభేరి భాంకృతి చెల్లఁగన్
లటమథన స్పృహరి సమధిక
కటుకంత గభీరకుహకవాస . సరణిన్.

గీగీ

అలఘుం డల్లయవేమ భూవిభుఁడు రామస్థాననాచార్యుఁ డిం
పలరన్ మాకనరంబునందు శుభరాజ్య ప్రాజ్యగాఁ బల్లవో
జ్వలవంశ్యుం బురుసోత్తమాఖ్యు నిడి విశ్వస్తుశ్య కృశ్యంబుంన్
వీలసిల్లెన్ సరియెవ్వ రవిభుసకున్ విశ్వంభ రామండలిన్.

గీఎ

ఉక్తవేళల పోడశోపచారంబుల
శివుని చిత్తంబు రంజితముసేయు
దయతోడు రా
సత స్పృహలురఁ బడోన్నతులఁ జేయు
హేమాద్రి దానక్రియామహత్వంబున
విప్రుల సతిదశాన్వితులఁ జేయు

ససినఁ గొనియాడఁ దరముగా (దతని?)మహిమ
ప్రకట సింహాచలోత్తరభాగలిఖిత
వివిధ జయశాసనాక్షర సరసవి(?)న
మిథగుణుఁ డల్ల దేవేంద్ర(దేవ?) వేమేశ్వరుండు.

గీర

తేజమెలర్ప నవ్వసుమతీధవశేఖరుఁ జొప్పు స్వర్వధా
శ్రీ జనరక్షణ క్రమధురీణుని తమ్ముని వీరధీమణిన్

రాజమహేంద్ర నామనగరంబునఁ బట్టముగట్టె నంచిత
శ్రీజయకీర్తిసారభవిశేష విజృంభిత దిక్పమేతుండై.

గీ॥

ప. అప్పురంబు ప్రభుత మహిమ పరాభుత చక్రవాళ సమున్నత
వప్రాగ్చల త్తారకాసముదయంబును సతలస్పర్శదర్శనీయతోయ పరిపూర్ణ వేష్టన
నృప్తి శిశ్వంభరావిమానంబును నభినవ సురభివాసవాసనాథ లసత్ప్రసవవితాన
రతీశ్వర శాశ్వతవిభవ నీ . క్రూ నానారామంబును నమండమకరంద నిష్యంద
నద్యపద్మ కువలయ కుముద షండహిండమాన చక్రవాక చంచరీక ప్రముఖ
సారసపతంగసమాజ కూజనాకలకల వాచాట నిరాఘాట కాసారంబును నుప
కంఠ ప్రవాహ గోదావరీసరి న్మానిత కమలాచలశృంగసంగతకాంచనప్రాకార
ప్రాసాదశిఖర మార్కిండేయనాథ శేఖరశశాంకనిస్సృత సుధారసల్లత మందర
గంధవహవిహార శ్రమాగత పాంథలోకంబును వినూత్నరత్నచ్ఛవిగుళుచ్ఛ
పరంపరా సంపన్ననోహర భర్తహర్మ్య విలసిత ప్రహసితరోహణాచల కూటం
బును ప్రతిపత్సర వసంత మహోత్సవ నిర్భర విహార సందర్భ సముచిత వసంత
రాయ రథ్యాప్రదాన వివిధవీధికాధిగత తత్త్వదార్థ విశేషంబును వేదశాస్త్ర
పురాణ కావ్య నాటకాలంకార సాహిత్యపారావార పారంగత ధరణీ బృందారక
బృందశ్రుత స్వాధ్యాయనాదంబునుం దృణకణాయిత విరోధి ప్రాణ నిజార్థరణ(?)
వితరణశూర రాజకుమారచ్ఛల గృహీత బహుజయంత రూపంబును బ్రతికోటి
ధన ప్రతిష్ఠిత స్వర్ణకోటి లాంఛిత గృహంగణ ఫణాంతరిత ప్రసాధిత భూరి
విభవాధిక్య మాణిక్య నిరస్త నిశాంధకార వైశ్రవణసదృశ వైశ్యసమూహం
బును సదభ్రవిభ్రమసార శృంగార భాసి విలాసి విలాసినిజన మానసాప
హరణ కరణ కళా కళావలీ విలాస తటిల్లతా పల్లవిత వర్షకాల వికాసం
బును ననల్పకల్పనా కల్పన నానందసస్వందన సముచ్చయాదంతధారాధర
భరిత గగనభాగంబును నిరసిత ప్రభావాంఛాలబ్ధ జంగమత్వ చిత్రకులగోత్ర
పదారంగ మదాంధ గంధశుండాలదానధారాకర్దమిత వ్రజణీప్రదేశంబును నిర
ర్గళ సర్గ జవన వనతిరస్కరణ యశస్కరింఖాణకారట్టముఖ్యదేశ్యవరతురంగ
మానాలంబును నపరాల కామరావలీ సంశయకనన్య సామాన్య శోభనాలోభం
బును నతిమతి ప్రసంగ హృదయంగమ రామణీయకదామ విజృంభ సంభార
ధూరీణంబును నగుచు తేజరిల్లు నా రాజమహేంద్రవరంబున కధీశ్వరుండు, గీ॥

అభినవభోజాఖ్య నలరు నితం డన్న
 సుపమింపవచ్చునే నిపుణకలన
 జగనొబ్బగండాఖ్య జరియించు నితఁ డన్నఁ
 బురుణింపవచ్చునే పురుషఘనత
 భుజబలభీమాఖ్యఁ బాలుపారు నితఁ డన్నఁ
 జర్చింపవచ్చునే సత్వగరిమ
 రణరంగ రామాఖ్యఁ బ్రకటించు నితఁ డన్న
 భావింపవచ్చునే బాణమహిమ
 ననుచు నుతియింప నెలయుఁ బూర్వాస్తోభిరి
 శీతసగ సేతుమధ్యమ క్షాతలేంద్ర
 మూఢ వానటచాసనమూర్త విజయ
 భద్రగుణుఁ డల్లన్మవవీరభద్ర విభుఁడు.

౬౦

మహాస్రగధర : తరమా కీర్తింప కీర్తిస్థగిత దశదిశాస్థాణు నల్లాంకుసూనుం
 బరభూభృత్పక్షిక్షాపటుచటులభుజాభాసితా రాతిసీమా
 పరిల్లి ప్రాణనాథ ప్రముదిత విష . ద్వా్యలికాశాలి రాగ
 స్వరసంగీత ప్రబంధస్వలిరుద పడవీసాంద్ర వీరావనీంద్రున్.

౬౧

కుటిలత నుందరీ కుంతలంబులయందు
 నటరాగములు తేదాస్యములయందు
 నలసత దన్మదు(దగ్గజ?)యానరీతులయందుఁ
 జపలభావము తదీక్షణములందుఁ
 గానిన్య(?)గుణము తత్కృచ యుగంబులయందుఁ
 దనులతాత్రివళి మధ్యములయందు
 విషమాస్త్రిభయము తద్విరహవేశలయందు
 బాండురత్వము గండపాళులందుఁ
 గాని ప్రజలందు నెందును గలుగకుండ
 నవని పాలింపుపెల్లన ముగను

గ్రథిత హేమాద్రిదాన దీక్షాగరిష్ఠః
డల్లదేవేంద్రు వీరభూవల్లభుండు.

౬౨

వరకమలాప్త వంశమున వర్ణనఁ గాంచి యమోఘమార్గణా
ధరమున మించి శాంభవకథాసరణి న్మది నుంచి యుల్లస
ద్భరిత మతప్రవర్తన ముదంబు నహించి తనర్తు రింపు సాం
పరుడుగ రామభద్రుఁడును నల్లనృపాలకు వీరభద్రుఁడున్.

౬౩

విమతకళత్ర నిర్వీర(శ్వేద) సంభవదార
నాదముల్ పటుగర్జనములు గాఁగఁ
బరిపంథిదార సంపతదురుభూషణ
ప్రతతులు నవతటిల్లతలు గాఁగ
శాత్రవశుద్ధాంత నేత్రగళద్బాష్ప
సలిల పూరములు లు గాఁగ

సహితావరోధ భావాంతస్ఫరచ్ఛోక
తరనహ్నులశనిపాతములు గాఁగఁ
దసర(రు?) . గదాఖడ్గ నిమర్దన ఘనంబు
సార్వకాలిక . . విజృంభంబుఁ బూని
రాజమాత్రుండె యతఁడు మూర్తిప్రభావ
వీరవిభుఁడగు నల్లయ వీరవిభుఁడు.

౬౪

విహితవిరోధుఁ డల్లనృపు వీరవిభుండు వసంతవిస్ఫుర
ద్విహరణ మాచరింప నుడువీధి సితాసితవర్ణ శేఖ సం
గ్రహములు నిర్జరీ చికురరాజి దలర్చి సురాళినెల్ల ద
జ్జహదహజద్వయోగుణ విశంకటశంక ఘటించుఁ బైపయిన్.

౬౫

తనకీర్తికాంత గుంభనము దుగ్ధాబ్ధి డిం
డీరపంక్తులకుఁ బాణింధమంబు
తన ప్రతాపానలం బమర [నత]ధా(ధ)రానాథ
సంభతులకు లలాటాతపంబు

తనకటాక్షావలోకన మాశ్రితాభీష్ట
సంసిద్ధులకును నశంవదంబు
తనవాగ్విజృంభణ ముదితవా
చందములకు బు

గౌతమీమధ్య దత్తాగ్రహార ముదిత
విహరనిగమ హరి నియమభూసు . . .
. డల్లనృపతి వీరశౌరి.

E.E.

అరుదారన్ సురరత్న మన్నన(త?)రి రంధ్రాన్నేషణం బాచరిం
తురు సజ్జీవన మాచరింపంగఁ దలంతున్ నీరదంబన్న జం
దురుఁ డన్నం బరిపాటిదక్కురన (దక్కించనఁ ?) జూతుర్యాచక గ్రామణున్
ధర నల్లాధిపు వీరశౌరివలనన్ ధన్వత్సముం గాంచుటన్.

E.2

అల్లవిభు వీరధరణీ
వల్లభ వాక్రౌఢలహరి నడి సమధిక నం
పుల్లనృల్లీమతల్లీ
వేల్లనృధు మధుర లనస విభవ నిరూఢున్.

E.3

కరిపతు లేకహస్తు లహికాంతుండు గూఢపనుండు గచ్చవే
శ్వరుండు విజౌదయుండు గరివల్లభులున్ పీరసన్వభావు లం
దరసి వసుంధరారమణి యల్లయ వీరసశేంద్ర చంద్రు సు
స్థిర భుజపీఠి జెందె విలసిల్లుచు నాగ(ర)వితాన(గ)కంబుగన్.

E.F

తదను సంభవుండు దనరారు దొడ్డ భూ
వలయనాకుఁ డెల్లవారుఁ బొంగ
సకల మంగళార్థ సంభారతను సరరాజ
శేఖరుండు రాజశేఖరుండు.

20

ఘన సుధర్మావాస గౌరవస్థితిగల్గి
యొదిగి దాగుటలేస త్రిదశవిభుండు

సంపూర్ణ బహుకలా సంభ్రతోన్నతిఁ గల్గి
 యడఁగి పోవఁగలేని యమృతకరుఁడు
 తేజోవిశేష ప్రదీపితాకృతిఁ గల్గి
 యాశ్రయాశతలేని హన్యవహుఁడు
 గమలా నదానంద సుమనోజ్ఞతం గల్గి
 యంగహీనతలేని యనమశరుఁడు
 వెలయుఁ గాంతాకరాలీన వివిధరత్న
 కటక ఘణఘణాత్కార శృంగార ధవళ
 చామరద్వయ పవన సంచలిత చికుర
 నీకరుఁ డల్లాడవిభు దొడ్డసృపతి వరుఁడు.

20

స్తుతి సేయందగు నల్లడేంద్ర తనయున్ దొడ్డ క్షమాపాలకున్
 హితహేమాద్రి విశిష్ట దానకలనా నిర్దిష్ట ధూనిర్జితాం
 చితవాణిన్ స్థలవీధి ముక్తశిశిరగ్ర . . ధారాపయన్
 స్తుతి దూరీ (ర?) ప్రతిఘాత చోడవ కృతాంత స్తావరత్నాకరున్.

21

ఎడవ శాగ్రహములు విడువని నృపతులు
 వీడరు (విడుతురు?) నిజరాజ్య విహరణములు
 సాలవ కాఙ్గలు సేయఁజొరని భూరములు
 చొత్తు రుగ్రాచల స్థూలగుహలు
 కడక కప్పంబు లీఁగానని నృపతులు
 గాంతురు నానాస్త్ర ఘర్షణములు
 వరుస పాదములకు వ్రాలని జనవిభుల్
 వ్రాలుదు రాజ ధరాతలమునఁ
 దన నముద్దండ జైత్రయాత్రాప్రతిష్ఠ
 భూరిభేరిభణంకార ఘోరరవము
 నఖిల దిక్కులఁ దభుకొత్తునప్పు డనినఁ
 బొగడనేల నల్లయ దొడ్డ భూపమణిని.

22

దృక్కర్యాధివబాహుఁ డల్లడ ధరిత్రీనాథు దొడ్డాంకుచే
 నుక్కాడన్ రిపుకోటి యాజఁ బడుచో నొప్పార(రు?) నాకంబులో
 జక్కాకీ టట డుడ్డుడూ ధణధణ ఝుంఝుం ధిమిం ధిద్ధిమిం
 ధిక్కత్తోణక కీర్ణ వాద్యములతో దివ్యాంగనోత్సాహముల్ .

28

శ్రీసారహరిదంత భూసార కరిదంత

శోభాభిభూతి విశుద్ధయశుఁడు

దుర్వార హృదయస్థ లారాద ...

... మహాత్మ్యధనుఁడు

మందారవనికాయ బృందారవనికాయ

గీతాభిశోభి విఖ్యాతయశుఁడు

గంగాతటాభంగ శృంగార ముదభంగ

సత్యానుసూప విస్తారముఖుఁడు

జగతిఁ దనరు సతఁడు సగర భగీరథ

సల యయాతి రంతి సహుష భరత

పూర్వ పూర్వరాజ పుణ్యగణ్య విలాస

ధుర్యుఁ డల్లవిభుని దొడ్డశౌరి.

29

అవిరళ దానశీలుఁడగు సల్లయదొడ్డసృపాలుఁ బోలునే
 కవిపరిరక్షణత్వ గుణగణ్యత సాత్వికవృద్ధిఁ దక్క శాం
 భవనిధి యంతయుం గలిగి పాగు విరోధమునందు రక్తతం
 దపులఁ జరించు భావనవృథాపరిషంగతి నాత్మలోపలన్.

2౯

అరచే! అల్లయదొడ్డ భూవిభుఁడు వాహరోహరేవంతుఁ డిం
 పరుదారన్ వడి మూలగూరికడ వాహ్యోభిస్థలిం రాజకుం
 జరసింహంబను వారువంబును యదృచ్ఛాల్లీల గాటింపఁడే
 తిరమై యిర్వదినాల్లుమూళ్లు నిడు పు త్సేకంబు చేయెత్తుగాఁ.

22

ఇందుధరభక్తి సల్లయ

సందనుడగు దొడ్డధరణినాథునిసరి లే

రెందును కలియుగమందును

నందిత నియమనతుండు నంటి యొకండున్.

25

అతనికి ననుజుడు వినయా

న్విత రఘురామానుజుండు విశ్రుతబల సం

గతి ధర్మజానుజుడు ప్ర

స్తుత చరితుం డన్నవిభుడు సొంపువహించెన్.

26

తన దానసంపత్తి గనిన యాచకకోటి

యింద్రభూజముల బహిష్కరించు

దన సమంచిత కీర్తి దనరారు దుగ్ధాబ్ధి

విభ్రమలీల నావిష్కరించు

దన నిష్ప్రతిగ్ర(నిష్ప్రతీక?)ప్రతాప ప్రకాశంబు

భాస్కర ప్రభలఁ దిరస్కరించు

దన భుజాశాతాసి ధారావిలాసంబు

రణజయ శ్రీలఁ బురస్కరించు

ననినఁ బ్రతియెన్నవచ్చునే యలఘ్నజైత్ర

ధాటిఁ ఘోటి ఖురాఘాత దళితలలిత

సర్వ సర్వసహా రజచ్చన్నజలధి

వలయుఁ డల్లయయన్న భూవల్లభుసకు.

౨౭

మారుడు నూతనమూర్తి గు

మారుడు పటుశక్తి లక్ష్మి మధుమాధవరా

ణ్ణారం డల్లయ యన్నకు

మారుం ... ముసేయు ... క్రమముల్.

౨౮

వీరల వంశగురుండు ను

దార గుణోత్తరుండు నగుచుఁ దత్వమహత్వ

శ్రీరుచి ఘోడియరాయ ప

దారాధుండు భీమదేశికాధిపుఁ డొప్పన్.

౨౯

అవిరళై శ్వర్య మహత్వ సంపన్నత

చూళన బాసట మలయువాడు

సంశ్రిత రక్షణాస్థాపనిపూర్ణత

నాభామహోజ్వులు సనువువాడు

వేదశాస్త్రాదిక విద్యానిరూఢత

నదన సరస్వతి వడుపువాడు

వివిధాన్న వితరణ

చరణ సమీక్షణ సమతవాడు

తగుఁ బ్రశంసనీయ దండభృన్మద విభం

జనుఁడు వినయ వినత జనవరేణ్య

మణికిరీట ఘృణి సమంచిత చరణుఁడు

ఘోడిరాయ భీమేశ్వర(భీమగురు?)వరుండు.

౮౩

నిపుణత్వంబునఁ బ్రస్తుతింపవలయున్ శ్రీ వీరభద్రాచలా

గ్రపు నివ్యాతత భర్మహర్మ్య కలజాగ్ర ద్వీరభద్రాఖలే

శపాదస్వయ (పదాంభోరుహ?) భక్తిసుష్థిర రమాసంపూర్ణ భీమేశ్వరుం

ద్రిపురాకింద్ర గురూత్త మాత్మభవునిన్ దేవేంద్ర కోలాహలున్.* ౮౪

* Then follow the *Saṣṭhyantas*, which have not been copied here, as they are of no importance. Most of the verses describing the genealogy of the author's patron, and the long prose passage describing Rājamahēndravaram are full of mistakes (both of language and prosody) which cannot be properly corrected.

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